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FULFILLMENT

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THEODOR HERZL

FULFILLMENT: THE EPIC STORY OF ZIONISM

BY RUFUS LEARSI,



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TO ALBENA

my wife, who had no small part in
the making of this book

be'a-havah rabbah

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FOREWORD

MODERN or political Zionism began in 1897 when Theodor Herzl convened the First Zionist Congress and reached its culmination in 1948 when the State of Israel was born. In the half century of its career it rose from a parochial enterprise to a conspicuous place on the international arena. History will be explored in vain for a national effort with roots imbedded in a remoter past or charged with more drama and world significance. Something of its uniqueness and grandeur will, the author hopes, flow out to the reader from the pages of this narrative.

As a repository of events this book is not as inclusive as the author would have wished, nor does it make mention of all those who labored gallantly for the Zionist cause across the world and in Palestine. Within the compass allotted for this work, only the more significant events could be included, and the author can only crave forgiveness from the actors—living and dead—whose names have been omitted or whose roles have perhaps been understated. With reference to many of the controversies to which Zionism gave rise, the author will no doubt be found to be a partisan, but not, he trusts, a blind partisan.

Without the help of many devoted friends, this work could not have been accomplished. The two who have the largest claim on my gratitude are Sundel Doniger, the president of the Jewish History Foundation, and my son David Emanuel, who lightened the burdens involved in a work of this exacting nature. I had valuable help also from Dr. Joshua H. Neumann and his charming wife Tamar, and from my old and faithful friend Abraham Grayer. Professor Neumann, Mr. Doniger and Mr. Grayer, whose acquaintance with the Zionist Movement has been long and intimate, read the manuscript and made important suggestions. The rich facilities of the Zionist Archives and Library of the Palestine Foundation Fund, particularly their collection of photographs, were made available to me by the director, Mrs. Sylvia Landress, and her assistants, especially Mrs. Adinah Dorfman, and Mrs. Janet Deutsch Gendelman was an able secretarial assistant. I owe a great deal, finally, to the considerateness and helpfulness of the publisher and his staff.

RUFUS LEARSI

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Part One: HARBINGERS OLD AND NEW

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Chapter I: INTRODUCTION

IN THE year 70 of this era the invincible legions of Rome put an end to the Second Jewish Commonwealth, and in 1948 the Third Jewish Commonwealth was born. A gulf of almost nineteen centuries lies between the two events, but in some quarters at least the connection between them was not lost. It was the theme of preachers and orators, it stirred the imagination of poets, and even a few statesmen, in whom as a group that faculty is not too conspicuous, were not insensitive to it. But the most dramatic demonstration of this connection took place in Rome itself. The day was November 30, 1947. The night before the General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting at Flushing Meadows in New York, had by more than the required two-thirds majority voted for a sovereign Jewish state in Palestine. The world heard the news, and in Rome thousands of Italian Jews and Jewish displaced persons sojourning in Italy marched in a jubilant procession beneath the famous Arch of Titus. The Arch is the monument which the ancient Romans erected to celebrate the downfall of Judea and perpetuate the glory of her conqueror.

What changes those nineteen centuries had wrought over the face of the earth! Old empires, among them Rome herself, had vanished, and new ones had risen up and flourished and passed on into the shadows. Hoary cultures had languished and died, some leaving a trail of keen nostalgia, others buried in mounds and tombs and remembered only by antiquarians. The old faiths by which men lived and died had given place to new ones, and science had become monarch and oracle, teaching men how to live longer and less painfully and how to destroy each other more effectually. That shapeless extension of the Asiatic continent called Europe had spawned numerous new nations and created a culture which still dominates the entire globe. And scattered through all this welter of generation and dissolution, the people whose corporate life the Roman legions had extinguished

struggled and suffered, and survived to a vindication of faith and hope such as mankind in its long travail had never before witnessed.

They survived, first of all, the slow but relentless attrition of time, the silent command of the years and centuries that denies permanence to all things, including nations and cultures. They survived as a distinct ethnic and cultural entity—essentially a nation—though dispossessed of the attributes of land and polity, which are considered indispensable to national existence. They survived in the teeth of every variety of persecution—crude and refined, slow and swift, “civilized” and savage. They survived, finally, against the insidious allurements of other and more glamorous cultures. They were smitten and afflicted, they suffered grievous wounds and losses and disasters, but they survived; and not only because they nursed memories of a great past but because they had a rendezvous with the future. And now they and their future had met.

§ 2

But the Jews did more than just survive. Mere survival is impossible for the heirs of an ancient heritage: they must hearken to its commands or perish. Extinction of political life did not mean the decay of their spiritual and intellectual energy. In whatever lands the tides of chance placed them they continued to cultivate their peculiar heritage, never yielding its basic tenets and ideals, but adapting its forms and modes to the pressures of time and circumstance. And wherever they lived in sizable numbers they built new structures on the ancient foundations and, when not prevented, applied their exuberant energies to the cultural enrichment of the lands they called their own.

About the year 200 the large and vigorous remnant that remained in the motherland after the overthrow of the state completed the great compendium of law and wisdom known as the Mishnah. Generations of sages known as *tannaim* contributed to the making of this code—men like Hillel and Shammai, Johanan ben Zaccai, Akiba ben Joseph, Meir and Judah ha-Nasi. In the meantime, a numerous and powerful concentration had arisen in Babylonia and flourished for a thousand years. Generation after generation, the lore gathered in the Mishnah was elaborated by the *amoraim* of that center. About the year 500 their labors resulted in the Babylonian Talmud, which extended its authority over the entire Diaspora and became an object of intense devotion and passionate study. Day and night the wistful chant in

which the keen disputations of Samuel and Rab, of Raba and Abaye, of Ashi and Rabina and the other *amoraim* were studied has sounded across the centuries in homes, synagogues and academies throughout the world.

In other communities, meanwhile, notably in Alexandria of Egypt, Jews also cultivated the wisdom of the Greeks and attempted to harmonize it with their own. But the most brilliant cultural efflorescence, in which the wisdom of the gentile found its place in their own, appeared in Spain. For nearly a thousand years, until greed and bigotry combined to bring about the total expulsion of 1492, a proud and noble Jewish community enriched the land that harbored it and left a remarkable deposit of spiritual, intellectual and artistic culture. The galaxies that lighted up those centuries, studded with stars of the first magnitude like Yehudah Halevi, Ibn Gabirol, Ibn Pakuda, the Ibn Ezras and Maimonides, still shed their brilliance.

The glory that was driven from Spain fled to Italy and the Turkish dominions, including Palestine, where it continued to bear fruit, but the cultural center of the Dispersion came to rest in Poland. There a numerous and self-contained community had grown up and it flourished for nearly nine centuries—from the time when Jews found refuge in Poland from the murderous zeal of the Crusaders to our own day, when the Polish community was murdered in the gas chambers of Nazi Germany. This community in Poland, to which those in the other countries of eastern Europe, and of Russia in particular, may be added, became the powerhouse of Jewish cultural creativity in modern times, not only continuing in direct line the ancient tradition and the legacy of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*, but laying sure foundations for two new and impressive literatures: the Yiddish and the Neo-Hebrew. It was this great east European center, high-spirited and vibrant in spite of the brutal persecutions inflicted by governments and mobs, that provided the dynamics of the Movement which has culminated in the rise of the Third Jewish Commonwealth.

§ 3

The destruction of the Second Commonwealth created no small sensation in the Roman Empire, but the Proclamation of the State of Israel, what with the events that immediately preceded and followed it, stirred the world intensely.

The joy which the victory of Titus brought the Romans is attested by the great triumph which the imperial city staged in his

honor, by the coins which were struck and the arches which "the Senate and People of Rome" erected to signalize the event. The arch through which that other triumphal procession passed on November 30, 1947 stands in the ancient and majestic Forum of the city: on one of its sculptured panels the sacred vessels of the Temple—the seven-branched candelabra, the table of show-bread and others—are still being borne through Imperial Rome. Concerning another arch only the inscription is known. It was erected to "His Sacred Majesty, Titus Caesar Vespasian, son of the God Vespasian . . . Father of his country, because . . . he subdued the race of the Jews, and destroyed their city of Jerusalem, a city which all kings, commanders and nations before him have either attacked in vain or left wholly unassailed." Through the exaggeration and falsification, from which, it may be added, most dedicatory inscriptions suffer more or less, the enormous relief of the Romans is unmistakable.

The triumph and its attendant festivities, the immense multitudes that witnessed it, the magnificent floats, "running along like a river," the rich and numerous trophies and the illustrious prisoners in chains and ropes, are described by Josephus with all the wonder and sycophancy which we must expect from this protégé of the conqueror. "It was a festival day for the city of Rome," he writes, and well it might be, for according to the same historian the war between the Jews and the Romans "was the greatest of all those which have been not only in our times . . . but of those that ever were heard of." Other Roman historians do not, of course, attach to this war the same overshadowing importance. Such a judgment could hardly be expected, for example, from Tacitus, whose fables concerning the Jews are as grotesquely false as his literary style is admirable. According to Suetonius, however, another contemporary Roman historian, it was generally believed that the war would decide the fate of the empire. From our present perspective it is certainly clear that the war between tiny Judea and giant Rome was one of the most desperate and unequal struggles recorded in the annals of man.

§ 4

But great as was the impression which the downfall of the Jewish state produced in the Roman world, its resurrection on May 14, 1948 was undoubtedly more sensational. For more than three years—ever since the surrender of Germany that ended the Second World War in

Europe—the turbulent course of events in Palestine had kept the world in a state of alarm and fascination. The Yishuv* of Palestine, part of a people whom most men were accustomed to regard as submissive and timid, whom few, at any rate, found distinguished for the so-called martial virtues, was pitting its tiny strength and vast desperation not only against the Arabs but against the British Empire. The deeds of the Jewish Resistance groups kept mounting in frequency and daring. And for many months the councils of the United Nations rang with the pleas of the Yishuv's spokesmen and with the protests of those of the Palestine Arabs and of a half dozen Arab states. And around this unbreakable deadlock, the leading rivals in the race for world power sparred and jockeyed, with the fear as well as the strategy of a third world war involved in the issue. The Proclamation of May 14, 1948 came like the stroke of the sword that cut the Gordian knot. The world was startled and thrilled. There was amazement and admiration, and there was also deep apprehension, for on all the borders of the newborn state stood the armies of its sworn enemies, poised to strike.

§ 5

Nevertheless, in the world at large this general reaction to the event bore little relation to an awareness of the immemorial forces that produced it. The reaction stemmed rather from the tensions of the moment, from the immediate perils with which the Palestine impasse confronted the world, from the passions the issue aroused: the wrath and the pity, the alarms and the shocks which the daily headlines inspired. Comparatively few, even among the Jews, saw the rebirth of Israel as something marvelous and fabulous. Here was an event that was linked visibly and, as it were, immediately, with something that had happened nineteen centuries earlier! Where else in the chronicles of the nations do we find past and present brought together with such startling closeness across a span of such magnitude? Here was something that seemed to vindicate the philosophers who insist that time has no reality. The millennia melted away and became “as yesterday when it is past and as a watch in the night.”

Only those who see the event as the consummation of the daring

* The word *Yishuv* means “settlement” in general, but specifically it designates the Palestinian Jewish community of modern times before the establishment of the State of Israel.

and quixotic movement launched by Theodor Herzl half a century earlier, and, further, who see the modern Zionist Movement itself as a link in the four-thousand-year chain that began with the Hebrew patriarchs, can experience the sense of being in the presence of something unique and momentous.

Chapter II: INTERREGNUM

THE RESTORATION of the political bond between the Land of Israel and the people of Israel after a break of nineteen centuries may well excite the wonder of mankind if for no other reason than that history records no other event like it. History, indeed, is a record of quite another sort, of nations who live their allotted span on a land and are either driven from it and lost, or submerged and forgotten.

Nevertheless, a perusal of the career of this people and land during the long interregnum may well excite wonder that the reunion had not come about sooner. For through all those centuries the exiled people never ceased longing for the land, and the land itself rejected every other national sovereignty and culture, and seemed to wait for its rightful owner. Poets and preachers who spoke in romantic parables compared land and people to lovers whom a cruel fate had separated, but who remained faithful to each other, never doubting that the day of reunion would come. There had been other periods of separation—the bitter sojourn in Egypt, the captivity in Babylonia—that ended in reunion, and as for the weary centuries that followed each other in the present exile, they were not important: to an eternal people some centuries more or less are not important.

§ 2

As for the land, its story is one of many changes of sovereignty and progressive physical decay. As the vestibule of three continents, as the bridge between the Tigris-Euphrates valley and the valley of the Nile, Palestine was bound to excite the appetite of imperial adventurers, and as the lodestar of three religions it stirred a devotion both zealous and jealous in the hearts of millions of pietists and sectaries. The story of Palestine during those centuries, therefore, reveals on the one hand a succession of conquests and periods of possession that proceeded from imperial and secular motives and, on the

other, a series of movements and clashes inspired by religious interests and passions. And often enough religion served as a screen for common greed and lust.

In the mist that dwells even in the minds of the educated on the history of the Holy Land since the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, the episode that looms large is that of the Crusades during the Middle Ages. In the general haze the Crusades stand out as something fabulous and splendid; they have become proverbial for lofty and daring enterprise, and what they contained that was squalid and brutal has been almost idealized out of existence. But at least two conspicuous events in the centuries preceding the descent of the Crusaders in 1099, and two events in those that followed, should be held in view as landmarks in the story of Palestine after the downfall of the Jewish state in the year 70. The first two were the Jewish uprising in 132, led by Bar Kochba, and the conquest of Palestine by the Moslem Arabs in 638. The other two were the seizure of the country by the Turks in 1517 and its conquest by the British exactly four centuries later.

§ 3

The revolt under Bar Kochba, six decades after the devastation left by Vespasian and his son Titus, bears witness to the amazing power of recovery which the Jews possessed. This rebellion in fact was not the second but the third challenge which in less than two generations the small and broken nation flung against the mightiest empire on earth; the second, of which the records are meager and confused, took place about the year 105 and involved the major Jewish concentrations of the Mediterranean countries as well as the large and flourishing community in Babylonia. Some thirty years later Bar Kochba, who is reported to have led an army of hundreds of thousands, compelled the Emperor Hadrian to order a huge force into Palestine and to summon Julius Severus, his ablest general, to command it. In the course of the uprising the rebels captured Jerusalem and proclaimed the restoration of the Jewish State, an act which must have confirmed the belief of Akiba ben Joseph, the foremost *tanna* of the age and an ardent supporter of the rebellion, that Bar Kochba was the promised Messiah himself. And when the revolt was finally put down, the losses suffered by the Romans were so great that the Emperor, reporting his victory to the Senate, omitted the customary formula "I and the army are well."

The five centuries between the Bar Kochba uprising and the

inundation of Palestine by the conquering Moslems were a period of continuous strife between the Roman emperors, who held the country, and the rulers of Neo-Persia. The western empire was overthrown by the barbarians, but Palestine continued under the sway of the Byzantine rulers, and Christianity, which about the year 325 became the religion of the imperial court, gained the ascendant in the land, and lost no time in developing a zeal for persecution from which the Jews were the principal sufferers. In 425, the office of Nassi or Patriarch which had afforded them a measure of internal autonomy was abolished. The desultory warfare between Byzantines and Neo-Persians went on. In 614 the Jews of Palestine were persuaded to take sides with the Neo-Persians who had promised to restore them to independence. The promise was not kept; and when the invaders were expelled, the victorious Romans in their turn broke a solemn promise they had made to spare the lives of the Jews of Jerusalem: they yielded to the pious demands of the Christian prelates and massacred all of them. But the sordid strife between the two empires had drained their strength, and the avenger, spurred by the new and aggressive faith of Islam, was sharpening his sword against both of them.

In 634 the sword fell on Heraclius, the Byzantine ruler of Palestine; at the river Yarmuk his motley host was annihilated. Three years later, at Kadessia on the river Euphrates, it fell on Neo-Persia and destroyed her. The conquest of Palestine was completed in 638 when the austere and pious warrior, the Caliph Omar, forced the surrender of Jerusalem. The good Patriarch Sophronius, the same prelate who ten years earlier had persuaded Heraclius to break his word and massacre the Jews and who now delivered the city to Omar, obtained a promise from the unbeliever that no Jews would be permitted to dwell there, but shortly afterwards there was again a Jewish community in the Holy City. So Palestine came under the dominion of Islam, and except for a break of about a century beginning 1099, when the Crusaders held all or part of it, the country remained under Moslem rule until December 9, 1917 when Jerusalem was taken by a Christian power. The previous month this power, Great Britain, had pledged itself to "facilitate" the restoration of the Jewish National Home.

§ 4

This period of nearly thirteen centuries of Moslem dominion must not, however, be conceived as an era of stability and peace, which only the Crusaders interrupted. Far from it, for no political

structures are immutable, and in the Moslem world they have been notoriously brittle. Nor is it possible for this chronicle to detail the bloody rivalries of the Moslem dynasties, empires and races in which Palestine became involved. When the Crusaders arrived they found the country in the hands of the Seljuk Turks, the same conquering Seljuks who in 1071 had overwhelmed the Byzantines in Asia Minor and wrested Palestine from the Fatimid rulers of Egypt. The noble leaders of the Crusaders broke their oath to the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus whom, ostensibly, they had come to rescue from the infidels and they continually betrayed each other, each one intent at no matter whose expense on acquiring a principality for himself. In 1099 they captured Jerusalem and slew all the Jews and Moslems they found there. The most determined defenders of the city were the Jews: they knew what to expect from the Crusaders; they had no doubt heard how the soldiers of the Cross massacred their coreligionists along the Rhine three years earlier when the First Crusade had started.

The so-called Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, of which Godfrey of Bouillon was the first ruler, included at its maximum the whole of Palestine and part of Syria, and endured for nearly a century. Its power was broken by the glamorous Sultan Saladin who in 1187 captured Jerusalem. There were further Crusades, in which the major crowned heads of Europe took part, but they foundered in a maze of jealousies and betrayals, and Christian power in Palestine continued to wane until it became a mere shadow, although it did not wholly disappear until a hundred years later.

§ 5

For the next two and a half centuries Palestine languished and withered under the ruinous sovereignty of the Mamluk Turks, who overthrew the short-lived dynasty established by Saladin. It was they who ejected the Christians from their last footholds in Palestine, destroying the coastal cities in the process. Baibars, their most famous monarch, turned back the Mongols who descended on the country in 1260. But when in 1517 the Ottoman Turks, who had put an end to the phantom Byzantine Empire by capturing Constantinople in 1453, added Palestine to their dominions, they found the land which had once flowed with milk and honey and teemed with towns and villages, blighted and depopulated. In the four centuries of their rule, the Ottoman sultans did nothing to improve it and much to impair it.

Their pashas, or local governors, became famous for rapacity and calousness. The rains eroded the soil of its hillsides, its valleys became malarious marshes, its forests disappeared and the remaining vegetation was exposed to the devouring teeth of the goats, which the Bedouin nomads drove unhindered through the country.

After somewhat more than two centuries of formidable expansion, particularly in Europe, Ottoman power began to wane, and the Turkish Empire owed its survival less to its own strength than to the rivalries and suspicions of the Christian powers. Two bold adventures, the first by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799, the second by Mehemet Ali, the pasha of Egypt, and his son Ibrahim in 1831, threatened for a time to bring Palestine under a new sovereignty. It was in connection with his daring but futile attempt to outflank British power in the East that Napoleon issued a summons to the Jews of the world, as the "rightful heirs of Palestine," to rally to his standard and "claim the restoration of . . . your political existence as a nation among the nations." Napoleon invaded Palestine and defeated a Turkish Army in the Valley of Jezreel, but he was checkmated by his failure to capture the coastal stronghold of Acre. The attempt of Mehemet Ali was more persistent and Palestine was saved for the Sultan only by the intervention of the European powers.

A typical Turkish ruler, wily and tenacious, bland and evasive, a past master in the art of playing off one European power against another, still reigned in Constantinople when Herzl dreamed his great dream in Paris. He was Abdul-Hamid II (1876-1909), from whom Herzl tried vainly to obtain the concession, or charter, without which, in his design, the dream could not become a reality.

§ 6

Across the nineteen centuries the sovereigns—Romans and Byzantines, Persians and Arabs, Crusaders, Turks and Britons—came and went, each making his proud entry and humble exit. Fifty generations in a mingling of nations and races lived and died in the land, and three world religions nourished themselves from its sacred memories and precincts. But the land remained anonymous and featureless, culturally "a land not sown," and in men's consciousness it continued to be identified with the one people which had once laid the stamp of its genius upon it and was now scattered over the face of the earth.

Nevertheless, the bond between this people and land was never

broken. A remnant, sometimes considerable, at times as in the early centuries of the Christian era even preponderant, continued to live there, and so powerful was the spell of the land that even in the periods of stress and decline, when dire perils attended the journey as well as the sojourn, Jewish pilgrims and settlers, singly and in groups, found their way to it to breathe the air which, as the Talmud puts it, "makes men wise," and to be laid in its hallowed soil.

There is a village in Upper Galilee called Pekiin whose people claim an unbroken line of descent from the Jews of the Second Commonwealth. The Jewish community that remained in the land after the debacle of the year 70 was, in spite of the rebellions, numerous and vigorous enough to obtain a large measure of autonomy from the Roman overlord, and to create not only the Mishnah and the Jerusalem Talmud, but a large part of the literature known as the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. The recently uncovered ruins of its synagogues in Galilee bear testimony to affluence and elegance. Jewish peasants continued to till the soil, Jewish artisans and merchants flourished in cities on the coast and throughout the land and there were academies of learning in Jabneh, Lydda, Usha, Tiberias and other centers. Jerusalem alone was a forbidden city to the Jews.

The remnant in Palestine found the Byzantine emperors worse persecutors than the Roman had been. The real rulers of the country were now the abbots and bishops who, notwithstanding the teachings of the master they worshipped, had no love to spare for the people who rejected his messiahship and divinity. Nevertheless, the movement in 614 headed by Benjamin of Tiberias, when the Jews of Palestine mustered large military contingents as allies of the invading Neo-Persians, testifies to their numbers as well as their daring. The Arabs, who took the place of Byzantines and Persians, proved much more generous masters, and Jewish life in Palestine looked up, the motherland vying with the great community in Babylonia for the homage of the far-flung Diaspora.

In the eighth century the country became the center of Karaism, the dissident movement which had its start in Babylonia and represented a formidable challenge to talmudic Judaism. Karaism refused to seek guidance anywhere except in Holy Writ, and this insistence compelled a close study of the scriptures not only by its adherents but also by its opponents, the Rabbanites. The result was the development of what is known as *Masorah*, the system of establishing the meaning of the sacred text by determining its grammar and accurate vocalization. Since the words of the Hebrew scriptures came down

without the vowels, or the signs that indicate the vowels, *Masorah* represents a high achievement, for which the credit belongs to a school of learning that existed in Tiberias during this period. Nor should Palestine be denied credit for another important attainment in the sphere of culture and learning, the cultivation of liturgical poetry known as *piyyut*, which spread into other lands and produced a devotional literature, a great part of which is enshrined in the festival prayerbooks and is still recited in synagogues throughout the world.

§ 7

But Moslem dominion over Palestine did not mean stability and prosperity for the Jews or, for that matter, for any other people in the country. For an empire is controlled by its imperial interests, to which the welfare of any of its component parts may often be sacrificed. This fact is one source of the woes that have afflicted outlying provinces of imperial systems; another arises from the necessity of entrusting their weal to proconsuls, satraps or pashas, who are often inclined to look upon their office as an opportunity to promote their own fortunes rather than those of the province they are sent to govern. In 750 a new dynasty, the Abassids, after slaughtering their Omayyad rivals, seized the empire or caliphate, and moved the court from nearby Damascus to distant Baghdad. Since the rapacity of provincial governors varied in direct proportion to their distance from the imperial capital, the people of Palestine, especially the non-Moslems among them, suffered heavily.

To the plight of the Jews, which was grievous enough, the Crusaders added wholesale massacre. Nevertheless, in spite of the large number who perished or fled, here and there small groups persisted, clinging to secluded nooks in the hills of Galilee; and in the Diaspora the longing for the land was so powerful that individuals and even groups came to live there, defying the perils of the journey and those that awaited them in the land itself. They came from Spain at the other end of the Mediterranean, and they came from England, France and the Germanies. The yearning that impelled them was expressed by no one better than the great poet Yehudah Halevi who, chained to his native Spain, sang:

*Could I but fly on eagle's wings to thee
And mingle with the sacred sod my tears,
How tenderly thy stones and dust I'd kiss,
Their taste than honey sweeter to my lips!*

At length the poet broke the chains that bound him, and in 1141, at the age of fifty-six, arrived in Palestine where all further trace of him vanished. The Crusaders still lorded it over the country, and among other men of renown who came there from the west during their possession were the famous traveler Benjamin of Tudela and the great Maimonides. Early in the following century, when the hold of the Crusaders had been broken by the valiant Saladin, the arrivals increased in number, and among them were some three hundred rabbis from France and England who arrived in groups and became the nuclei of little communities.

Into these communities fresh vigor was infused by the arrival in 1267 of the illustrious Moses ben Nachman, better known as Nachmani or Nachmanides, mystic philosopher, physician and sage, already advanced in years, whom a Christian king in Spain sent into exile because he had worsted his opponents in a public religious debate in the city of Barcelona. "I am a man who has seen affliction," Nachmani wrote from Jerusalem, where he found only a handful of his people. "I forsook my family and home . . . and with the dear children whom I brought up on my knee I also left my soul . . . But the loss of all this, and of every other glory my eyes beheld, is repaid by the joy of being a day in thy courts, O Jerusalem, of visiting the ruins of the Temple and wailing over the desolate sanctuary, where I am permitted to caress thy stones, to fondle thy dust, and to weep over thy ruins." But Nachmanides did more than weep and caress the ruins. In the three years of his sojourn, the three remaining years of his life, he established a school of talmudic learning and brought new life into the scattered remnants. The country was now ruled from Egypt by the Mamluk Turks, who had thrown out the Crusaders as well as the Mongol invaders, and the Jewish community grew in number and economic stability.

The Mamluks, as we have seen, held sway until they were superseded by the Ottomans in 1517. In the last century of Mamluk rule the Jewish community of Palestine suffered a marked decline caused as much by internal friction and demoralization as by the extortionate levies of the rulers, both central and local. The Jews sent emissaries to foreign lands to solicit financial aid from their coreligionists, but towards the end of the century the community in Palestine was lifted out of its depressed state not so much by the funds raised by those "messengers of Zion" as by reinforcements it received from the Diaspora.

§ 8

In 1488 Obadiah of Bertinoro came to Jerusalem from Italy, and raised the level of Jewish life in Palestine in much the same way as Nachmanides had done more than two centuries earlier. Besides scholarship and eloquence, Obadiah, who is best known as the author of a standard commentary on the Mishnah, had the advantage of youth. He became the spiritual head of the community, brought order into its institutions and established a talmudic academy.

But four years later a far greater accretion of strength began flowing towards Palestine when the Jews of Spain were expelled from the land they had dwelt in for a thousand years. The exiles who turned their faces to the East and escaped the perils of storm and wreck and the worse perils of brigands and pirates, found welcome in the lands of Bayazid II, sultan of Turkey, who was shrewd enough to realize that they would bring prosperity to his empire. They did not disappoint his expectations. Large and flourishing Jewish communities arose in Constantinople, Smyrna, Salonika and other cities. In Palestine the cities of Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed and Tiberias became important centers of Jewish life. Ferdinand and Isabella, the bigoted and greedy monarchs who exiled them, had stripped them of their wealth, but they were unable to take away their most important possessions—their character, skill and resourcefulness. These qualities asserted themselves promptly wherever they came and raised them to positions of power and influence.

Perhaps the most striking reward reaped by Turkey from its open-door policy consisted of two eminent personalities: the greathearted Gracia Mendes and her brilliant nephew Joseph Nassi. Gracia possessed an immense fortune and a noble generosity of spirit, and Joseph's talents lifted him to a position of power and splendor in the court of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566), the successor of Bayazid II. Joseph became Duke of Naxos and the Seven Islands, and he wielded enormous influence in international affairs. But he devoted himself also to a project for the rehabilitation of his own people which commands our special interest. Joseph, indeed, may be set down as a genuine precursor of Theodor Herzl, and in one regard he even succeeded where Herzl failed: he obtained from the Sultan a grant, or charter, permitting him to establish a large Jewish settlement in the city of Tiberias and the district around it. Joseph had nourished the dream of creating a Jewish state, and this settlement to which, he

hoped, his sovereign would grant self-government was to be its beginning. He issued a summons to his scattered people to return to their homeland, even offering them ships for the passage, and set about at the same time to prepare for their reception. He rebuilt the ruins of Tiberias and laid the ground for a large textile industry by planting mulberry trees for breeding silkworms and importing the fine-wooled merino sheep from Spain. In the Papal States, where his people were brutally persecuted by Pius V, there was a response to Joseph's invitation, but by and large his call appears to have remained unheeded. Perhaps it was because Joseph lost favor with the successor of Suleiman, perhaps because his summons was unaccompanied with the messianic signs and wonders which the age demanded. Joseph Nassi, at any rate, deserves an honored place among the Jewish statesmen of the Diaspora.

§ 9

Tiberias was one of the "Four Holy Cities," the others being Jerusalem, Hebron and Safed, to which the influx of refugees from the West had brought new dignity and prosperity. It brought them also a new passion for the things of the mind and the spirit, for the study of the Talmud and the mystic lore of Cabala, enshrined in that strange book called *Zohar* or "Brightness." And if the colonization project in Tiberias suffered from a lack of messianic overtones, they abounded among the mystics in Safed.

Safed, indeed, sheltered one of the most significant Jewish communities in the world. In Safed the wealthy and scholarly Jacob Berab labored to restore the ancient Sanhedrin as the supreme religious authority for the Jews of the world, an attempt which was thwarted by the natural jealousy of the rabbis in Jerusalem. Safed was the city of Joseph Karo, the author of the *Shulchan Aruch* (Ready-set Table), a compendium of talmudic law, which has regulated the daily life of the pious of all the succeeding generations. And Safed was, above all, the city of Cabala, for in nearby Meron was the grave of the ancient *tanna* Simon ben Yochai, the traditional author of the *Zohar*, a place to which its devotees paid periodic and ecstatic visits. Solomon Alkabez lived in Safed, he who composed the strangely beautiful *Lecha Dodi*, the Friday night welcome to the Sabbath Bride. Safed was the city of Isaac Luria, better known as "Ari," or "Lion," leader of an esoteric community, who elaborated an applied or "practical" Cabala by which the individual soul strove to reascend in the ecstasy of con-

templation and prayer to the Deity. And when Luria died in 1572 at the age of thirty-eight, his place was taken by Chaim Vital, and the teachings of the master were diffused throughout the Diaspora by men who called themselves "the lion's whelps." And, it should be stressed, the whole of Cabala is saturated with the theme of national redemption, all its fervor being designed to purify the soul and prepare it for the coming of the great Redeemer.

§ 10

The strong regenerative impulse which the refugees from the West brought into Palestine spent itself, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the outstanding features of Jewish life in Palestine were stagnation, extreme poverty and official oppression. The system known as *Chalukah*, or "distribution," came into existence; under it, funds contributed by the pious in the Diaspora supported the large number of Jewish destitute in Palestine. They stood higher in the scale of good deeds than mere charity, these donations of the pious; they nourished the sentiment of fulfilling, if only vicariously, the exalted commandment of restoring the ruins of the sacred land and living under its blessed skies. But the Diaspora continued to send not only gifts but immigrants also. They came singly and in groups. Many succumbed to the rigors of the journey, and of those who arrived many were forced back by the hardships they encountered. The largest group, numbering some 1300, followed the mystic messiah-seeker, Judah Chassid, in 1700. Decades later came sizable contingents of Chassidim, members of the great religious fraternity launched by the ecstatic Israel Baal-Shem; and their opponents, the Mitnagdim, also came, as well as Jews from North Africa who stood outside the controversy between the two factions. When Napoleon made his bold but futile incursion into Palestine in 1799, the Jews refused to be taken in by his magniloquent promises; they joined eagerly in the work of strengthening the defenses of Jerusalem, which the Corsican, however, never got around to attack.

For a number of years after 1831 the Sultan in Constantinople, as we have seen, stood perilously close to losing Palestine, as well as Syria and Egypt, to his astute and ruthless pasha Mehemet Ali. Ten years later Mehemet was forced to return to Egypt whence he had started, but it was not the might of the Sultan that ejected him—he had in fact inflicted a crushing defeat on his suzerain—but the guns of the British fleet. The "sick man of Europe," as it became cus-

tomary to designate the ruler of Turkey, could nearly always count on the British to keep him on his feet, lest Russia or France should step in and profit from his fall. France, indeed, supported the rebellious pasha, and it was this unholy alliance between them which made possible the scandalous blood libel against the Jewish community in Damascus in 1840 which shocked the civilized world.

An innovation that contributed greatly to the security of the Jews and the Christians also in Palestine was the establishment about this time of consulates in Jerusalem by the principal European powers. For the Jews it became customary to look for protection to the British consul. Nevertheless, the progressive deterioration of the country was not checked. The feuds between Arab clans continued with undiminished zest, as well as the raids of the Bedouins, who looked upon plundering as an honorable source of income. The upper-class effendis, who were the landowners, were indolent and corrupt, and the fellaheen, or peasants, lived with their cattle in the mud huts of their sun-stricken villages, eking out a miserable existence from the denuded hillsides and marshy valleys and ravaged by malaria and other endemic diseases. And the pasha who lorded it from Jerusalem was normally superannuated, indifferent and venal.

§ 11

Such is the story of the land during its interregnum of nineteen hundred years, the land to which in 1896 Theodor Herzl directed his people's gaze with a call which they had not heard for centuries. Such is the story of the land and of the remnants in it of the people whose association with it, over a period of equal length, had made it illustrious and holy. But we have already seen that the idea of reestablishing the Jewish state, which smote Herzl with the force of a revelation, had been alive in the consciousness of men, Christians as well as Jews, before him. We saw it in the ardent spirit of Joseph Nassi and his kinswoman Gracia Mendes. We saw how the overshrewd Napoleon attempted to exploit it to further his imperial designs. We stop now to examine more closely the progress of this idea across the centuries.

Chapter III: PRAYERS AND PROJECTS

ALL PEOPLES cherish their days of remembrance, religious or secular, but no people has invested them with more solemnity than the Jews. Their Sabbaths and festivals have not only brought them joy and spiritual replenishment but have served as a powerful instrument of cohesion and survival. For, closely woven into the fabric of these high and holy days is the land where they were first celebrated—its fields and orchards, its rains and dews, its seasons and harvests. And when the exiles took their Sabbaths and festivals on their global journey, they took the land with them also. Into the squalid ghettos of the Middle Ages, into the slums of the Russian Pale of Settlement, and into the more spacious communities of recent times in western Europe and America, the festivals brought the fragrance of the orchards and vineyards of Palestine and fed the nostalgia for the ancient homeland. It was a unique phenomenon, this vicarious association by a people with the land it had lost. “The vineyards of Israel have ceased to exist” wrote the farseeing Benjamin Disraeli, who was estranged from the faith but not from the fate of his people, “but the eternal Law enjoins the children of Israel still to celebrate the vintage. A race that persists in celebrating their vintage, although they have no fruits to gather, will regain their vineyards.”

But it is not only on the red-letter days of the year that the unforgettable land has been remembered. It permeates the daily prayers of morning, afternoon and evening and it lies at the base of the law and legend of the Mishnah and Talmud. “Let our eyes behold Thy return in mercy to Zion” is the prayer which the pious still repeat three times daily. Indeed, the land was an integral part of Israel’s faith, and the reunion of people and land a prior condition for the advent of that ultimate era of blessedness, the messianic age, in which all mankind was to share.

§ 2

When and how was this reunion to come about? Was it reasonable to suppose that a broken and buffeted people could accomplish it with its own feeble strength against the powerful enemies who stood ready to oppose it? "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit" had been the promise and warning of the prophet Zechariah. It was to be accomplished by "the spirit of wisdom and understanding and counsel and might," all combined in a supreme man at whose breath all obstacles would melt away. He was to be none other than the Messiah, the "anointed one." For his coming the people had scanned the bleak horizons when Rome held the nation in its vise, and in those days there had appeared one and then another who brought frenzied hopes and bitter disillusion, and one especially to whom millions of non-Jews still cling. But his own people would not follow him, for the kingdom he promised was not of this earth, and he enjoined them, moreover, to "give unto Caesar that which is Caesar's," and apparently the land they longed to see delivered was Caesar's.

The faith and hope in his coming never wavered, but grew stronger through the centuries. Is it a wholly irrational faith? Does it derive no aid or comfort from reason and experience? There are some who think it does. Strip it, they say, of the extravaganzas with which popular fancy embroiders its cherished hopes and run your gaze along the gamut of man's trials and triumphs across the ages. The overshadowing role of the masterful man, the man of compulsive mind and great spirit, is incontestable. Often enough he has been a curse rather than a blessing, but is it irrational to hold that in the infinite working of God's laboratory known as nature, in "the end of days," as the prophets expressed it, the man of supreme endowments will arise whose life will also be a supreme blessing? And he will still be a man, not a god or demigod or superman. Such, at any rate, is the essential faith that underlies the messianic doctrine in traditional Judaism; and the people associated it with their national restoration and clung to it with an ardor that mounted as the sufferings from which they yearned to be delivered became more intense. What if Maimonides and other great sages warned against immediate and overeager expectations? Wanderers in a desert, thirsty and weary, will not be persuaded that the mirage in the distance is not real. There were even times when the so-called hardheaded and rational suc-

cumbed to the illusion as well as the simple and naïve, or those whose minds had been enflamed by the exciting mysteries of Cabala.

§ 3

Always the messianic hope shone bright in the heart of the exiles, but at times it blazed up like a beacon fire announcing immediate redemption: the flame burnt itself out, and it often left ruin behind it. Those were times when the cup of suffering ran over, or when world-shaking events were afoot or in prospect. And in the center of the ferment into which Jewish communities were plunged stood a "messiah," usually an ecstatic who deluded himself and his followers, sometimes an impostor and sometimes, in the baffling complexities of the human heart, at once ecstatic and impostor. Some were driven to messianic pretensions more by the clamor of their followers than by their own inner promptings; and while there were "messiahs" who operated with manifestoes and incantations only, others, like the redoubtable Bar Kochba, were leaders of formidable military operations.

Early in the eighth century Serenus of Syria stirred his people with the promise of a miraculous restoration, but in the presence of the caliph he quailed and recanted. Serenus was a mystic only, but not long afterwards, when the caliphate was rent with civil strife, Abu Isa of Persia is reported to have headed a force of 10,000 armed men to liberate Palestine from Moslem rule. He was the Messiah to his followers, although he himself was content to proclaim himself only the forerunner of the Messiah. Abu Isa died in battle, but for generations afterwards there were Jews in Persia who still believed in his messiahship.

There was a redeemer about the middle of the twelfth century, when the "Franks" still held Jerusalem, whose career was much like Abu Isa's. He was David Alroy of Kurdistan about whom little is known, but who has been glamorized by Benjamin Disraeli in his famous novel of the same name. There were "messiahs" like Abraham Abulafia (1240-1292) who were launched on their missions by the hectic teachings of Cabala. From his native Spain Abulafia traveled to Rome to convert the pope to Judaism, and he created a sensation in Sicily, at that time the home of flourishing Jewish communities, some of whose members made ready to follow him to Palestine. He too left a long trail of longing and loyalty behind him. Also a creature of Cabala was the more famous Solomon Molcho, whose career ran

its strange and tragic course some two and a half centuries later. His even more fantastic and mysterious associate, David Reubeni, conducted bold political and diplomatic maneuvers, from which plans for military and naval undertakings for the liberation of Palestine were not absent. And Isaac Luria, the "lion" of Safed, and his leading disciple Chaim Vital, both of whom claimed to be forerunners of the final Redeemer, also derived their inspiration from the glowing mysteries of the *Zohar*.

But the "messiah" who created the most formidable commotion in the Jewish world, so formidable, indeed, that the Christian and Moslem worlds were not left untouched by it, was Sabbatai Zevi. In 1648, at the age of twenty-two, he solemnly proclaimed his mission to a small group of adherents in his native Smyrna by uttering aloud the Ineffable Name of God, an act forbidden until after the advent of the Redeemer. In the "mystic" year 1666, after eighteen years of careful preparation, Sabbatai ran through a messianic career that began in glory and ended in disgrace. It rocked the Diaspora and left important sectors of it anguished and torn for generations—a fantastic, incredible career which has been a fruitful subject for story and drama. While many of the outstanding rabbis opposed the frenzy, and the evidence is strong that most of the people held aloof from it, the Sabbatian movement and its sorry aftermath drew in a host of followers who present most striking contrasts intellectually and morally. They ranged from the youthful and hysterical Nathan of Gaza to the master of the mint in Cairo, Raphael Joseph Chelebi; from the simple and devout Judah the Saint of Dubno to the unscrupulous Nehemiah Chiya Chayun, an adventurer who bedeviled numerous Jewish communities in Europe and Asia.

§ 4

In time the name Sabbatai Zevi became an epithet of opprobrium, and more than two centuries later some of those who were alarmed by the startling proposal published by Theodor Herzl in 1896 flung the epithet at him. In their ears his "Jewish State" sounded like the call of a pseudo-messiah. Nevertheless, Herzl was not the first modern who sounded that call. There had been many before him who, no more than he, could be associated with mystic beliefs or miraculous expectations.

There were Christians among the modern advocates of Jewish

national redemption as well as Jews. True enough, some among the Christians believed that the restitution of their ancient land to the chosen people was a necessary preliminary to the second coming of Jesus, the conversion of the Jews and the advent of the millennium. But they were messianic heralds to the Christians only, although Jewish restoration efforts as far apart as the Sabbatian frenzy and the modern colonization movement found supporters among them. There were, for example, the Fifth Monarchy Men of seventeenth-century England who supported Menasseh ben Israel's efforts to secure the readmission of the Jews into that country, and responded also to the appeal of the "messiah" of Smyrna. The Fifth Monarchy Men believed in their savior's imminent return, which, however, was to be preceded by the dispersion of the Jews to all lands and followed by their restoration and conversion. The fifth and final kingdom on earth—the perfect kingdom—would then arise, the other four, sinful and cruel, having been the Assyrian, Persian, Greek and Roman.

Among Christian advocates of Jewish restoration this mystic and conversionist strain has persisted, nor has it prevented many of them from utilizing practical, mundane measures for its realization. Perhaps the most distinguished champion of this sort was Sir Laurence Oliphant, who in 1879 tried vainly to obtain permission from the Turkish sovereign to establish a large Jewish settlement in Transjordan. Oliphant was encouraged by the Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli and the Foreign Minister Lord Salisbury. He devoted the last ten years of his life to the goal he cherished, traveling, writing, pleading and bringing help to Jewish settlers in Palestine as well as to the victims of czarist pogroms in Russia. Three decades before Oliphant another devout Christian, the theologian Arthur Hollingsworth, wrote eloquent pleas for the reinstatement of the Jews in Palestine, "where the Jew can feel the deathless energies of his race and the high destinies of his future." He cited "the prophetic evidence for the restitution of Palestine to the Jews" and urged that the Jewish state be put under British protection.

§ 5

Throughout the nineteenth century, and long before Herzl sounded his call, Britain produced a distinguished line of Christian champions of national Jewish restoration many of whom, though animated by humanitarian zeal, were not blind to the advantages

which Britain might derive from an intimate association with such an enterprise. Apparently the possibility of a clash between the goal of Jewish national restoration and British imperial interests did not occur to them. There was the high-minded Colonel Henry Churchill, scion of the same clan which was to give the British Empire its great war leader in 1940. A century earlier Colonel Churchill entered the lists to champion the cause of Jewish national restoration. The over-ambitious Mehemet Ali had just been forced to relinquish Palestine, the "Eastern question" was in the forefront of international affairs, and the decent opinion of mankind had been outraged by the Damascus blood libel. Colonel Churchill, who was stationed in that city, wrote to Sir Moses Montefiore, the man who had taken the lead in exposing the libel, pleading for a large-scale effort for the "regeneration of Syria and Palestine" by the Jewish people. "I cannot conceal from you my most anxious desire," he wrote to Sir Moses, "to see your countrymen endeavor once more to resume their existence as a people." His pleas were fruitless. In London the Jewish Board of Deputies found itself "precluded" from taking any action in the matter, an attitude which it took that distinguished body a hundred years to modify!

In 1849 Colonel George Gawler, a governor of South Australia, after a visit to the Near East, urged England to promote Jewish resettlement in Palestine in order to safeguard her lines of communication and remove a threat to "British trade." About the same time E. L. Mitford, a civil servant stationed in Ceylon, called for a Jewish state in Palestine "under the guardianship of Great Britain," and the industrialist Sir Edward Cazalet urged a similar proposal some thirty years later.

But the most influential and outspoken British champion of Jewish national restoration, decades before Herzl, was the celebrated philanthropist and social reformer Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. His plan called for the protection of the proposed Jewish establishment by the great powers, and as early as 1840 he addressed the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, on the subject. His zeal was rewarded with a pale assurance of sympathy and with instructions to the newly established British Consulate in Jerusalem to extend its protection to the Jews. But Shaftesbury's interest in the greater scheme remained warm and vigorous. In 1876, speaking of "the crowning bond of union" between the Jewish people and Palestine, he declared: "This is not an artificial experiment: it is nature, and it is history!"

§ 6

The same year that Lord Shaftesbury spoke those inspired words, a novel was published in England which he may have read before he uttered them, for it is not necessary to strain one's hearing to detect in his words an echo of that book. It was George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, which is still the most moving plea that has ever been made for "the revival of the organic center" of the Jewish people. What passion and pathos the author poured into her plea! Her champion of a renewed national life for his people speaks:

There is a store of wisdom among us to found a new Jewish polity, grand, simple, just, like the old . . . Then our race shall have an organic center, a heart and brain to watch and guide and execute; the outraged Jew shall have a defense in the court of nations, as the outraged Englishman or American. And the world will gain as Israel gains. For there will be a community in the van of the East which carries the culture and the sympathies of every great nation in its bosom; and there will be a land set for the halting place of enmities, a neutral ground for the East as Belgium is for the West. Difficulties? I know there are difficulties. But let the spirit of divine achievement move in the great among our people and the work will begin . . . Let the central fire be kindled again, and the light will reach afar . . . The Messianic time is the time when Israel shall will the planting of the national Ensign . . . The Vision is there: it will be fulfilled.

Twenty years later Theodor Herzl wrote in the conclusion to his epoch-making *Judenstaat* words that also sound like an echo of George Eliot: "The Jews who will it, shall have a state of their own."

§ 7

But England was not the only country that produced Christian champions of Jewish national revival in Palestine. We have already had occasion to take note of Napoleon Bonaparte, who saw fit to assume that role, linking it, as did some of his English rivals, with strategic and imperial objectives. Another Frenchman who advocated the same cause was Ernest Laharanne, secretary of Napoleon's famous nephew Napoleon III, and still another was the novelist and playwright Alexandre Dumas fils (1824–1895), whose Daniel, a character in his play *La Femme de Claude*, makes a stirring appeal for a "fixed territorial fatherland" for his people.

Switzerland furnished an outstanding advocate in Jean Henri Dunant, the great humanitarian, founder of the Red Cross and guiding spirit of the Geneva Convention. He set up a "Syrian and Palestinian Colonization Society," and from 1863 to 1876 he labored in vain to arouse the leading Jewish organizations in Paris, Berlin and London to action. Those were the honeymoon years of Emancipation. The new anti-Semitism had not yet assumed menacing proportions, the vistas opened by Emancipation were broad and unclouded. Shall the former outcasts jeopardize the happy status they had achieved in the lands of the west by directing their energies to another land and exposing themselves to the charge of disloyalty and ingratitude?

§ 8

Those, then, were the principal Christian protagonists in the Old World who exerted themselves for the national restoration of the Jewish people before Herzl took the center of the arena. But there were Jewish advocates also who preceded him. In western Europe there were not many, and the influence they exerted was pathetically small. Their voices broke against the wall of indifference and misgivings of the emancipated. In eastern Europe, on the other hand, the fifteen years before the appearance of the *Judenstaat* witnessed, as we shall see, not only the emergence of many powerful champions of national rebirth but the rise of a sizable movement for its realization.

It must appear strange that before Herzl practically no Jewish voices were heard in behalf of this cause in England, unless the baptismal water with which Isaac Disraeli caused his thirteen-year-old son to be sprinkled should be ignored and Benjamin Disraeli be still regarded as a member of his people. Perhaps it was his separation from the Jewish community and its nervous inhibitions that enabled Benjamin to approach the Jewish problem with the same boldness and clarity that he applied to the other great issues with which he dealt. His attitude, at any rate, was unmistakable. It stemmed from a deep pride in his people's past and a conviction of their power to mold their own future, sentiments which found eloquent expression in his writings. Of course, there was Moses Montefiore, deeply revered in the Jewish world, whose exertions for his suffering people on three continents have shed the luster of a legend on a life that spanned more than a century (1784-1885). And the land of his people's past was dear to his heart, his interest in its welfare unflagging and fruitful. Sir Moses made seven journeys to Palestine, the last when he was

ninety years old, and his benefactions are still gratefully remembered. But Palestine in relation to his people was for him a problem in philanthropy, not in statesmanship. Toward the end of his days he is reported to have said: "Palestine must belong to the Jews, and Jerusalem is destined to become the seat of a Jewish Commonwealth," but so far as his program and labors were concerned, the political motive was not only absent but was carefully avoided.

The situation was not much better in France and Germany, but in each of them at least one Jewish voice was raised that rang clear and bold. They failed to get a wide hearing in their day, but their power grew after the movement launched by Herzl created an interest in the apostles who preceded him. In France it was the voice of Joseph Salvador, distinguished biblical scholar and historian, who called for the convocation of an international congress to bring about the redemption of the Jewish people on their ancient soil. From Germany came the pure and lofty voice of Moses Hess. Hess had collaborated in the socialist movement with Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Ferdinand Lassalle, but after the disillusionments of the Revolution of 1848, he took refuge in the capital of France, where free men could still breathe freely. He immersed himself in study and reflection on the destiny of his people, on their anomalous status among the nations and on their immemorial hopes, now growing dim in the dubious light of Emancipation. Did Emancipation require his people to give up these hopes? If so, he advised his generation to reject it, as not worth the price. Jewish national restoration, he concluded, was a necessity not only for the Jewish people but for the world. The Italian *Risorgimento* was being hailed by the liberal and progressive forces of Europe who, for the sake of a better world, championed the right of nations to a free life of their own. If the Italians were entitled to national freedom, why not the Jews? If the liberation of Rome was an act of historic justice, why not the liberation of Jerusalem?

Hess embodied his thoughts in a little book which he called *Rome and Jerusalem, the Latest National Question*. But the voice that echoes from its pages is the voice of a prophetic idealist rather than of a statesman and leader of men. Hess deals with the urgent Jewish questions of his day: Emancipation, anti-Semitism, the Reform movement, the doctrine of the Jewish mission. But he considers them, as it were, *sub specie aeternitatis*. He examines them in the light of his own philosophy of history—a philosophy that rejects the merely rationalist approach to human problems—and in the light of what he regards as the eternal Jewish values. Time has vindicated nearly all his con-

clusions, but when *Rome and Jerusalem* appeared in 1862 it received scant notice, except for the derision with which it was met by leaders of the Reform movement. In time, however, *Rome and Jerusalem* became a Zionist classic.

It was not until 1901 that Theodor Herzl read Moses Hess. "I was delighted and uplifted by him," Herzl records in his diaries. "What a lofty and noble spirit! All I aimed at is already to be found in him." And after the Movement had grown and produced its different groupings, its Socialist wing found in Moses Hess a major source of inspiration.

§ 9

Between the west, where the forerunners of Herzl were few and unhonored, and the east, where they were many and won numerous followers, lay a zone represented principally by Prussia, where at least two important advocates made their appearance. Serving as a bridge between two worlds, they managed to convey to the complacent west some of the urgency that stirred their coreligionists in the east. There was Isaac Ruelf, rabbi and philosopher in the border city of Memel, director of an underground by which victims of czarist persecution escaped into Germany, and author of the stirring appeal *Aruchat bat Ami* (Healing of the Daughter of My People). Ruelf was a disciple of Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, whose role as intermediary between east and west was even more important. Kalischer is important also as the first Orthodox rabbi of eminence who found religious sanction for the application of human effort to bring about the return to Zion. And Kalischer was not only a theorist but a man of action. His pamphlet *Derishat Zion* (Quest of Zion), which appeared in 1862, contains definite proposals for the colonization of Palestine and stimulated Charles Netter, acting on behalf of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* of Paris, to establish the Mikveh Israel Agricultural School, the first institution of its kind to be founded in Palestine. Kalischer collaborated in the organization of a "Society for the Colonization of Palestine," and took part in an attempt to plant a settlement near the Sea of Galilee. For forty years he was rabbi in the city of Thorn in Prussia and, faithful to the command of the ancient sages, he served without salary, deriving his livelihood from a shop kept by his wife, "a woman of valor" as portrayed in glowing colors in the Book of Proverbs.*

* Chapter XXI, 10-31.

Chapter IV: NEW WORLD HARBINGERS

BEFORE COMPLETING our journey from west to east across Europe, let us turn to the fast-growing community in America where east and west dwelt side by side. In the weekday thoughts of the vast majority of that aggregation, redemption had no relation to the ancient hope of national restoration. For the earlier arrivals among them redemption was already an accomplished fact; they had found it in the great land of equality and plenty. For the later arrivals it meant first the attainment of economic security, a goal that demanded all their energies, and for many of them it stood for the emancipation of all mankind from "oppression and exploitation." Of course, the ancient symbols and prayers, to which great and growing numbers were attached, spoke eloquently of another redemption, but that was something unrelated to the daily struggle, something remote and almost unreal. It was relegated to a higher will and to "the end of days."

§ 2

But in every land and generation there were some to whom the ancient hope was more than a vague and impersonal promise. They were the mystics who were always hearing the footsteps of the Messiah or, in a more realistic age, they were those who reverted to that hope whenever the woes of their people seemed to demand more than protests and eleemosynary gestures. They were the restless spirits who refused to make peace with a long-standing wrong, and they were spurred rather than dismayed by high and arduous enterprise.

It was no accident, perhaps, that two and a half centuries after Joseph Nassi strove to bring his people back to the soil of Palestine, it should have been the bold and exuberant land of the New World that produced the first man who followed in his footsteps. Mordecai Manuel Noah's character was as complex as his career was kaleidoscopic, but there is no doubt that, addicted though he was to dramatic

gestures, his purpose to reestablish his people as a nation was passionate and abiding, and his basic approach was realistic. This scion of the early Sephardic immigrants to America has every right to be numbered among the precursors of Theodor Herzl.

He was twenty-eight when in 1813 he was appointed United States consul to Tunis in the Barbary states, but that was only one incident in a colorful career in which he figured also as journalist, dramatist, lawyer and public official. He served as High Sheriff of New York, Surveyor of the Port of New York and Judge of the New York Court of Sessions. He edited newspapers, wrote successful plays and fought a number of duels. He achieved distinction in all his enterprises, and seemed to thrive on opposition and obstacles. But closest to his heart was the ambition to put an end to his people's homelessness. One of his aims in accepting the difficult assignment in Tunis was to obtain "the most authentic information in relation to the situation, character, resources and numerical forces of the Jews in Barbary." Apparently simmering in his mind was the vague notion of a descent by a Jewish army on Palestine to wrest it from the enfeebled grasp of the sultan.

But Noah's quixotic brain conceived of a strange and dramatic detour. In 1825, with the help of friends, he purchased Grand Island in the Niagara River near the frontier village of Buffalo, and issued a manifesto to the Jews of the world to come and settle there. In memory of the first dry spot where his namesake of the Bible had found a resting place during the Great Flood, Noah named his island "Ararat, a City of Refuge for the Jews." In September of that year he was the central figure of imposing dedication exercises which took place in Buffalo. But that ceremony, alas, marked the end as well as the beginning of the romantic undertaking.

It should be stressed, however, that Noah's diversion to "Ararat" did not mean the renunciation of the hope of ultimate restoration in Palestine. "In calling the Jews together under the protection of the American constitution and laws," said he in the course of the address he delivered at the dedication, ". . . it is proper for me to state that this asylum is temporary and provisionary. The Jews never should and never will relinquish the just hope of regaining possession of their ancient heritage." It would be a mistake, also, to suppose that with the Grand Island scheme he was merely indulging his penchant for the spectacular. Noah was persuaded that the island, situated near the Great Lakes and the Erie Canal, could be developed into an important commercial center, and, further, that his "city of refuge" might be-

come a useful proving ground for the eventual establishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine. It was to be a curtain raiser for the great drama that was to follow.

§ 3

Nor was Noah's zeal in the cause of his people's redemption quenched by the collapse of the "Ararat" enterprise. It must be remembered that in his lifetime—he died in 1851—America was not yet, as it was in 1881, brought up close to the miseries which the persecutors of Russia and Rumania were inflicting upon their Jews. It required a mind of more than usual sensitivity to feel their sorrows and share their hopes, for what is so true about other people's sufferings as the old adage "Out of sight, out of mind"? Noah did not put the plight of his afflicted people out of his mind. He continued to plead their cause, and in 1844, almost twenty years after the Grand Island incident, he delivered a notable address to a Christian congregation in Philadelphia, which was reprinted and widely circulated under the title of "Discourse on the Restoration of the Jews." He spoke of Palestine as "reverting to its legitimate proprietors," of the Land of Israel as "passing once more into the possession of the descendants of Abraham." He saw its ports humming with commerce, its fields yielding abundant harvests. "This is our destiny!" he declared. "Every attempt to colonize the Jews in other countries has failed. Their eye has steadily rested on their own beloved Jerusalem, and they have said: 'The time will come, the promise will be fulfilled.'"

Some twenty-five years earlier Noah had laid his hopes and convictions before two former presidents of the country, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Adams wrote him: "I really wish the Jews again in Judea an independent nation," and he added the further wish that "your nation may be admitted to all the privileges of citizens in every part of the world." From Jefferson he received a long and noteworthy letter. Besides commending the views of the young enthusiast, the sage of Monticello sounded a remarkable warning against the complacent assurance of the apostles of Emancipation. It was profound and prophetic, and somewhat paradoxical as coming from the foremost exponent of a political philosophy that rested on faith in the judgment and good will of the common man. We may be "free by law," he wrote, "and yet not so in practice. Public opinion erects itself into an Inquisition and exercises its office with as much fanaticism as fans the flames of an auto-da-fé." Jefferson evolved these melancholy

conclusions out of the integrity and clarity of his intellect: he wrote those words long before civil equality had been conferred on the Jews of most of the lands of western Europe, and long before the emergence of the new anti-Semitism. Some seventy-five years later Theodor Herzl was to arrive at the same conclusions. Herzl had more than the courage and clarity of his intellect to lean upon; all around him rang the hue and cry of the populace calling for the reincarceration and even for the blood of those who had already been made "free by law."

§ 4

Three decades lay between the year when Noah died and the year 1881 when a profound change began in the composition of the Jewish community in America and when another bold and clear voice, that of Emma Lazarus, was heard calling upon the Jews to demand the restoration of their ancient patrimony. Interest in Palestine among Emma's coreligionists during the interval was not dormant, but it was a philanthropic interest: it aimed to bring relief to the destitute Jews living in the Holy Land. The leading promoter of this effort was Isaac Leeser (1806-1868), Bible scholar and preacher of Philadelphia, a man of distinguished parts and great energy, who is credited with having laid the foundation of what is today called Conservative Judaism. Leeser translated the Hebrew scriptures into English, served as preacher in the Mikveh Israel congregation of his city, organized philanthropic and educational institutions, and for twenty-five years published and edited *The Occident*, in its day the leading Jewish periodical in the English language. In *The Occident* he pleaded for the indigent Jews of Palestine, and in 1853 a relief society was organized for which the famous philanthropist Judah Touro left a bequest of \$60,000, in those days a very considerable sum.

But during these decades the efforts that proceeded from the United States with Palestine as their goal, efforts of which the impelling motive was not philanthropy but redemption, were made, curiously enough, not by Jews but by Christians. There were three such devout and brave undertakings which deserve a place in this chronicle.

In 1852 a man who called himself Michael Boaz Israel, living in Jerusalem, published an appeal for assistance in establishing an agricultural settlement in the storied valley of Rephaim near the Holy City, as part of a greater plan "to plant a new Palestine where the Jewish nation may live by industry, congregate and prosper." He ob-

tained support from Isaac Leeser, Judah Touro, Sir Moses Montefiore, Adolphe Crémieux and others. But fifty-four years earlier in Philadelphia Michael Boaz Israel had been christened Warder Cresson, the son of wealthy Quaker parents. Cresson became an ecstatic religious seeker. In 1844 he was appointed United States consul to Jerusalem, the first American consular officer ever sent to Palestine, and four years later he became a convert to Judaism and adopted his new name. His colony in the valley of Rephaim was not successful. Like many other colonization ventures, in Palestine and the world over, it succumbed to the twin foes of insufficient means and the hostility of man and nature. But of Warder Cresson, the mystic and convert, it can be said that he envisioned the future of Palestine in terms of the ancient covenant between God and the patriarchs.

About the same time another attempt to establish a settlement in Palestine was made by Clorinda S. Minor, the wife of a rich Philadelphia merchant, who believed that the Nazarene would come again if the faithful would settle in Palestine and live the simple agricultural life of the early Christians. In 1849 she visited Palestine and tried to establish a school to teach young Jews agriculture and trades; she sought funds for the project in America. Two years later she returned to Palestine with a group of enthusiasts who brought with them tents, implements and seed. They acquired a tract of land, now located within the confines of Tel Aviv, and named it Mount Hope. They plowed and planted, and for a time they prospered. "Our winter grains and vegetables," Mrs. Minor wrote to her friends in America, "are very fine, and the latter rains have been falling freely the last five days. The extensive wheat and barley flats present a lovely scene of waving verdure. The orange, lemon, apricot, almond, peach and apple trees . . . are in bloom, and the air is filled with their delicious perfume. The climate is delightful, and in our vicinity we have the constant and invigorating sea breezes." But the settlement's funds ran out, and Mrs. Minor's appeals for help remained unheeded. The settlers faced many hardships, including disease and the hostility of the Arabs. In 1855 Mrs. Minor died. For a year or two her son Charles attempted to carry on her work, but by 1857 Mount Hope was deserted.

Nearly a decade later, on September 22, 1866, a sixty-ton vessel bearing more than 150 American pilgrims cast anchor off the city of Jaffa. Most of them hailed from Maine, and they included farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths and tradesmen. They were led by a clergyman named Adams, and the impulse that urged them to Palestine was messianic. They disavowed any missionary purpose, but they expected a

speedy ingathering of all the Jews into the Holy Land, which would be followed by the second coming of Jesus. Their immediate aim was to establish an agricultural settlement, and the American vice-consul purchased a tract of land for them just north of Jaffa. But they were unable to adjust themselves to the climate of the country, and many of them fell victim to disease. They suffered also from the hostility of their Arab neighbors who destroyed their crops. They carried on bravely for a time, but in the end the survivors were compelled to sell their possessions and abandon the project.

§ 5

What is so precious as a life of dignity and security, with the future untroubled by menace and a dreary past gone and forgotten? In 1881 the Jews of America—there must have been a quarter of a million of them—were perhaps the happiest community in the long history of the Dispersion. They lived in a land of boundless horizons, and they were part of a people that had its face turned to the future, not the past. Not for them the feverish hopes, the humiliating toils and the dubious triumphs of Emancipation. Not for them that indestructible ghost of the Middle Ages, the hideous blood libel, nor the jeers of the vulgar or the sneers of the elegant. They had forgotten all that; they wanted nothing to remind them of it.

But history ruled otherwise. In the spring of that year a new czar inaugurated his reign in "Holy Russia" with a bloody orgy against his Jewish subjects—a wave of pogroms, elaborately prepared by the central authority, that swept across the southern provinces of the country for more than a year, bringing death and ruin to numerous communities in that portion of the suffocating Pale of Settlement. In great numbers the Jews of Russia began streaming towards the borders looking for an escape, and the great majority of them sought the fabled land across the ocean where so many of their people had already found asylum. They came and were received with sympathy and helpfulness, but they brought with them all that the others were anxious to forget: a vision of homelessness, humiliation and terror. And one of those who joined eagerly in the work of welcoming and aiding the refugees was the poetess Emma Lazarus, born in 1849 to a wealthy and cultured family of Sephardic descent.

But to Emma the newcomers were more than a horde of wretched fugitives who stirred her pity and challenged her humanity. She saw in them the descendants of a great and heroic race, a people with a glori-

ous past, who had given mankind its most precious possessions, its faith and ethical ideals. And she identified herself with them wholly and completely. Now she turned her back on the ivory tower of classic poetry in which she had been dwelling to sing of the heroic past of this people—her people—and of its hopes and longings. Emma Lazarus was not anxious to forget, she was anxious to remember. And, as was to happen to Theodor Herzl some fifteen years later, this young poetess, under the impact of a profound experience, soared up from the petty makeshift of asylums and shelters to the imperishable dream of national restoration.

In her earlier poetic work Emma Lazarus had not been a stranger to Jewish themes, but what had previously been a literary exercise now became a flaming passion. She paid glowing tribute to George Eliot "who did so much among the artists of our day towards elevating and ennobling the spirit of Jewish nationality," and concerning her persecuted people she wrote in 1883: "I am fully persuaded that all suggested solutions other than this of the Jewish problem are but temporary palliatives . . . They must establish an independent nationality." It had become customary to deplore in the newcomers what was called their "tribalism": were they not congregating in congested quarters in the large cities of the east? But Emma Lazarus wrote: "In defiance of the hostile construction that may be put upon my words, I do not hesitate to say that our national defect is that we are not 'tribal' enough; we have not sufficient solidarity to perceive that when the life and property of a Jew in the uttermost provinces of the Caucasus are attacked, the dignity of a Jew in free America is humiliated . . . Until we are all free, we are none of us free."

In the same year, 1883, appeared her *Songs of a Semite*, in which she castigates her people's enemies, the savage as well as the super-civilized. The martial note in these songs is particularly striking. Like the apostles of Zionism who were to come after her, like Theodor Herzl who was to proclaim "The Maccabees will rise again," she called for a resurgence of the spirit of the ancient heroes of Israel, of Joshua, Judas Maccabeus and Bar Kochba:

*O for Jerusalem's trumpet now
 To blow a blast of shattering power,
 To wake the sleepers high and low
 And rouse them to the urgent hour!
 No hand for vengeance—but to save
 A million naked swords should wave.*

*O deem not dead that martial fire,
 Say not the mystic flame is spent:
 With Moses' law and David's lyre
 Your ancient strength remains unbent.
 Let but an Ezra rise anew
 To lift the banner of the Jew!*

Thus sang Emma Lazarus in a song which she called *The Banner of the Jew*, and hardheaded realists must have smiled when they looked upon those to whom her call was addressed, a people in whom "that martial fire" after centuries of segregation and oppression seemed to be extinct. But in the crucible of time a day was in the making when the realists were to stop smiling and stand before the same people incredulous and amazed.

§ 6

The "mystic flame" that burned in Emma Lazarus went out with her premature death in 1887, but four years later a new harbinger of Jewish national redemption appeared in America. He was William E. Blackstone, a minister of the gospel of Oak Park, Illinois. Two years earlier he had visited Palestine and, as he reports, had "somewhat carefully studied the conditions of the Jews there and in Europe and America." His studies led him to come forward with a proposal which, as to aim and method, was conceived in practically the same bold and statesmanlike terms as, five years later, were to issue from the inspired pen of Theodor Herzl. Nor did Blackstone content himself only with the formulation of his plan; he also launched what might almost be called a movement, and put the leadership of America in every sphere of life on record in endorsement of his objective.

His studies in Palestine and Europe in 1889 had led him to the conclusion that "the project of restoring the autonomy and government of Palestine" to the Jews was "both feasible and politic." Two years later the tide of refugees from Russia rose higher as a result of the infamous "May Laws," which prohibited Jews from settling or acquiring property in the villages of the Pale, thus increasing the congestion and destitution in the towns and cities. A conference of Christians and Jews took place in Chicago, and on March 5, 1891 the Reverend Blackstone, as its chairman, presented a Memorial to Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, and James G. Blaine, his Secretary of State.

The text of the Memorial is interesting enough, but the signatures it bore are even more interesting. In his covering letter Blackstone stated that he did not seek "a multitude of signatures, but only representative names, and the cordial endorsement which the Memorial has received gives assurance that the signatures could be indefinitely multiplied." Apparently he sought signatures only in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore and Washington, the six leading cities of the country. The list included the mayors of the first five and the president of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia. It included the principal newspapers and periodicals of those cities, secular and religious, among them the *Times*, *Herald* and *World* of New York; the *Times*, *Tribune* and *Daily News* of Chicago; the *Globe*, *Herald* and *Traveller* of Boston; the *Ledger*, *Record* and *Enquirer* of Philadelphia; the *Post* and *Star* of Washington and many others. The list included jurists, clergymen, educators, financiers and industrial magnates. It included the Speaker of the House and the Chairman of its Committee on Foreign Affairs. Among the clergymen were the leading Catholic, Methodist, Episcopal and Presbyterian prelates. And some of the names of industrial and financial magnates, the giants of that age of industrial expansion, which are appended to the Memorial sound almost legendary today—names like J. Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., William Rockefeller, Cyrus W. Field, Russell Sage, Darwin R. James, Philip D. Armour and William E. Dodge.

"What shall be done for the Russian Jews?" are the opening words of the Blackstone Memorial. And after pointing out the gravity of the problem and the futility of other solutions, it asks: "Why not give Palestine back to them again? . . . Under their cultivation it was a remarkably fruitful land, sustaining millions of Israelites who industriously tilled its hillsides and valleys . . . A million of exiles by their terrible sufferings are piteously appealing to our sympathy, justice and humanity." And the Memorial concludes with an appeal to the President and his Secretary of State "to use their good offices and influence" with the governments of Europe, the Great Powers as well as the smaller powers, "to secure the holding, at an early date, of an international conference to consider the condition of the Israelites and their claims to Palestine as their ancient home."

Blackstone, no doubt, received a polite acknowledgment, and his Memorial was filed. Perhaps he did not fully realize that governments are not moved to take major action merely to satisfy the claims of justice and humanity. They are not, of course, indifferent to those

sentiments, they often extend relief to victims of disaster beyond their borders, and they have even been known to express indignation, in correct diplomatic terms, of course, over outrages committed by governments of other lands. But they do not seriously bestir themselves unless their own interests are involved. This vital lesson in political science had to be learned not only by Christian friends of Jewish restoration, but also by the Jews themselves.

Chapter V : "LOVERS OF ZION"

A GAINST THE countries of eastern Europe, especially those that lay under the scepter of the czars, the libertarian waves rolling in from the west had been breaking without effect. More than half the Jews of the world were concentrated in those realms, and they were hedged about by a brutal system of segregation, repression and persecution. It was a Jewish world on whose portals might well have been written the words of Dante: "All hope abandon, ye who enter here."

Not that the Jews of Russia had been unaffected by the Emancipation ferment of the west. Long before 1881, the year of pogroms and bitter awakening, as early, in fact, as the reign of the "iron czar" Nicholas I (1825-1855), they had heard that a new day was dawning for their brothers in the lands of "civilization and culture," and the first timid sprouts of a movement appeared among them which aimed to entice the dawn to put in an appearance among them also. How was it to be accomplished? The answer was no secret, the recipe was well known. It had been prepared a hundred years earlier by the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), the "sage of Berlin" as he was called by Jews and Christians alike. It demanded the acceptance by the Jews of the culture of the lands in which they lived as a preliminary to the grant of civil equality and as proof that they intended to deserve it. In Russia it was summed up by the word "Russianization," which meant not only the adoption of the Russian language but carried, though more vaguely, certain other connotations, like the "secularization" of Jewish life, and the abandonment by the Jews of such "peculiarities" as their distinctive garb—the long coat, or caftan—and their earlocks. In the Polish province of the Russian Empire an analogous movement called for the adoption of Polish culture, and its adherents, rejecting the idea that they differed from Christian Poles in anything but religion, called themselves, with pathetic ingenuity, "Poles of the Mosaic persuasion."

Early in the reign of the "iron czar's" son, Alexander II (1855-

1881), the movement gained considerable momentum. It was greatly encouraged by the liberal reforms with which the new czar inaugurated his reign, reforms which included the emancipation of the Russian peasants from the medieval serfdom in which they were still held, and the establishment of provincial assemblies with power to share in the local government. A breeze from out of the liberal west seemed to be blowing through the cobwebs of "Holy Russia." Would it not also blow away the restrictions that were stifling the Jews of the Pale? Indeed, the Pale was gradually extended; members of certain categories—leading merchants, university graduates, apothecaries, dentists, artisans—were permitted to settle in cities outside the Pale. What could it mean but that the day of liberation was approaching? No time must be lost preparing for it and speeding its arrival.

Responding to the great hope and prospect, two movements arose among the Jews in Russia, their currents sometimes running together. The first was represented by the "Society for the Diffusion of Enlightenment among the Jews in Russia." It was organized in 1863 by men of wealth and influence, who gave liberally to promote a program of making Russian the language of the Jewish masses, helping them to become farmers and artisans, modernizing the education of the young and, in general, removing those "peculiarities" which, they persuaded themselves, were responsible for the disabilities from which their people suffered. The second was the movement known as *Haskalah*, the Hebrew word for "enlightenment." The *maskilim*, as its devotees were called, were also eager to "modernize" the Jews of Russia, but they were not willing to break entirely with the past. *Haskalah* adopted the Hebrew language as its vehicle and the rebirth of Hebrew literature as one of its goals, a literature which was to open the minds of the young to the beauties of nature and the wonders of European culture.

The *Haskalah* movement was never cast into the molds of an organization, but it exerted no small influence on a large portion of the Jewish youth. It produced many persuasive apostles, among them Abraham Dov Lebensohn and his son Micah Joseph, the latter a lyric poet of rare charm who awakened the lyre of Yehudah Halevi before he was cut off at the age of twenty-four; the novelist Abraham Mapu, whose Biblical romances opened a world of freedom and beauty on the drab horizons of the Pale; the clarion of the movement, the poet Judah Leib Gordon; and the satirical novelist Sholem Jacob Abramovitch, who wrote under the pen name of Mendele Mocher Seforim (Mendele the Bookseller). Except the last who preferred

Yiddish, the language of the masses, for most of his works, and a few, like the novelist Lev Levanda and the poet Simon Frug, who wrote in Russian, the *maskilim* wrote in Hebrew, and they trained the sacred tongue to secular uses, demanding the correction of communal abuses, pleading for modernism and celebrating the virtues of European “culture and progress.”

It cannot, however, be said that the *maskilim* won the confidence of the Jewish masses. By and large their influence, like that of Moses Mendelssohn and his disciples in the west, tended towards assimilation. Their entire approach was too facile and self-assured. They had no appreciation of the power and uses of the ancient sanctities, they often offended the religious sensibilities of the people and they seemed not to realize that there were two parties to the transaction called Emancipation, and that it was not enough to belabor only one of them.

§ 2

It was the year 1881 that brought them to their senses. The bloody pogroms jolted them off the primrose path of assimilation and swept them into a new surge that rose up among the Jews of Russia. It was a striving towards self-help and self-emancipation, a prelude to the greater movement launched sixteen years later by Theodor Herzl. Its name was *Chibat Zion* (Love of Zion) and its adherents called themselves *Chovevei Zion* (Lovers of Zion). Its ultimate objective, of course, was the restoration of Jewish national life in Palestine; it did not, however, produce anything like a messianic ferment among the masses of the people. It made its mark, rather, among the elite—the students in the universities and the middle-class intellectuals. But it did produce a sizable contingent who took the decisive step of migrating to Palestine to colonize its waste places, and it developed a body of adherents organized into societies to provide support to the colonists. The emigrant contingent was not less heroic because its numbers were comparatively small. From the broad stream of migration which flowed westward to America, the land of freedom and abundance, a tiny rill disengaged itself and flowed eastward, to the land of ancient glory but present hardships and perils.

Among the emigrants was a body of “shocktroops” known as BILU, a name which has become illustrious in the annals of the Restoration movement. The name is compounded of the initials of the words meaning “House of Jacob, come and let us go,” in the fifth

verse of the second chapter of Isaiah. Most of the BILUIM were university students, young men and women who renounced their careers and set out for Palestine armed only with faith and enthusiasm.

In November 1884 thirty-four delegates representing most of the *Chovevei Zion* societies in Russia, Rumania and Galicia met in conference in the city of Kattowitz in Silesia. They federated and chose for their president an elderly physician, a former "Russianizer" named Leon Pinsker, and for their secretary a repentant *maskil*, the Hebrew writer Moses Leib Lillienblum.

§ 3

Leon Pinsker and Moses Leib Lillienblum had drunk deep at the fount of "enlightenment" and were among the many who were pulled up sharp by the bloody orgy in the spring of 1881. Lillienblum had been the typical *maskil*, and had gone through a cycle of spiritual struggle and change which brought him finally to the conviction that there was no other way for his people but a return to their ancient homeland. Pinsker had been the typical "Russianizer." He too had gone through that cycle, but in this chronicle Pinsker occupies a place of special importance, for if we are to choose the two leading precursors of Herzl and name Moses Hess as one of them, the other would be Leon Pinsker.

↘ It was not because Pinsker became the leader of *Chibat Zion* that he holds his place in our story. Indeed, Pinsker lacked the qualities that are essential in a great leader of men: personal magnetism, dynamic energy, resourcefulness and the ability to compromise with men and events without impairing his basic objectives. He was a man of stainless character, lofty idealism and deep convictions, but he was unable to cope with the external forces that impeded the movement, nor with the internal conflicts that bedeviled it. Pinsker was not a great leader but a great apostle, and he owes his place in the story of Zionism to his *Auto-Emancipation*, a pamphlet which appeared two years before the delegates at the Kattowitz Conference chose him to lead their cause.

Pinsker wrote his pamphlet in German and published it in Berlin. He hoped to persuade the Jews of the west, those who had wealth and influence, to launch the great enterprise of national restoration. The west met his appeal with indifference or ridicule, but when *Auto-Emancipation* became known in Russia, the Lovers of Zion, and Lillienblum in particular, were ready to believe that the leader for whom

the movement was waiting had at last arrived. Herzl did not read the pamphlet until shortly after the appearance of his *Judenstaat*, and he records in his Diaries the “startling” impression it made on him. He was amazed by the similarities, in its critical as well as its constructive aspects, between Pinsker’s work and his own. “It was better,” he adds, “that I was unacquainted with it. I might perhaps have dropped what I was doing.”

The conclusions to which Pinsker arrived in *Auto-Emancipation* were those to which so many of his contemporaries had already been driven, but he proclaimed and supported them with extraordinary force and clarity. The pamphlet is remarkable not only for its logic but for its passionate indignation against the tormentors of his helpless people, scorn against the mouthers of “humanity and enlightenment” and bitterness against the helpless who are too supine to help themselves. Its analysis of the position of the Jews among the nations is lucid and merciless. His was the physician’s approach to the problem; his diagnosis was as keen as his prescription was heroic.

Pinsker probes into the cancer of anti-Semitism and declares it incurable, the morbidity consisting of the fears, suspicions and hate aroused by something strange and mysterious: “the ghostlike apparition of a people without . . . land or other bond of union, no longer alive and yet moving about among the living.” It is not merely that the nations regard the Jews as strangers—the nations are accustomed to seeing people of other nationalities living among them; but while the others can be identified with some definite people and land somewhere on the face of the earth, the Jews cannot. The strangeness of the Jews is unique and disturbing, nor will the fears and antipathies it arouses yield to reason. “Prejudice, or intuitive ill-will, can be satisfied by no reasoning, however forceful or clear.” Nor will it be cured by the progress of “enlightenment.” The only remedy is “the creation of a Jewish nationality . . . living on its own soil” and having “the support of the governments.” Pinsker did not insist on Palestine; but in 1883, less than two years after the publication of his pamphlet, the author, having come into close contact with the men and women who were stirred by it, wrote in their name: “Let us obtain dry bread by the sweat of our brow on the sacred soil of our ancestors.”

By its very title *Auto-Emancipation* was a challenge and a summons. It challenged those whose dearest hope was to win legal equality in the lands where they lived, and it summoned his people to stand up and emancipate themselves.

§ 4

Mazkeret Moshe (Souvenir of Moses) was the quaint name which, at Pinsker's suggestion, the delegates at the Kattowitz Conference chose for the union of societies they formed to promote the *Chibat Zion* movement. They adopted the name to honor the centenarian Moses Montefiore, and in the wistful hope that it would entice him to support their labors. The honor was received with appreciation, but the hope did not materialize. There was a political flavor about the activities of the eastern Europeans which was not to the taste of the revered philanthropist and his close advisers. The official name of the new body, long, clumsy and intended to dispel that flavor, was "Montefiore Association for the Promotion of Agriculture among Jews and Especially for the Support of the Jewish Colonies in Palestine." It established headquarters in Odessa, succeeded after prolonged exertions in obtaining the sanction of the czar's government and raised funds for the support of colonization in Palestine. But the sums it obtained were inconsiderable and far from sufficient, and in spite of the Kattowitz Conference and others that followed, *Chibat Zion* failed to become a dynamic international movement. Perhaps it was because its leaders feared to reach out for the stars; they shrank from the bold formula "Jewish State"; they raised no standard capable of stirring the imagination. It was also, no doubt, because *Chibat Zion* lacked a leader of great stature, one who could command not only the respect of his followers, as Pinsker undoubtedly did, but also their enthusiasm and devotion. The ingredients that were to enter into the magic brew were not yet assembled; the hour had not yet struck. For thirty-five years the "Odessa Committee," as the *Chibat Zion* headquarters in that city were called, struggled bravely against those handicaps as well as against the tensions that developed among its leaders, of which the conflict between the religious and the secular viewpoints was the most serious. In 1919 the Bolshevik regime brought the existence of the Committee to an end.

§ 5

But the importance of the *Chibat Zion* movement, apart from the memorable role it played in the colonization of Palestine, must not be underestimated. It provided a wholesome outlet for the new insights and aspirations of the disillusioned *maskilim* and Russianizers, and it did the same for many of the Orthodox, men like Rabbi

Samuel Mohiliver of Bialystok and Naphtali Zvi Judah Berlin, the head of the renowned Yeshivah of Volozhin, for whom the resettlement of Palestine did not conflict with the coming of the Messiah. Its influence radiated in many directions and penetrated into other European lands: Rumania, Austria, Germany, France and England. In Rumania the movement developed considerable strength with thirty-two societies represented at a conference as early as 1882. In France it had the warm support of the Grand Rabbi Zadoc Kahn, and in England it was led by the picturesque and influential Colonel Albert Goldsmid. *Chibat Zion*, as we shall see, made its way also into the United States.

Directly and indirectly the “Love of Zion” movement acted as a strong lever on the intellectual leaders of the generation. It found enthusiasts among the Jewish students who were forced by the *numerus clausus* in Russia to seek education in Vienna, Berlin, Paris, Berne, Geneva and other university centers; and not a few of those who were to play leading roles in Zionism, men like Chaim Weizmann, Leo Motzkin, Shmaryah Levin, Nahum Syrkin and others, served their apprenticeship in the *Chibat Zion* student societies. Of these the most famous was *Kadimah*, a name meaning both “forward” and “eastward,” which was launched in 1882 in Vienna. *Kadimah* was inspired by Perez Smolenskin (1842-1885), an exalted spirit, author of *Am Olam* (An Eternal People), who was born in Russia but spent the last seventeen years of his short life in Vienna. He founded and edited the Hebrew periodical *Ha-shachar* (The Dawn), and championed the revival of the Hebrew language and the colonization of Palestine as the most important instruments of Jewish survival and regeneration. When Smolenskin died, Nathan Birnbaum (1864-1937) became the leader of *Kadimah*. Birnbaum was a man of restless temperament, and his spiritual pilgrimage led him over the years from an exuberant but secular nationalism to the most fervent and uncompromising orthodoxy.

§ 6

In America the atmosphere that prevailed in the eighties and early nineties among the swelling hosts of newcomers from eastern Europe was not propitious for a widespread interest in the restoration of the ancient motherland. The vast majority felt they had already found their Promised Land, and if the promise was not yet fulfilled, if economic security was still to be won, the incessant struggle for it

shut the door upon distant hopes and ventures. Nevertheless, the ferment among their brothers across the ocean did not leave them untouched. As early as 1882 a Lovers of Zion society sprang up in New York, followed by societies in Boston, Baltimore and Philadelphia. They were condemned by rabbis who charged them with attempting to force the hand of the Messiah, and they met scorn and ridicule from the radicals who saw in their efforts a diversion from the struggle for the Socialist millennium which they saw on the horizon.

Nevertheless, though small in compass, *Chibat Zion* in America was not without influential friends. The Yiddish press, a force growing steadily stronger as the influx from eastern Europe continued, generally supported it, and there were individuals in the older strata of the community who defied their environment and ranged themselves on its side. Among them were the Reverend H. Pereira Mendes of the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue, Raphael J. de Cordova, the eloquent lay preacher of Temple Emanu-El of New York, the Reverend Sabato Morais, founder and first president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the learned and courageous Rabbi Benjamin Szold of Baltimore, the distinguished physician Aaron Friedenwald of the same city, and Rabbi Aaron Wise of Temple Rodeph Shalom in New York. The last three contributed in their offspring even more than in their personal devotion. Friedenwald's son Harry, Szold's daughter Henrietta and Wise's son Stephen Samuel were destined to play leading roles in the greater movement by which *Chibat Zion* was succeeded.

But the most active promoters of *Chibat Zion* in America hailed from the "valley of tears" of eastern Europe, and among them the outstanding figure was the physician Joseph Isaac Bluestone. By 1890 he and his associates—the Hebrew and Yiddish lexicographer Alexander Harkavy, whose dictionaries helped thousands to master the language of their new country; the physician and writer Moses Mintz; the matzoh baker Meyer London, the merchant and manufacturer Joseph H. Cohen and others—were no longer content to be mere lovers of Zion, and they organized a society which they called *Shovei Zion*, "Returners to Zion."

After a number of years *Shovei Zion* sent two of its members to Palestine to acquire land for a settlement. A tract of land was duly purchased—it was located east of the Jordan and was part of the holdings of Baron Edmond de Rothschild—but the settlement did not materialize, for colonization is an undertaking vastly more complicated than "lovers" and even "returners" are likely to imagine. But in

August 1897, Adam Rosenberg, one of the emissaries from America, on his way back from Palestine, stopped in Switzerland and attended the most remarkable concourse of Jews that had come together since the Dispersion, the First Zionist Congress which was meeting in the city of Basel.

§ 7

The *Chibat Zion* movement prepared the minds of most of its adherents in all lands for the summons of Theodor Herzl, and not only in the student societies but in the Odessa Committee it served as a training ground for many of the leaders of the Movement which he launched. Two of them, Asher Ginsburg (1856-1927), better known by his pen name Achad Ha'am (One of the People), and Menahem Mendel Ussischkin (1863-1943), are of towering importance. Each became the impulse of a distinct current or school of thought and action.

Achad Ha'am rose to be the leading essayist in the Neo-Hebrew literature which the *Haskalah* and Restoration movements inspired, a stylist who fashioned the Hebrew language into an instrument of cameo precision, an elegant, almost prim figure, but a redoubtable dialectician. His essays expounded a philosophy that underscored the restoration of Palestine as a center for the preservation of the eternal values of Judaism, a spiritual powerhouse to quicken and preserve Jewish communities throughout the world rather than an asylum for the driven and harassed. Achad Ha'am became a member of the Odessa Committee, and in 1889, under the title of *Lo Zeh Haderech* (This Is Not the Way), he published a scathing criticism of its aims and methods in Palestine. All his basic doctrines are discernible in it, and they found acceptance among many of the intellectual elite who, at his behest, banded together into an esoteric fraternity under the name of *B'nai Moshe* (Sons of Moses) to safeguard the spiritual values of the movement. Not Jewry but Judaism, they held, was in peril, and the work of colonization must be based on the principle of quality rather than quantity, on slow but sound development rather than hurried and large-scale growth. Achad Ha'am took his views and his followers into the Zionist Movement and became the spokesman of what came to be known as spiritual or Cultural Zionism.

Menahem Mendel Ussischkin was a man of giant mold, a monolithic figure as his admirers called him. His training as an engineer reinforced an innate penchant for sober realism and an Olympian disdain for obstacles. In 1906, after an active association with *Chibat*

Zion from its inception, he was chosen president of the Odessa Committee. He and the others who labored in *Chibat Zion* were conditioned by the hard realities of upbuilding a new Jewish life on the soil of Palestine, and their thinking was in terms not of diplomacy and charters but of land and houses and plows. But if they disdained what they might call political sentimentalism, they were not, needless to say, lacking in sentiment, and the sentiment that dominated their lives was a passionate attachment to the land of their people's past. It was a devotion that brooked no compromise, and it rose up in arms against all proposals to divert the energies of the Movement to some land other than Palestine. From time to time such proposals were destined to be heard, and Ussischkin became their foremost opponent and the head of a faction that called itself *Zionei Zion*, meaning "Zionists of Zion," or Zionists par excellence.

Chapter VI : THE FIRST "WAVE"

BUT THE most important contribution of *Chibat Zion* to the restoration of Jewish nationhood was the immigration wave which it propelled into the ancient homeland. It was the First Aliyah (plural, Aliyot), the first "going up" of sizable groups of men and women to Palestine in modern times who went there not merely to meditate on its ancient glories and be laid finally in its sacred soil but to labor and build, and serve as vanguard for the army of reclamation and redemption which they were sure would follow them.

There were already some 25,000 Jews in the land when the First Aliyah started, nearly all of them living in the "four holy cities" of Jerusalem, Tiberias, Safed and Hebron, with the largest concentration in Jerusalem. But even more deplorable than the exclusively urban character of this community was its abject dependence on the *Chalukah*, the charity funds derived from the small gifts of the pious in all the lands of the Diaspora. It was a diversified community, and the different groups—Sephardim, Ashkenazim, Chassidim, Mitnagdim and others—each had its own Kolel or *Chalukah* organization, which sent out messengers to move the hearts of the pious with piteous appeals for the scholars and saints who were starving. In synagogues and homes across the continents stood tin boxes into which coins were dropped to relieve their distress and enable them to continue their study and devotions. It was a unique and profoundly moving charity. It brought no smug pride to the givers and inflicted no humiliation on the recipients. Were not they who were living this dedicated life a link between the people and the land, hostages to the great redemption which their piety was insuring and speeding?

Such was the attitude of the *Chalukah* givers and takers, but those for whom the restoration was primarily a work of agricultural and industrial upbuilding frowned upon the system, finding it to be the principal cause of the stagnation in which the community lay. Nor were the *Chovevei Zion* and the high-spirited young men and

women of BILU the only ones who found the *Chalukah* system a stigma and a snag; in Palestine itself there were some who were anxious to liberate themselves from it. Among the most active of these foes of *Chalukah* and advocates of colonization was Yehudah Alkali (1792-1878), who began as rabbi of Semlin in Hungary, the city of Herzl's paternal forebears, but spent most of his long life in Palestine and in journeys in Europe, laboring for what he considered his people's only hope—their national restoration—and demanding that the *Chalukah* pensioners leave the cities and go out and till the soil—a remarkable man whom no obstacles or failures could daunt.

As early as 1839 Moses Montefiore was petitioned by Jerusalem Jews to help them establish agricultural settlements, and in 1855 a group of them bought land not far from the city on which, many years later, the little colony of Motza was planted. In 1878 Palestine Jews, of whom the intrepid Joshua Stampfer was the leader, made a valiant attempt at colonization which was defeated by malaria and the hostility of Arab neighbors. They called their settlement, which lay just north of Jaffa, Petach Tikvah, meaning Gate of Hope. The "gate" had to be closed, but five years later it was reopened and Petach Tikvah continued to grow. In 1946, it was a thriving town with a population of 18,000. Thus the Old Yishuv, which included the *Chalukah* dependents, also contributed agricultural pioneers to the reclamation of the ancient land.

§ 2

But it was the *Chibat Zion* movement, spearheaded by BILU, that gave the first strong thrust to the modern colonization of Palestine. The BILU vanguard of the First Aliyah, which arrived in 1882, was armed not only with resolution but with an ideology of which a basic demand was productive labor and a return to the soil. The life of the redeemed nation must rest on a sound economy, and a sound economy rests on agriculture. Economic theory was fortified by nostalgia and national pride; reunion with the soil would heal the body and soul of the nation, and give the lie to its enemies who charged it with being fit only for the parasitic role of purveyors and middlemen. And there was still another ideal the BILUIM cherished: a cooperative society dedicated to the principles of social justice, "for that is the function of Israel in the land of Israel, the land of the prophets."

There were only some twenty of them in this vanguard, but they were confident that others would follow. They would establish a model

settlement of at least 300, out of which teachers and leaders for other groups would go forth until the land should be covered with Jewish villages. It was all so simple, and the necessary funds would, of course, be supplied by the *Chovevei Zion* Societies in Russia, Rumania and other lands. The hopes that inspired them, the principles that guided them, the obligations they assumed as a group and as individuals, they set forth in a solemn declaration before they landed from the rockstrewn harbor of Jaffa on August 11, 1882. It was a sort of "Mayflower Compact." Those pioneers of the colonization movement have, in fact, sometimes been called the "Jewish Pilgrim Fathers."

The next eight or nine years in the pilgrimage of these young idealists is a tale of physical privation and spiritual anguish, of hunger, sickness and neglect. Their only equipment was a passionate devotion to the ideal of national regeneration; everything else they lacked. They had no funds, no training in agriculture or for that matter in any sort of physical labor. They had no knowledge of the devious ways of their Arab neighbors and Turkish officialdom, and they had to contend with duplicity, open hostility and government chicanery. Even their idealism became a source of grief to them: it met with contempt and irritation from the bureaucrats on whose favor they depended. The BILU vanguard began by finding work in Mikveh Israel, the agricultural school which Charles Netter, acting for the *Alliance Israélite Française*, had established a dozen years earlier. The purpose of the school was to prepare trained agriculturists who would guide the return of the Jews to the soil of Palestine. That mission the school was not fulfilling; its administrators were giving their pupils everything except the love and devotion which would attach them to Palestine and enable them to overcome the temptations which other lands held out to them. Nor did the same administrators show any sympathy or respect for the soft-handed idealists from Russia.

After more than two years of waiting, hoping and toiling, the pioneers saw their dream on the threshold of fulfillment when they found an understanding patron and leader in the energetic and resourceful Yechiel Pinnes, who acquired a tract of land on the coastal plain between Jaffa and Gaza on which they settled. They named their colony Gederah, meaning "fence" or "rampart," but for years it proved no rampart against bad harvests, poverty, Arab hostility and official obstructionism. "We shall never forget the past winter because of the hunger we endured," writes one of the settlers, Chaim Chissin, in his diary. "We did not even eat our fill of dry bread. As for a cup of tea or a spoonful of soup, such luxuries we could allow ourselves only on

rare occasions." They were often on the brink of despair, but slowly and painfully, and with increasing help from the Odessa Committee, they forged ahead.

The climax of their struggle came in the early winter of 1889 in the form of a pitched battle with a large band of Arabs from two neighboring villages intent on destroying the settlement. The battle was fought on three successive days with elaborate but futile strategy on the part of the Arabs, and showers of stones with an admixture of rifle bullets. The defeat of that attempt appears to have been the turning point in the fortunes of Gederah. Two years later the colony had twenty families, with stone houses for all of them, and a troop of native children was growing up on the hard-won soil.

§ 3

On the third day of the battle between Gederah and its Arab neighbors reinforcements had come to the little band of BILUIM from two neighboring Jewish settlements, Rishon Lezion ("First in Zion") and Ekron. The first had been founded two years before Gederah, the second the year following. And there were still others: Ness Ziona, not far from Rishon, Yesod Hamaaleh in the far north near Lake Huleh, Zichron Yaakov in Samaria and Rosh Pinah in Upper Galilee, the last two established by pioneers from Rumania. It was not long, however, before the stark realities dashed the buoyant hopes with which the settlements started. Grain-growing, to which they principally applied themselves, required larger areas than they possessed, their needs multiplied, their funds became exhausted and the resources of the *Chovevei Zion* societies were woefully inadequate.

The settlements were saved by the princely generosity of a single man, Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris, who earned for himself the title of "Father of the Jewish Community of Palestine." He is estimated to have expended more than five million pounds aiding the existing settlements and establishing new ones. It was no ordinary philanthropy that animated the Baron. In him too, a monarch of finance, uplifted high above his persecuted coreligionists in eastern Europe, the love of Zion was very much alive. He looked forward to the day when the ancient land would harbor a large community of Jewish agriculturists, sturdy and self-dependent. But the Baron shrank from mass movements, public agitation and political programs. He was suspicious of resounding slogans like "solution of the Jewish prob-

lem" and "national restoration." To him it was all a problem of constructive philanthropy.

Together with his francs the Baron sent to Palestine expert agronomists and administrators who introduced changes, of which the most important was the shift of emphasis from grain-growing to viticulture. Before long the colonists produced good grape crops which they sold to the large wine cellars which the Baron had built in Rishon Lezion and Zichron Yaakov. The fear of imminent collapse was lifted from their shoulders, but its place was taken by another burden: the incubus of a narrow and unimaginative bureaucracy, with no sympathy for the larger goals of the colonization movement. It was a paternalism that numbed the initiative of the settlers and gave rise to resentment and dissension.

In 1900 the Baron transferred the administration of his colonies to the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), which was founded a decade earlier by another great financier and philanthropist, Baron Maurice de Hirsch of Hungary. Hirsch was eager to relieve the plight of his coreligionists in eastern Europe, but Palestine held no special place in his program. When he realized that the government of the czar did not intend that the problem of the Russian Jews should be solved in Russia, he made a bold but futile attempt to solve it by colonizing them in the New World, principally in Argentina. For Palestine a special agency, the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA) was created, and Hirsch gave it its start with a sum of fifteen million francs. Pica's objectives were to make the old settlements self-sustaining and to establish new ones.

Ten years before this transfer a number of additional colonies had been started under the spur of *Chibat Zion*, the most important being Rehovot, not far from Rishon Lezion, and Hadera on the coastal plain midway between Jaffa and Haifa. The site on which Hadera was founded proved a tragic mistake. It lay close to malaria-infested swamps, and the error cost many a young life before the fast-drinking eucalyptus tree, imported from Australia, was planted in Hadera and drained up the marshes.

§ 4

In 1897, when Theodor Herzl launched the daring enterprise about which the Rothschilds and Hirschs entertained so many misgivings, *Chibat Zion* had been in progress for fifteen years. Led by

the intellectuals to whom the movement gave a new anchorage after the debacle of 1881, it had gathered a fairly large number of enthusiasts in Russia and Rumania into a network of societies, with outposts in central and western Europe and across the ocean in America. It had sent a wave of immigrants into Palestine, variously estimated at twenty to thirty thousand, whose significant achievement was the planting of some fifteen agricultural settlements in different and strategic parts of the country. It gave birth to the BILU fraternity, small but important for its high spirit of national idealism. It brought to the fore a group of commanding personalities in the Diaspora, and in Palestine it served as training ground for not a few who were destined to play an important role in molding the body and spirit of the Yishuv—men like Israel Belkind, pioneer and educator; Joshua Hankin, foremost among the redeemers of the soil; Eliezer Rokeach, the real founder of Zichron Yaakov and Rosh Pinah; Yechiel Michel Pinnes, the wise guide and teacher; and the redoubtable Abraham Shapiro, dreaded and admired by Arab brigands and looters, who became a legend in his lifetime.

But there was also a debit side to the ledger. After fifteen years *Chibat Zion*, both in Palestine and the Diaspora, had lost a great deal of its original momentum. Not that the hope of redemption had waned in the hearts of the pious, or the ardor for national restoration had grown cold. On the contrary, the pressures which nourished the hope and the zeal had not abated; the savagery of the regimes in Russia and Rumania continued, and the anti-Semitism which hounded Emancipation in the west undermined the old faith in that panacea. It was simply that *Chibat Zion* appeared to be no answer to the longing for national redemption. In Russia the movement was bedeviled by dissension. The contingent led by Achad Ha'am, small but highly articulate, brought basic policies into question, nor were his opponents, led by Lillienblum, very gentle with his lofty doctrines of selection, or with his secret order of the elite, the *B'nai Moshe*. And there was religious dissension also. The Orthodox were not satisfied with the indifference to ritual which they found in the leaders of the organization, and maneuvered to gain control. And the gap between the critical needs of the colonies in Palestine and the resources which *Chibat Zion* commanded grew wider and wider.

Those needs, as we have seen, were not met by the Odessa Committee but by a secluded philanthropist in Paris, who rescued the colonies from their immediate distress, but did it at the expense of their initiative and higher purpose. That purpose was in grave danger of

being submerged. Even in Gederah the original *élan* became attenuated. The labor employed in the settlements was not Jewish but Arab, and the children of the colonists felt no attachment to the land. Was it reasonable to expect the ancient homeland to become Jewish again under a system of philanthropic paternalism and cheap native labor? That was the method of imperialism, which aims at the exploitation of foreign lands and people; it was not the method of restoring a people to its own land. For ultimately the soil of a land belongs not to the stewards or "gentleman farmers" but to those who actually till it.

Moreover, the entire structure of Jewish colonization in Palestine had no juridical foundation. Its growth—and without growth it was meaningless—was at the mercy of the whims of Turkish policy and the venality and chicanery of the local officials. Striking evidence of this lamentable situation was furnished in 1891. That year the First Aliyah, after having suffered a severe slump, received a new spurt as a result of the artificial prosperity of the Baron's colonies and a fresh hue and cry against the Jews in Russia, highlighted by their brutal expulsion from Moscow. The year before, the czar's government had legalized the *Chibat Zion* movement. Its prospects brightened considerably, and the Odessa Committee sent the young and popular Zeev Tiomkin to administer its affairs in Palestine. Now Jaffa took on the appearance of a boom town. Immigrants arrived in unprecedented numbers, bold plans were laid and important land transfers were about to be closed. Then the bubble burst. The Sublime Porte in Constantinople became alarmed. The sale of land to Jews was prohibited, and their entry into Palestine drastically restricted. The crisis that resulted brought immense financial losses, and many of the newcomers fled from the country. The precariousness of the Jewish position in Palestine, bereft as it was of legal security, stood exposed.

Among the "Lovers of Zion" the conviction grew that not in that way could the great goal of restoring a scattered people to its ancient land be realized. It was the way of small vision and smaller achievement, of begging and piddling, of bribing local officials and living in constant dread of sudden edicts from Constantinople. And none felt it more keenly than the students whom the *numerus clausus* had driven out of Russia to the universities of Austria, Switzerland and Germany. In Vienna the atmosphere into which they were thrown was especially provocative. On the one hand they were the targets of the ferocious anti-Semitism of their Teutonic fellow-students, which often expressed itself in physical violence. The Jewish students learned to

retaliate in kind; in fact, when they began to display an alarming skill with pistol and foil, the Teutons, assembled in a student congress in 1897, resolved that the Jews were not entitled to the "honorable satisfaction" of a duel. But the morbid hostility that surrounded the Jewish students naturally quickened their national consciousness and pride. On the other hand they felt the impact of the insistent demands for national rights by the ethnic groups that made up the patchwork empire of Francis Joseph. Did the Czechs and Ruthenians, the Poles and the Magyars, have a stronger claim to such rights than the Jews? Their own people, they felt, were equally entitled to a dignified place among the nations, and that meant national redemption, it meant Palestine. But something greater and bolder than *Chibat Zion* was necessary, something that would come before the world and demand international recognition of the right of the Jewish people to its ancient patrimony. It was about this time—in the early nineties—that Nathan Birnbaum coined the word "Zionism," which was destined to take the place of *Chibat Zion*.

Such were the thoughts and longings that agitated many of the Jewish students in Vienna, Czernowitz and Graz, in Berlin, Berne, Geneva and other cities. They stirred also in the hearts of thousands in the Pale of Russia and in the cities and towns of Rumania and Galicia. They found echoes in France and England and across the ocean among the recent arrivals in America. But great turning points in history must have great leaders; they are not the result of mass agitation alone. While the students in the universities were debating and dreaming, and the leaders of *Chibat Zion* in Odessa were wrestling with their problems and dissensions, an imperious mission hovered over the regal head of a man who was like an answer to all their prayers for a leader. In Paris Theodor Herzl was feverishly writing his *Judenstaat*.

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Part Two: THROES OF REDEMPTION

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Chapter VII : THE WORLD OF THEODOR HERZL

THE ILLUMINATION that came to Theodor Herzl in the spring of 1895 and produced his *Judenstaat* was like a flash of lightning in the electric storm known as the Dreyfus Affair that was sweeping over France. It transformed a polished intellectual into the leader of a quasi-messianic movement, it took a brilliant littérateur away from the path of a successful career and put him on a road that led him to glory and an early grave. What was it that the flash revealed? What was the plight of his people that impelled Herzl to so radical a solution?

§ 2

If there is such a thing as a collective memory it is a frail weed and requires a variety of mnemonic devices—feast days and fast days, monuments and symbols—to sustain it. Comparatively few of the present generation remember that it was only yesterday, so to speak, that the Jews of Europe were lifted to a footing of legal equality with other human beings. Through all the bleak centuries of the feudal Middle Ages and on into the modern period to the French Revolution, all Jews of Christian Europe were legal outcasts, burdened with a host of restrictions and disabilities, subject to the interests and whims of monarchs, nobles and town councils. In 1791 France in revolution was the first country in Europe to extend civil equality to Jews, but this act of emancipation, be it noted, was more a rational deduction from the philosophic premises of the Revolution than the outcome of a sincere desire to right a wrong. It was sufficient, however, to give rise to glowing hopes and boundless gratitude in the hearts of the emancipated.

In the five decades that followed there was more recession than progress in the emancipation of the Jews of western and central Europe. It was only in the later decades of the nineteenth century, those that followed the revolutionary surge of 1848–1849, that they achieved civil equality. In England Emancipation became a reality in 1858

when Lionel Rothschild took his seat in the House of Commons without having to swear "upon the true faith of a Christian." In France the process was completed in 1846 when the Supreme Court abolished that shameful vestige of the Middle Ages, the oath *more Judaico*, which was required of Jewish witnesses in legal proceedings. In Germany Bismarck's "blood and iron" unification of 1871 brought the Jews constitutional guarantees of equality, although the last vestiges of discrimination were not formally removed until after the First World War. In Italy the triumph of the *Risorgimento* or "Resurrection," also in 1871, meant the emancipation of the Jews throughout the peninsula, while in the dual kingdom of Austria-Hungary all legal disabilities came to an end with the *Ausgleich* of 1867.

Thus it may be affirmed that in 1895, the year of Herzl's illumination, the Jews in the lands of western and central Europe had lived for about a generation on a footing of legal equality with their Christian fellow-citizens. Not so, however, their brothers in eastern Europe—the Russian Empire and Rumania—who made up the large majority of the Dispersion. In Russia Nicholas II, the last of the czars, had only the year before mounted the throne, and in one of his first pronouncements he promised to "guard the principle of autocracy as firmly and uncompromisingly as it was guarded by my late and unforgettable father." His late and unforgettable father, Alexander III, had guarded it well, especially against the teeming masses of the suffocating Pale of Settlement, the victims of his pogroms and brutal expulsions; and his puny son Nicholas, whom a sardonic fate appointed to rule the storms of war and revolution which were destined to overwhelm him, tightened the old curbs against them and imposed new ones. In "Holy Russia" special laws and vicious administrative regulations reduced the millions of Jews to the status of pariahs and paupers, and terror in the form of pogroms and blood libels reinforced the policy of social ostracism and economic strangulation. Nor were the hundreds of thousands in Rumania less afflicted. There, by a time-honored legal fraud, the Jews were kept in the status of aliens, and the famous Article 44 of the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, which required Rumania to emancipate her Jews, was cynically and effectively nullified.

§ 3

But how did the precious boon of emancipation, the goal so eagerly but vainly sought by the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn and

the generation that followed him, the goal which the generation of Theodor Herzl had at long last attained, affect the Jews of Austria, Germany and France? Did legal equality bring them real equality? Did it bring them the dignity, security and equal opportunity which the constitutional enactments promised? Herzl's generation took these enactments seriously enough. Overnight, as it were, the children of the ghetto became thorough Europeans: in garb and speech, in loyalties and interests, in intellectual outlook. They sought the place in the life of the nations to which their talents and abilities seemed to entitle them, and with surprising speed they attained rank in the highest levels: in industry, commerce and finance; in the liberal professions; in science, literature and the arts, and even in politics and public service. The goal seemed to be in their grasp. The centuries of degradation that lay behind them were like a bad and forgotten dream.

But every Garden of Eden, alas, must have its serpent, and the serpent that reared its head in the garden of emancipation, not to lisp honeyed words but to spew hate and venom, was anti-Semitism. It was the old medieval serpent decked out in new colors and provided with a new motive and new energy. He emerged from the depths of the somber and yeasty mind of Germany, a Germany lifted to a new height of arrogance by victory in war and political unification, and coiled itself around the other countries of Europe, not excepting France, the cradle of "liberty, equality and fraternity," the authentic home of European civilization, the first emancipator of the Jews.

In Germany the old-new hatred was invested with an aura of "science" and metaphysics: Germany is not comfortable unless its greeds and lusts have the sanction of authority. In Germany men of "science," like Eugen Duehring, Heinrich von Treitschke and the Teutonized Briton Houston Stewart Chamberlain, joined hands with degenerate rabble-rousers like Adolf Stoecker, Hermann Ahlwardt and August Roehling, just as German philosophers, historians and physicians were to join hands with the mass-murderers in the concentration camps of the Second World War. German anti-Semitism created a jargon all its own, a solemn mumbo jumbo of phrases like "blood and soil," "the authentic German spirit" and "German destiny," catchwords which their Nazi successors summed up in the magic word "Aryan."

With the possible exception of Italy and the Scandinavian countries, where the Jews were too few to matter, there was not a land in Europe to which the poison distilled in Germany did not penetrate. It gave comfort and support to the sworn persecutors in Russia and

Rumania, it found welcome in the domains of Austria, especially its Polish province Galicia and its German capital Vienna, where unscrupulous demagogues like Karl Lueger became immensely popular. Even England, said the writer Israel Zangwill, who was to become one of Herzl's foremost collaborators, "was catching the epidemic which rages everywhere against the Jew." And in France the pollution which flowed from Germany fertilized the soil on which the scandalous Dreyfus Affair came to flower.

Into the minds of many of the emancipated the conviction began to force itself that Emancipation had not brought them the dignity and security for which they hoped. The Jewish problem in Europe was not solved. Ironically enough, the very success they achieved as Europeans, as contributors to the culture and weal of the nations, drew upon them the slings and arrows of the new anti-Semitism and turned their pride into wormwood. For there is no more bitter envy than that of the mediocre against the gifted, of those who fail against those who succeed, particularly if the gifted and successful are found to be "aliens and upstarts."

§ 4

No account of anti-Semitism, however thorough, can hope to present all its facets or uncover all its roots, so deep are they embedded in the dark recesses of the human psyche. But no account of it, however sketchy, may omit what may be called the scapegoat aspect of it. It is this aspect—its value in social and political struggles—which, perhaps more than any other, explains its wide range and incidence and the havoc it has wrought not only on its immediate victims but on the general body politic of nations. Whatever else the turbulent history of Europe in the last two generations teaches, it shows clearly that in the struggles on that unhappy continent between the old and the new, between the holders of privilege and those who rose up to challenge them, the first found in anti-Semitism a major instrument and ally. Is the social fabric worm-eaten with oppression and wrong, and seething with wrath and menace? Blame the Jews for the suffering and divert the wrath to their heads. Above all, identify your antagonist—his doctrines, his program, his following—with Jews, and you are sure to discredit him and all his works. And to make sure that the strategy functions smoothly, give every possible aid and comfort to the sworn anti-Semites, help them disseminate their slanders, encourage and subsidize them, for their success means your success. The

formula is simple, the method is inexpensive, the results are assured. The Jew is the natural scapegoat.

The method has proved efficacious in many circumstances and in many countries. The most disastrous use of it was, of course, made by Nazi Germany, but the Russian czars, especially Nicholas II, used it in their effort to stamp out revolution, and the great Bismarck himself found it useful in his struggle with the Social Democrats and National Liberals, both Socialism and liberalism being piously branded as Jewish fabrications. And in France the monarchists, the army and the church, who were eager to overthrow the Third Republic, another "Jewish fabrication," found in anti-Semitism a major ally.

§ 5

Such, then, was the lot of Herzl's people in Europe, of the emancipated in the west and the unemancipated in the east. Concerning the latter, it may at once be noted, Herzl knew little. He was, in particular, unacquainted with the inner life of those teeming masses, their spirit, tempered in suffering and dedication, which even pogroms and grinding poverty were unable to crush, the ferment that was already rife among them for self-help and self-redemption. And another large concentration had arisen of which Herzl knew even less, but which was destined to play a major role in the fulfillment of his vision. The community in America was growing by leaps and bounds. Of the three waves of immigration whose deposits went into its composition, the third, or "Russian," was still in full swing, the first having been the Spanish, or Sephardic, which began with the storm-tossed little group that arrived in New Amsterdam in 1654, and the second, the "German," consisting largely of political refugees who flocked to America after the failure of the revolutionary movements of 1848-1849. The stream of fugitives from czarist terror became a torrent in 1881, and by 1895, the year of Herzl's awakening, hundreds of thousands of them had already arrived, and the numerical strength of the Jewish community in the United States could not have been far short of a million souls.

§ 6

Among the large Jewish aggregations in the world the community in America was unique in several important respects. Socially, the three strata it comprised were practically isolated from each other, the third and latest being regarded by the other two as an object of

philanthropic interest and as something of a problem, the solution of which they saw in expediting the process of "Americanization." In their Judaism, the second or German stratum was largely Reform while the first and third were Orthodox. The Orthodox ritual of the aristocratic Sephardim and that of the Russian Ashkenazim, however, were far apart and could not narrow the social gap that divided them. But the widest gulf that separated the third stratum from the other two was economic. For the earlier arrivals the days of pack-peddling and petty trading were over and the time of affluence had arrived. The "Russians" were still groping and struggling, most of them flocking to the needle trades where they were victimized by the "sweating system," an Egyptian bondage from which their labor unions eventually liberated them.

Thrown suddenly into a new physical and cultural environment, these victims of centuries of oppression and heirs of an ancient culture did not find the transition easy, and it involved a more or less extended period of "ghetto" life in the big concentrations in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other large cities. But the process of adaptation went forward, a continuous exodus from the "ghettos" went hand in hand with the steady influx into them, and new communities sprouted and grew up in numerous cities, large and small, across the country. Former pliers of the needle and pressing iron became owners of factories; pushcart peddlers rose to be prosperous shopkeepers and large-scale merchandizers; and their children achieved success and renown in the arts and professions. Nor did the new environment submerge their own heritage of faith and culture. Their synagogues and temples rose in number and architectural quality; their organizational structure, with agencies devoted to economic and political as well as religious, philanthropic and cultural objectives, though without unified control, became richer and more complex; and there was an efflorescence in journalism, literature and the drama unrivaled by any other immigrant group in the American "melting pot."

§ 7

It was a fast-growing, highly diversified and amorphous aggregation which got news of the new ferment among their people on the continent they or their fathers had left behind them. The news reduced itself to a simple declarative sentence: A new messiah has appeared in Paris. But the feelings with which the news was received were extremely varied. They ranged from scorn and derision, not unmixed

with apprehension, to wistful hope and ardent enthusiasm. For the divers groups that made up the Jewish community in America had been conditioned by dissimilar historic and ideologic backgrounds to react differently to Doctor Herzl's startling prescription.

The least receptive, as a group, were the "Germans," the *Yahudim*,* as the more recent arrivals from eastern Europe called them, not without amused contempt. They were the Reform Jews who cherished two ideas, one political, the other theological, to which the proposal to establish a Jewish state was equally repugnant. Both were imported from the Old World. The first stemmed from the hopes and fears, and reflected the commitments and renunciations, that accompanied the grant or the expectation of Emancipation. No shadow of suspicion must be permitted to fall on the total identification of the emancipated or would-be emancipated with the country of which they had become or hoped to become equal citizens. The ubiquitous enemy, the anti-Semite, must not be given ground for the charge that they could or might transfer their allegiance to another state, that they harbored double loyalties. The idea was translated into theologic terms, and the result became one of the basic credos of Reform Judaism. It was the doctrine of the "Jewish mission," which rejected the Orthodox belief that the dispersal of the Jewish people was in punishment of their transgressions, and asserted that, on the contrary, God had scattered His people abroad among the nations to teach them the faith of Monotheism and to offer them an example of righteous living. Any attempt to reassemble the Jewish people was therefore in contravention of the divine will.

It was a formidable barrier of sentiments and convictions which the older and wealthier segment of the community in America raised against the movement launched by Herzl. Nor were the later arrivals, from whom the bulk of its initial adherents came, united in supporting it. There were large sections among them whose basic convictions, though of a wholly different stamp, proved equally hostile. Among the newcomers from Russia were those who called themselves radicals and cosmopolitans, and rejected anything that savored of nationalism or religious romanticism. And both of these heresies they discovered in the new movement. Their burden of ideas also came from the Old World—from the underground revolutionary movement in Russia, from the secret circles where the teachings of Marx and Lassalle,

* The word is a slight corruption of *Yehudim*, meaning Jews, which the "Germans" were thought to prefer to the shorter and presumably less dignified term.

Bakunin and Kropotkin, all heralding the advent of a universal and perfect society, were zealously cherished. Nor were these men mere dreamers and theorists. As writers and journalists, as leaders in the Jewish labor movement, they achieved influence with the victims of the sweatshop system, with the toiling masses whom they led in the frequent struggles against their employers.

Less vocal but not less stubborn was the hostility of another brand of mystic and visionary, that of the right. They were the rigid Orthodox who looked for redemption not to a messiah of the boulevards, but to Messiah son of David the King. For his coming they prayed every day, and his arrival would be marked by signs and wonders. The end of the exile was not to come about by human agency, it must not be forced by men's exertions; it would come in God's own time, in God's own way.

And between the visionaries of the right and the left stood those who refused to wait on a universal Utopia for the redemption of their people, and whose faith did not reject the legitimacy of human effort. Among them were not a few who were acquainted with the attempts at resettlement in Palestine since the early eighties, and amid the many problems with which they grappled in the new land, they heard of the bold dreamer in Paris with a mingling of incredulity and new hope.

Chapter VIII: THE *JUDENSTAAT*

THE ULTIMATE SPRINGS of human action are usually an insoluble riddle. What were they in the case of Theodor Herzl? His vision of a Jewish State appears to have taken definite shape under the impact of the Dreyfus tragedy, but that affair was not his first encounter with anti-Semitism, nor was his *Judenstaat* the first work in which he dealt with the "Jewish question," as the woes of his people were euphemistically summed up. It would have been strange had he been able to attain the age of thirty-four without being stung by the serpent which had coiled itself around the nations of Europe; such immunity was more likely to be enjoyed by a *maskil* in the Russian Pale, living his life in a ghettoized environment, than by a European intellectual moving in the glitter of the literary circles of Vienna and Paris.

In 1878, when Theodor (his Hebrew name was Benjamin Zeev) was eighteen years old, the Herzl family had moved from his native Budapest to Vienna, and six years later the University of Vienna awarded him the degree of Doctor of Laws. After practicing his profession for a year in the service of the state, he abandoned it for a literary career, impelled to take the risk not only by natural preference but by the realization that as a Jew he could not hope to rise to one of the higher posts in the state service. But on more than one occasion during his student years Herzl had been made acutely aware of his racial origin. Once in his early teens when he was still in the Technical School of Budapest, he was hurt to the quick by one of his teachers, who defined the term heathen as including "idolators, Mohammedans and Jews." In 1881, he read a bestseller of those days, *The Jewish Problem As a Problem of Race, Morals and Culture*, by Eugen Duehring, a "philosopher" of anti-Semitism, and one of the progenitors of the Nazi ideology. The book scandalized and frightened him. In those days young Herzl was finding comfort in the hope that the Jewish question would disappear in the merciful solvent of assimilation, but here was a ponderous scholar and "social scientist" who rejected the

Jews as racially and hopelessly inferior, and urged their total extrusion from the fabric of European society. "What are we to expect from the ignorant masses?" Herzl demands of the diary which he kept in those days. And early in 1883 he became involved in an incident which illuminates one of the key traits in his character—his imperious urge to action. For nearly two years he had been a member of the *Albia*, a student fraternity of elegant duelists, but two days after it associated itself with an anti-Semitic demonstration in the University, he sent in a dignified but scathing letter of resignation. "It must be clear to every decent person," he told them, "that under these circumstances, I cannot wish to retain my membership."

§ 2

As a writer it was not too long before Herzl achieved success. His plays found producers in Vienna, Berlin and Prague, his brilliant *feuilletons* gave him entry to many newspapers, and in 1891 came the prize he coveted most: the large and influential *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna made him its Paris correspondent. On his travels through western Europe during those years of rising success, the specter of anti-Semitism stood often at his elbow, and his *Judenschmerz* played a somber obbligato to his triumphs. "The Jewish question," he writes in the opening entry of the absorbing Diaries that cover the great years of his life, "lay in wait for me in every nook and corner." In Mayence on the Rhine where, eight hundred years earlier, the Crusaders had massacred his people, the "Hep! Hep!" was hurled at him as he stepped out of a music hall. That was the cry with which, it is said, the Jews were hunted down by the Crusaders, and as late as 1819 the same cry had resounded in the streets of German cities when "cultured" students and clerks wrecked Jewish shops and homes and assaulted their owners.* Once near Vienna an even more vulgar anti-Semitic epithet was flung at him. That hurt more, the Diary informs us: the incident took place on "home soil."

In the Paris of the early nineties the atmosphere was more salubrious. There, he felt, the "Jewish question" would relax its hold on him, he would be simply a dispassionate observer and reporter of the passing scene. But he was deluding himself: he was not one in whom a deep sense of injustice could ebb and die. It clamored for an outlet in action, and the different facets of his personality demanded it each in

* The origin of the cry is something of a mystery. As usually explained it consists of the initials of the Latin *Hierosolyma est perdita*, "Jerusalem is destroyed."

its own way: the literary artist, the enemy of vulgarity and sham, the champion of the wronged and helpless. In the fall of 1894 he was sure he had found the release for which he yearned. He wrote *The New Ghetto*, a play with definite autobiographic overtones, in which he exhibited the tragedy of the emancipated Jew, tormented, thwarted and finally destroyed by the new world that had admitted him without accepting him. He had a naïve notion of what the play would accomplish. "I have written it for a nation of anti-Semites," he wrote his friend Arthur Schnitzler in Vienna. "The play must be produced! It must speak from the stage! If this play reaches the world it will be my release." It was only three years later that the play was produced, and with marked success. But long before that time he had become aware that *The New Ghetto* would not liberate him. "There are greater songs asleep in these strings," he wrote to Schnitzler. "There is a whole springtide still within me, and some day it may break into bloom."

Those were to be songs not of words but of deeds.

§ 3

Immediately after the brief fever of composition during which he wrote *The New Ghetto*, Herzl was thrown into the greater fever of the Dreyfus Affair. A dispassionate reporter indeed! Here was a foul man-hunt staged in France, the land of "liberty, equality and fraternity," which made this "objective observer" feel that he himself was the quarry.

Towards the end of December 1894, Alfred Dreyfus, a captain of artillery attached to the general staff, was convicted by a secret court-martial of having sold military secrets to a foreign power, understood to be Germany, and sentenced to military degradation and life imprisonment. The evidence against him had been forged by the real culprits when they saw themselves on the brink of exposure. As a newspaper correspondent, Herzl had observed Dreyfus on a number of occasions, and he saw him finally at the grim and imposing ceremony enacted January 5, 1895 on the parade grounds of the Military Academy, where, in the presence of his brother officers and 5,000 troops drawn up in stiff formation, the insignia were torn from his uniform and his sword was broken. Herzl had become convinced, and not only by his bearing and protestations, that Dreyfus was innocent. Dreyfus was a man of ample means, his domestic life was serene, he was ambitious, he was competent and—he was a Jew. It was impossible, humanly and psychologically impossible, for Dreyfus to have

committed the crime of which he was convicted. But soon enough it became apparent that more was involved in the case than a tragic miscarriage of justice against an individual. The Dreyfus Affair became a symbol and a battle cry, about which gathered all the reactionary forces that were bent on overthrowing the Third Republic. And it was not alone the official phase of that grim ceremony that dismayed Herzl, it had an unofficial aspect also. The spectacle had attracted a throng of Parisians, who gave vent to their patriotic emotions with cries of "Death to the traitor! Death to the Jews!"

§ 4

The *Judenstaat* appeared in Vienna thirteen months later—in February 1896—and in the interval Herzl was absorbed not only in the throes of composition but in one attempt after another to gain converts for his startling proposal. His Diaries of those years, a monumental document, great for both its human and historic values, begin with an entry dated June 1895. "For some time," it says, "I have been engaged in a work of immeasurable greatness. I do not know if I shall complete it. It has the appearance of a stupendous dream, but for days and weeks it has absorbed me to the point of unconsciousness. It accompanies me wherever I go, it hovers over my ordinary conversation, looks over my shoulder during my ridiculously petty journalistic work, haunts and intoxicates me." The first title he chose for this work of "immeasurable greatness" was *The Promised Land*. He changed it to *The Jewish State*, no doubt because it was more explicit and more challenging.

What is remarkable about the *Judenstaat*, in view of the emotional stress under which it was written, is its restraint and objectivity. By a great act of will the statesman had apparently gained the upper hand over the poet. The work is a reasoned exposition of the grievous and ubiquitous Jewish question—grievous to the nations of Europe as well as to the Jews—and a clearly formulated plan, almost a blueprint, for its solution. He dissects the new anti-Semitism without fear or mercy, and in the same spirit appraises the grim prospects facing the Jews among the nations. "We are a people—one people," he asserts categorically, and a people, he adds, that will "not be left in peace."

A single sentence sums up his solution: "Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation; the rest we shall manage ourselves."

But he goes on to deal with the broad outlines of "the rest." A "Society of Jews" will be created and publicly recognized as the legal and political representative of the Jewish people, and a "Jewish Company" will be founded to serve as the financial and executive agent of the Society to implement its decisions. The grant of sovereignty over that "portion of the globe" will be made to the Society with the approval of the European powers. The process of colonization will be administered by the Jewish Company, and will proceed by organized and carefully controlled "local groups." But the grant of sovereignty, which was later to be designated as the "Charter," must precede all attempts at colonization, or the entire structure will rest on sand.

The character and operations of the Jewish Company are clearly outlined: its capitalization, its manner of liquidating the property of the emigrants, its functions in promoting the agriculture, industry and commerce of the new state, its labor policy, etc. "The seven-hour day," Herzl declares, "is the normal working day." He goes on to describe the emigration and colonization units, the "local groups." He is confident that "great exertions will hardly be necessary to spur on the Movement; anti-Semites will provide the requisite impetus." And he deals finally with the powers and functions of the Society of Jews. He defines its legal status and its relations with the governments of other states, and considers briefly some of the problems it will face, such as the Constitution of the state, its language, its legal system and even its flag. "I would suggest a white flag with seven gold stars," he states. "The white flag symbolizes our pure new life; the stars are the seven golden hours of the working day."

Only in the brief conclusion does the passion of the poet and warrior break through, and even there with careful restraint. The conclusion is an apology, a defense and an exhortation: an apology for the faults of omission and commission from which he knows his work suffers, a defense against some of the objections he foresees, and an exhortation to action. "It has never yet been possible: now it is possible!" he exclaims. And his final words take on wings:

And what glory awaits those who fight unselfishly for the cause!

Therefore I believe that a wonderful generation of Jews will spring into existence. The Maccabees will rise again.

Let me repeat once more my opening words: The Jews who will it shall have a state of their own.

We shall live at last as free men on our own soil, and die peacefully in our own homes.

The world will be liberated by our freedom, enriched by our wealth, magnified by our greatness.

And whatever we attempt to accomplish for our own welfare, will react powerfully and beneficently for the good of humanity.

"I do not remember ever writing anything in so exalted a mood as this book," he set down later in a thumbnail autobiography. "Heine said he heard the wings of an eagle fluttering over his head when he wrote certain verses. I felt I heard a similar sound when I wrote this book."

§ 5

"I feel that with the publication of this pamphlet my task is done," declared Herzl in his preface to the *Judenstaat*. He was deluding himself; his task had only just begun. He was not the man to find release in words alone. Fifteen years earlier, after attempting to make his career in jurisprudence, he had persuaded himself that his true vocation was literature, but in that too he was mistaken. Herzl was primarily the man of will and action. What he now created was not literature but life.

His task—his greater task—had in fact begun even before the publication of the *Judenstaat*. The enterprise, he felt, must be taken in hand not by a man like himself, an obscure journalist, but by a man of wealth, power and renown, one who had access to the ears of rulers and potentates, and whose name alone would stir the imagination of his people. Such a man was Baron Maurice de Hirsch, the international railroad builder and warm-hearted Jew, who was using his great wealth to relieve his suffering people in eastern Europe by attempting to colonize them in Argentina. Herzl would convert him to his greater plan: he would make him see that the Jewish tragedy was too immense and too sacred to be solved by philanthropy. He wrote the Baron asking for an appointment, and on June 2, 1895 the magnate and the poet met. The conversation was cordial and spirited, but Herzl's mission was a failure. "Fantastic," said the great man of affairs. A Jewish State? An empty dream—and dangerous besides. Less than a year later Herzl was to confide to his Diary: "This is the most important difference between my effect on the people and that of Baron de Hirsch: they beg from him, but they don't love him. I am loved by the beggars. That is why I am the stronger."

Without entirely despairing of Hirsch, Herzl had decided to turn to the Rothschild family in all the centers of their financial empire. He would show them how they could rear an immortal monument for themselves, and he would, besides, make them understand that only a Jewish State would insure them the retention of their wealth. So he composed what he called an *Address to the Rothschilds*. It was, in effect, the first draft of his *Judenstaat*, and he read it to Moritz Guedemann, the learned chief rabbi of Vienna, hoping that he in turn would bring it before Albert Rothschild of that city. Guedemann was deeply moved; he kissed Herzl and said: "Perhaps you are the one who has been called by God." But the *Address* was never read to the Rothschilds, and Herzl was to learn that the eminent rabbi and scholar could blow hot and cold. He wrote directly to Albert Rothschild and got no reply, and in his search for allies among the mighty he wrote to Bismarck, whose endorsement, although he was no longer Chancellor of the Reich, would have made a great impression. But he, too, remained silent. As for Herzl's friends, their reaction to his proposal had ranged from amusement to alarm; one of them implored him to consult a psychiatrist.

He returned to his own Vienna where he was met by the same blank stares and amused smiles. The *Neue Freie Presse*, of which he was still a staff member, would have nothing to do with his "obsession," and even refused to make mention of it in its columns. He was like a man in a nightmare, surrounded by familiar faces but not a sign of recognition from any of them. "I had to pass through a very serious crisis," he wrote later about this period of his life. "I can only compare it to plunging a red-hot body into cold water. Of course, if this body happens to be iron it comes out steel."

§ 6

That year of crisis (1895) had not ended, however, before Herzl did make a few important conquests. The first was Max Nordau (1849–1923), from whom, he reports, he met "lightning-like understanding." Nordau, who was eleven years older than Herzl, was also a native of Budapest, but being the son of a rabbi he had a more ample Jewish background and education. His profession, in which his standing was high and which he was practicing in Paris, was medicine, but he enjoyed even higher standing as a writer. His penetrating studies of the ills and shams of European culture—*Conventional Lies of Our*

Civilization, Paradoxes, Degeneration, and others—brought him worldwide renown, but he was content to be the follower of a man younger than himself and comparatively unknown. Nordau possessed the qualities of heart, intellect and imagination to be captivated by Herzl's daring vision, and to the end of his life he remained militantly faithful to Herzl's bold, political approach to the problem of his people's restoration, the approach that came to be called *Gross Zionismus*.

Another important figure whom Herzl had won over was the novelist Israel Zangwill (1864–1926), who was devoting his talents to depicting the comedies and tragedies of his people amid the bewilderments of their new life in England. His *Children of the Ghetto* and *King of the Schnorrers* had already appeared and given him a following wherever the English language was read. It was on Nordau's recommendation that Herzl journeyed to London, where he met and intrigued the skeptical young littérateur.

Herzl had met a number of other prominent British Jews on whom he made an impression. Among them was Colonel Albert Edward Goldsmid (1846–1904), a leader of the English *Chovevei Zion*. Goldsmid, the son of baptized parents, had returned to the Orthodox faith of his forefathers, and his wife, also a Christian of Jewish descent, had returned with him. The high drama of this return appealed greatly to Herzl the dramatist. He found an admiring listener also in the banker and member of Parliament, Samuel Montagu (1832–1917), later Lord Swaythling, also an Orthodox Jew and a *Chibat Zion* leader. Both men, Herzl records in his Diaries, were "thinking of a greater Palestine."

The influential London *Jewish Chronicle* had published an article by Herzl in which for the first time his ideas on the solution of the Jewish question appeared in print. In the British capital Herzl also addressed a dinner of The Maccabees, a society of the Jewish intellectual elite, who applauded him warmly and made him an honorary member. Perhaps he attached too much significance to these "triumphs." He was to find that there is a sad lag between admiration for a daring idea and self-identification with it. But compared to the frigidity that surrounded him in Vienna, London seemed almost to have opened its arms to him.

He had returned to Vienna, and against the advice of well-meaning friends, he arranged for the publication of his *Judenstaat*. Its appearance was the crossing of the Rubicon. His hand was now set to the plow, and there was to be no looking backward for him.

§ 7

There was an interval of eighteen months between the appearance of the *Judenstaat* and the next great landmark in the march of Zionism, the First Zionist Congress, which met in Basel on August 27, 1897. For Herzl they were months of feverish activity; for his cause they were a period when it faced a supreme test: would it command the devotion necessary to offset the hostility which it aroused?

The reception the *Judenstaat* met in western Europe ranged from indignation to derision. Who was this merchant of wild fancies come to disturb the delicate equilibrium of their lives, the emancipated asked? And the rabbis, not only Reform but many Orthodox also, who were privy to the plans of the Almighty, denounced the proposed ingathering of His people as an impious challenge to His purpose, a purpose which, needless to say, was conceived by the Reform and Orthodox in wholly different terms.

But even in eastern Europe there was not a little irritation and misgiving. *Chovevei Zion* leaders found grave and unforgivable faults in the *Judenstaat*: its failure even to mention the previous champions of Jewish national restoration, especially Hess, Pinsker and Smolenskin; its silence on the place of Hebrew culture and the Hebrew language, a silence that was particularly irksome to Achad Ha'am; its willingness to consider lands other than Palestine, and the absence in it of anything really new—to them. It was, they felt not without resentment, the work of one who was not of them; he came from another world, the de-Judaized Jewish world of the west. And they found the *Judenstaat* too precise, too rigid, too naïve. A state, they argued, is not built by a blueprint. And like the *Chibat Zion* leaders in western Europe, they feared the effect which vaulting political ambitions might have on the Sultan's government, and the measures it might take against the struggling Jewish colonies in Palestine.

But the doubts and misgivings of Achad Ha'am and other leaders of *Chibat Zion* were not shared by the bulk of their followers. What did it matter if an analysis of the *Judenstaat* revealed that it was guilty of omissions, that its approach to the colossal task of building a state was, so to speak, too programmatic? The mass of human beings, for better or worse, react to what touches their deepest longings, not with analysis but with synthesis. Intuitively the common man felt that the *Judenstaat* did contain something new, a new emphasis, a new grandeur and a new hope, and his response was immediate and unmistakable. It came not only from Russia and Rumania but from Galicia,

from the East End of London, from Palestine itself. It came in resolutions adopted by *Chovevei Zion* societies, and it came in petitions bearing thousands of signatures. Most eager and insistent were the student societies in the universities, with the Kadimah of Vienna in the lead. Herzl had issued a call to his people, now they issued a call to him. Go forward, they demanded, lead us and we will follow.

But Herzl still had doubts about his capacity for leadership. He still clung to the conviction that there were others who were better qualified: the great financiers and philanthropists, without whose wealth and influence the Charter on which the entire enterprise rested could not be secured. And he realized now that the land must be Palestine. The response from those who were eager to follow him left him in no doubt about it.

Herzl continued his efforts, therefore, to win over the men of wealth and influence. And he sought to obtain official assurances in Constantinople that, in exchange for the *quid pro quo*, the Charter would be forthcoming. Concretely, the *quid pro quo*, with which he lured the Sultan and his ministers, was the regulation and liquidation of the Turkish foreign debt so that Turkey would be rescued from the humiliating conditions, amounting to an invasion of its sovereignty, which the foreign creditors had imposed upon it.

In both these goals Herzl failed, and his failure with the nabobs was more egregious than his failure with the Sultan. In his quest for diplomatic support he even met with a number of important successes. In April 1897 he obtained an audience with the Duke of Baden, uncle of Wilhelm II, emperor of Germany, which paved the way for later audiences with the Kaiser himself, the ruler whose power in Europe was steadily rising and who had great influence with the Sultan. The Duke of Baden was completely won over. In June he journeyed to Constantinople, and although he was not received by the monarch himself, he talked to a number of his ministers, including the grand vizier. The following month he was received in audience by King Ferdinand of Bulgaria. The Charter, he felt, was a definite possibility: if only the magnates would play their part, the coveted prize could be won.

Again Herzl proceeded to England, the country where, he hoped, the "Society of Jews" would come into existence, and again he was received by the notables, and he addressed a dinner of The Macca-beans. But this time his reception by both was rather frigid. This young foreigner was no longer the glamorous poet and dreamer; he was making a big stir in the world. He and his scheme must be taken

seriously, demanding something which men always find hard: an attitude, a decision. Even the leaders of the *Chovevei Zion*, Colonel Goldsmid and Sir Samuel Montagu, were cool and wary. They did not share his disdain for philanthropy nor his aversion for colonization by the slow and stealthy method of infiltration.

Then came an interview in Paris with Edmond Rothschild, the head and front of philanthropy and infiltration, and it was altogether a lamentable encounter. There seemed to be no common ground for the two men to stand on. Herzl offered to step aside if the Baron would assume the leadership and conduct the enterprise of Jewish restoration along the lines laid down in his *Judenstaat*. The Baron's answer was an emphatic No. So the prospects of winning the goal by starting with the upper stratum faded and vanished. The only way left was to start from the bottom, to organize the masses. It was not the royal highway by which he had hoped to travel; it was to be a bitter and heartbreaking road.

In his journeys east and west during those months between the publication of the *Judenstaat* and the First Zionist Congress, the temper of the masses had become clearer to him. He had stopped in Sofia on his way to and from Constantinople, and the fervor of the throngs that came out to greet him had all the appearance of a messianic frenzy. In London, where the stiff-shirted notables greeted him with stiff bows and stiff smiles, a public meeting had been arranged for him, and the teeming humanity of Whitechapel had poured out for a glimpse of him, packing the hall, flooding the neighboring streets and lifting up their voices in a greeting that was also a benediction and a prayer.

Somewhere it had been decreed that Zionism was to be more than a financial and diplomatic enterprise. It was to be a deep surge of an ancient and long-suffering people, and he, Theodor Herzl, was to be not only its prophet but its leader.

Chapter IX : THE CONGRESS

HE WAS perhaps the only one who doubted his fitness to lead the Movement; all others saw in him the natural and chosen leader. For in every way—physically, intellectually and morally—he was superbly qualified for the post. “If,” wrote Richard Gottheil, the first president of the organized Zionists of America, “the term beautiful can be applied to a man without derogating his manhood, it can be used of Herzl.” In appearance he was a king among kings; tall and arrestingly handsome, the perfection of his features moderated by a black “Assyrian” beard. His bearing was not merely poised and assured, it was majestic. Some one said of him that “he touched kings and they became beggars, and he touched beggars and they became kings.” His intellect was like a foil in the hands of a master swordsman, and years of literary craftsmanship had trained him in the ready but disciplined use of its powers. And just as his mind was supple his will was inflexible. The urge to action in him was imperious; he recognized no dichotomy between vision and deed. Opposition seemed only to harden his resolution. He was proof even against ridicule, the meanest and most corrosive of all forms of opposition, the kind the Psalmist described as “the mocking of those that are at ease.”

This is how one of those who labored with him in the preparations for the First Congress in Basel saw him during those feverish days: “The whole world outside of the Congress had ceased to exist for him. He gave his attention to the minutest details of the work. He allowed nothing to escape him. He issued instructions and supervised their execution. And all this in a soft voice, with a friendly smile, yet so firmly that it occurred to no one to disobey or contradict.”*

* Quoted in *Theodor Herzl: A Biography* by Alex Bein, Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1940.

§ 2

The idea of a representative international congress to consider the plight of the Jewish people the world over and speed the resettlement work in Palestine had long been debated in *Chibat Zion* circles, and was especially popular among the student societies. It found expression in the writings of the earlier advocates of national redemption, including Alkalai and Pinsker, and in September 1893 and again two years later, the student societies of Berlin and Vienna even took preliminary action towards the convocation of a World Zionist Congress. But their effort bore no fruit; it found no support among the prominent *Chovevei Zion* leaders and it failed to produce a personality strong enough to rally the champions of the idea and defy its opponents.

To Edmond Rothschild and the *Chovevei Zion* leadership the idea of a world congress was disturbing. They had no use for the fanfare of publicity that would go with it, and the ill-considered words that might be spoken from its rostrum would, they feared, only hurt the work which they were promoting. They wanted nothing that might irritate official circles in Constantinople or alienate the emancipated in western Europe, who would be sure to regard an international Jewish gathering with political objectives as an aspersion on their patriotism and a dangerous weapon in the hands of the anti-Semites.

The grounds on which those fears were based may have been imaginary, but the fears themselves were undoubtedly real, and Herzl was willing to respect them until he was forced to turn to the anonymous multitude, for whose plight he was primarily concerned. "Organize the masses!" was the call he now addressed to his adherents in the capitals of Europe. In his own Vienna a group of men, including the engineer Johann Kremenetzky, the physician Moritz Schnirer, the lawyer Oser Kokesch and the distinguished Shakespearean scholar Leon Kellner, gathered around him and became his inner circle of devoted followers. Early in March 1897 these men came together with a few *Chovevei Zion* workers and decided to call a general congress to be held in the city of Munich.

But the precise character of the congress to be called remained undefined. Men like the writer Willi Bambus of Berlin, one of the few *Chovevei Zion* enthusiasts in Germany, thought of it only as a modest, "non-political" conference of pro-Palestine societies, like the one held at Kattowitz in 1884. Herzl's conception of it, on the other hand, was larger and bolder, and as the weeks passed it continued to grow. Nor

was it Herzl's political philosophy or his temperament that impelled him to favor a popular democratic movement. He had no implicit confidence in the wisdom of the masses; the sort of government he had proposed for his Jewish state, for example, was an aristocratic republic, a government of the elite, like that which Alexander Hamilton advocated for the American republic. Nor was Herzl by nature a man of the masses. He had a scrupulous regard for correct form, an aversion for the uncouth, and he was aware of the hazards that lay in a democratic assembly open to the eyes and ears of the world. But the logic of his basic premise—a Jewish state—reinforced by his experience with the high and exalted, was inexorable. He must go forward with the masses or come to a dead halt. And as for the hazards, he would face them and control them. All life was surrounded by hazards, and the greater an enterprise, the greater the dangers that attended it.

§ 3

In Herzl's mind the proposed congress became crystalized as "a forum . . . before which each one may be called upon to account for what he does or fails to do in Jewry." The challenge it presented to the men who figured as the leaders and benefactors of the Jewish people was unmistakable. "The direction of Jewish affairs," he declared in his call to the Congress, "must not be left to the will of individuals, no matter how well-intentioned they may be." It was a startling, a revolutionary summons. Through the long centuries of the Dispersion the defense of Jewish rights and the promotion of Jewish interests had lain in the hands of the *shtadlon*, the rich and well-connected mediator with backdoor access to potentates and officeholders, who, true enough, labored with zeal and sometimes at personal risk, but who owed no one an accounting. Were these delicate matters now to be entrusted to an international conflux of visionaries and demagogues? And were the nations, among whom the Jews hoped to achieve a quiet life as equal citizens, to be confronted with visible proof that the Jews regarded themselves as a separate people, a nation, with political aspirations of their own? But that was exactly what the anti-Semites were charging!

A formidable outcry rose up against the proposed congress. In England it was led by Hermann Adler, the chief rabbi of the Ashkenazic community, who declared Zionism an "egregious blunder." In Austria the attack was led by the same Moritz Guedemann who had once professed himself an ardent follower of Herzl. In Germany the

Reform rabbis, led by the eminent preacher Sigmund Maybaum, published a vehement denunciation of the "distortion . . . of the ideals of the confessors of the Jewish faith," and the Jewish community of Munich came out with an official protest against the selection of their city for the congress. There was opposition also among *Chovevei Zion* leaders in France, in England and even in Russia. What, they wondered, would happen to the struggling colonies in Palestine if all this commotion should alienate the support of Edmond Rothschild and other benefactors?

It was a staggering flood of opposition, but Herzl was neither dismayed nor silenced. He now had an organ of his own in which to clarify his aims and strike back at his opponents. The first number of *Die Welt*, a weekly publication which he set up with his own private means and which for more than seventeen years was to be the chief organ of the world movement, appeared in Vienna on June 9, 1897. His reply to the blast of the German rabbis, the *Protestrabbiner* as he called them, was annihilating. Why did these men, who were professionally dependent on the Jews and yet denied the existence of a Jewish people, meddle in its affairs? They were biting the hand that fed them. And what did they mean when they sermonized about Zion? Indeed, they meant anything but Zion!

As for the protest of the Jewish community of Munich, the city which had to be protected from defilement by a Zionist Congress and twenty-odd years later became the nursery of Nazism, the reply was more brief and direct. It was decided to hold the Congress in the Swiss city of Basel, and there on August 29, 1897, the memorable gathering was opened.

§ 4

Today, in the light of the events that have crowded the half-century that followed, it is apparent that the Congress was charged with destiny, but the fact is that many of the 200 and odd delegates who attended it also had an awareness that something momentous was being enacted. In August 1947 a gathering in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of that event took place in Jerusalem, and it was addressed by a few of the fifteen survivors of those 200. "It is difficult to evaluate an event of such unmeasurable greatness," said one of them, the eminent educator and historian Joseph Klausner. "Herzl created something that can hardly be expressed in words. Something totally new had come into being. And I must say that in the heart of every one of the 204 delegates there burned a spark of Herzl's fire."

They were a motley aggregation, those delegates, hailing from all the large and most of the small countries of Europe and from North Africa, America and Palestine. There were old and young among them, with students prominent among the young. There were bourgeois and socialists, Orthodox and unbelievers, and the languages they spoke were as diverse as their countries of origin. For the first time the Jewish Dispersion was gathered in a representative assembly, and what a strange miscellany they were! Could they be welded into disciplined unity and imbued with a single dynamic purpose? Would the Congress justify Herzl's pronouncement that "Zionism is the Jewish people on the march"? After three days of deliberation—August 29, 30 and 31—the question was answered, and the answer was a ringing affirmative. The Zionist Congress became the parliament of the Jewish people on the march toward national restoration.

§ 5

The Congress had its decorative or demonstrative phase and its practical one: it reflected Herzl's flair for the dramatic and his mastery of realities. But he was himself its chief asset and ornament. When, after the traditional benediction for solemn and festive occasions—"Blessed art Thou, Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who hast kept us alive, and preserved us, and brought us to this season"—he rose and stood, a regal figure, before the delegates, most of whom were seeing him for the first time, he was the object of a remarkable ovation. It expressed not only the yearning of a homeless people, but amazement, affection and pride.

Herzl's keynote address was brief and direct. "Our task is so great," he stated in his opening sentences, "that we may treat of it in none but the simplest terms." The "old, old hatred," as he called the new anti-Semitism, had drawn tighter the sagging bonds of Jewish solidarity and brought many Jews back under the ancestral roof. "For Zionism," he declared in a pronouncement that was destined to become a much-debated slogan, "is the return of the Jews to Judaism before their return to the Jewish land." He went on to indicate the two main tasks confronting the Congress: the formulation of a platform and the creation of an organization; for "our cause is too great to be left to the ambition or discretion of individuals; it must be elevated to the realm of the impersonal if it is to succeed." But he devoted the greater part of his address to a clarification of the state-building process as he understood it, emphasizing the primary necessity of securing a legal

foundation for it. He paid tribute to his predecessors who promoted agricultural settlement by Jews in Palestine and Argentina, "but," he added, "they spoke the first, not the last word of the Zionist Movement."

Herzl avoided the term "Jewish State," nor did it appear later in the text of the platform which the Congress adopted. The term was too provocative, and his purpose was to allay apprehensions and misgivings, not to intensify them. He was anxious, in particular, not to ruffle the Turks, whom talk of a Jewish State in Palestine would be sure to antagonize. Nor were those who might be irked by talk of a Jewish State the only ones he aimed to conciliate. He had also to steer a careful course between the Orthodox to whom Zionism was unthinkable except as a religious movement, and the moderns who wanted it strictly secular. And he sought to reassure those who feared the Congress might give grounds for the accusation that the Jews were hatching a secret conspiracy. "Let everyone see," he declared, "that Zionism . . . is an ethical, lawful, humanitarian movement, directed towards the long-yearned-for goal of our people." And his concluding words were: "Let the Congress be a source of welfare to the unhappy, of defiance to none, of honor to all Jewry. Let it be worthy of our past, the glory of which, though distant, is eternal!"

The effect of Herzl's opening address was to raise the Congress to a height which the delegates, especially those from eastern Europe, had not anticipated. What a difference between this imposing assembly and the Kattowitz Conference thirteen years earlier which many of them had attended! But the level of the assembly was lifted still higher by Max Nordau, who followed Herzl with an address in which he dealt with the situation of world Jewry at the close of the nineteenth century. It was not so much their outward status—legal, social and economic—which was his theme, but their inner tensions and sufferings, the spiritual havoc which Emancipation and the somber shadow which dogged it had wrought upon them. Except in England, he declared, the emancipation was purely formal, the result of legalistic logic and therefore unreal. Its inevitable aftermath was the new anti-Semitism, which aimed to nullify it. And he went on to describe the spiritual plight of the emancipated Jews of western Europe, the New Marranos, as he called them, who forsook their own people and were not accepted by any other. Nordau plunged his scalpel deep; his analysis was merciless and devastating. "The emancipated Jew," he declared, "has no sense of security in his human relations, he is timid with strangers, he is suspicious even of the secret feelings of his friends. He exhausts his best

powers in an effort to suppress or conceal his real character . . . He never has the satisfaction of appearing as he is, in all his thoughts and feelings. He becomes an inner cripple." And with equal ruthlessness Nordau went on to portray the humiliating and futile efforts of the emancipated to cope with anti-Semitism, efforts in the course of which the victims often went so far as to "imagine themselves in reality to be the physical and spiritual monstrosities which their mortal foes represent them to be," forgetting that their enemies do not concern themselves with facts, but obey a psychological law which makes "children, savages and vicious simpletons attribute their sufferings to persons and things for which they have an aversion."

Nordau was one of the foremost social psychologists of his day. He was, besides, a magnificent orator, and his authority and eloquence gave wings to a diagnosis of the inner tensions of the modern Jew and of the nature of anti-Semitism which has not been surpassed for penetration and boldness. The numerous volumes that have since been written on these themes are in effect only commentaries on Nordau's address to the First Zionist Congress.

§ 6

There followed a number of reports on the situation of the Jews in different countries, with the Czar's empire, where more than half the Jews of the world languished, conspicuously absent; the delegates from that benighted land had concluded that their people would be only further endangered by a public discussion of their plight. Then came an address by Nathan Birnbaum on the role which Zionism might play in revitalizing the cultural creativity of the Jewish people. The economist David Farbstein of Zurich then described the precarious economic foundation of Jewish life east and west, and the first day was over. Herzl had been elected president of the Congress and Nordau first vice-president.

The proceedings were conducted in German, that language being intelligible to delegates from eastern Europe by reason of its kinship to their own Yiddish. But among the secretaries there was one for Hebrew, the language which the followers of Achad Ha'am felt was being unpardonably neglected. He was the thirty-four-year-old Menahelem Ussischkin from Russia, who was destined to play a dominant role in the Movement. And there was also a secretary for English, the language in which the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate

were to be written. He was Jacob de Haas of London, who was to play a prominent part in the Movement in America.

It had been a great day, this first day of the First Zionist Congress, highlighted by the addresses of Herzl and Nordau, a day of "solemn assembly," a day that marked a turning point in the modern history of the Jewish people.

§ 7

Political Zionism as an organized movement was born at this Congress, and the two measures that brought it to life were the adoption of a platform and the creation of a world organization. The wording of the platform provoked a stormy debate; it was the first occasion when basic differences of approach among the delegates came into the open. On one side stood a group of delegates, led by the dynamic and youthful Leon Motzkin, a leader of the Jewish student colony in Berlin, who demanded a formulation which would leave no doubt that the Movement aimed to create a Jewish state resting on international sanctions. They took their stand on Herzl's *Judenstaat*, but Herzl himself did not stand with them. The responsible leader of a movement seeking to harmonize numerous viewpoints found it unwise to cling to the uncompromising vision of the prophet. He could not allow himself the luxury of strict logic; in nature and in life the straight line is not the shortest distance between two points. He had to reckon with delegates who feared the effects that might follow a demand for a state or an appeal to international sanctions on the colonies in Palestine, men like the veteran *Chibat Zion* leader Samuel Pinneles of Rumania, or the wary Willi Bambus of Berlin. And other delegates clung to the hope that the rich and influential magnates of the west might still be enticed into the Movement if its political overtones were judiciously muffled.

So the bold word "state" was sacrificed for the vague and sentimental "home" or "homeland," but on the question of legal security Motzkin and his fiery colleague Fabius Schach of Cologne insisted, against the opposition of Nordau and other "compromisers," on an explicit demand for international guarantees. It was Herzl himself who broke the deadlock. He suggested the phrase which has been translated "publicly recognized, legally secured," and it was adopted unanimously. Thus the Basel Program or Platform came into existence. It was a formulation which for somewhat more than fifty years—until

the State of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948—served as the formal bond that united the hosts of Zionism throughout the world.

In its first and basic statement the Platform declares that “the aim of Zionism is to create a publicly recognized, legally secured home for the Jewish people in Palestine.” It then sets down the following measures as the means of attaining this object:

1. The systematic promotion of the settlement of Palestine by Jewish farmers, laborers and artisans.
2. The organization of Jewry into local and general bodies in conformity with the laws of their respective countries.
3. The strengthening of Jewish sentiment and national consciousness.
4. The initiation of steps to obtain such government assents as may be necessary for achieving the aim of Zionism.

With the adoption of the Platform the road was clear for launching the world organization, the “Society of Jews,” as Herzl called it in the *Judenstaat*. But it was not to be a society of magnates or notables, but a worldwide democratic association, operating through representative organs, with supreme authority resting in the Congress. And the only qualifications for membership, which carried the right to vote for delegates to the Congress and to stand for election as a delegate, were adherence to the Basel Platform and the annual payment of a German mark or its nearest equivalent in the currencies of other countries. This small payment was given the name of *shekel*, a word which had Biblical associations and was to acquire additional significance as a symbol of the new hope and faith. Executive power was vested in an Actions Committee, which the delegates elected with Herzl as its president. Five of its twenty-three members, constituting the Inner Actions Committee, were residents of Vienna and were charged with the continuous direction of affairs. Thus the restoration project placed itself on a broad democratic basis. It was, so to speak, handed over to the entire Jewish people with all its classes and groupings, with all the diversities produced by long global dispersion, and with all the hazards which the democratic process entails. That, too, was an act of faith.

It was a faith that justified itself. For while the congresses that followed each other over the years became an arena that resounded with the clash of personalities and parties, the Movement went forward, while its democratic character kept its doors always open to new forces and fresh currents. Already in the First Congress the rumblings

of two major divisions made themselves heard. One of them was between those who maintained that legal and political guarantees must precede the work of colonization in Palestine, and those who insisted that colonization must continue without relaxation. The first were to be known later as "politicals," the second as "practicals." The other division sprang from basic differences on the question of education and culture; it drove a wedge between the Orthodox and the secularists. But Herzl was determined not to permit controversial issues to dim the brilliance of the first appearance of Zionism on the world arena, and he proved himself a consummate parliamentary tactician in accomplishing his aim.

Having created the "Society of Jews," or the World Zionist Organization, the First Congress did not ignore the other agency envisaged by Herzl in his *Judenstaat*, the "Jewish Company" or the financial instrument of the Movement. But action on the establishment of a bank was deferred to the succeeding Congress, and another proposal, the creation of a fund for the purchase of land in Palestine to remain the possession of the Jewish people, was also deferred. The second proposal came from Hermann Schapira, professor of mathematics in the University of Heidelberg, a spare little man already advanced in years, but one of the giant spirits of the assembly. He advocated still another great institution which was destined to come into being, a university of the Jewish people in Jerusalem. In his address to the delegates he called on them to rise and repeat the ancient oath: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning." It was one of the many unforgettable moments of the First Zionist Congress.

§ 8

The newborn movement was endowed by this Congress with two other important assets—a flag and a song. The song which won the ears and hearts of the delegates and became the anthem of the Movement was *Hatikvah*, "The Hope." The source of its melody, a haunting mixture of longing and triumph, is still in doubt; its lines were written by Naphtali Herz Imber, a Hebrew poet with some of the genius and foibles of Edgar Allan Poe. The design for the flag—broad stripes of blue and white with the Star of David in the center—is credited to David Wolffsohn, Herzl's most zealous collaborator, but Wolffsohn is said to have found the inspiration for it in the traditional prayer-shawl.

§ 9

The effect of this first world gathering of a long dispersed people, not only on those who witnessed it but on the millions who heard its echoes, was magical. Innate skeptics like Israel Zangwill were swept away by it. Leaders of *Chibat Zion*, who shook their heads ruefully when they read the *Judenstaat*, were profoundly impressed by it. Even a doubter like Achad Ha'am, to whom Herzl was an outsider and a stranger, spoke of "that great hour" when a broken people gathered from all lands, and "stood like brothers, their hearts overflowing with sacred emotion."

At the Jubilee Celebration of this Congress in August 1947, one of the speakers was David Ben Gurion who, seven months later, was to become the first Prime Minister of a reborn Jewish state. It was a time of extreme tension in Palestine; the atmosphere was charged with an intimation of something great and decisive. Ben Gurion quoted from the entry which Herzl made in his Diary after the Congress. "In Basel," Herzl had set down, "I founded the Jewish State." And the future Prime Minister added: "This was no outburst of enthusiasm on the part of a dreamer, but the expression of a profound historical intuition. On that day the Jewish State was indeed founded, for a state is founded first in the hearts of the people."

Chapter X : FRIENDS AND FOES

ASK NOW OF days past, which were before thee . . . whether there had been any such thing as this great thing is, or hath been heard like it? . . . Had God assayed to go and take Him a nation from the midst of another nation, by trials, by signs, and by wonders, and by war . . . and by a mighty hand and by an outstretched arm, and by great terrors, according to all that the Lord our God did for you in Egypt before thine eyes?"

Thus spoke Moses, the leader of the first Zionist movement, to the children of Israel as they stood in their ranks in the land of Moab ready to cross the Jordan into the Promised Land. His purpose, of course, was to impress his people with the greatness and uniqueness of the adventure in which they were engaged, and his task was made easier by the "signs and wonders" that accompanied it. Theodor Herzl was unable to point to visible signs and wonders; nevertheless the strangeness of the enterprise he launched was only too apparent. Indeed, it even appeared to surpass the other in difficulty and daring, for he proposed to take a nation from the midst of many nations, plant it in a land guarded by a strong and jealous possessor and direct it into a way of life from which a long and wide dispersion had estranged it. Had there been any such thing before? Could it be accomplished without "a mighty hand and an outstretched arm"? "Of course not," said the pious opponents who waited patiently for the Messiah. "Reckless and dangerous," said the emancipated, whose hopes for a quiet life among the nations were disturbed by it. "Fantastic," said the hard-headed realists, the bankers, potentates and diplomats.

In the seven years of life that remained to Herzl after the First Zionist Congress, the bankers, potentates and diplomats were the object of his principal efforts and the source of his bitterest disappointments. Among the potentates were the crowned heads of Turkey and Germany, and the diplomats represented the leading powers of the Old World. The bankers were Jews who, he desperately hoped, would not at the crucial moment fail the hopes of their unhappy people. His efforts with all of them were directed to the same goal—to procure a charter from the Sultan of Turkey, which would provide legal security

for a large-scale resettlement of Palestine by the Jews. And when he found the frontal approach to the Sublime Porte too difficult, he attempted flank movements through other potentates, among whom Wilhelm II of Germany roused his highest hopes and brought his saddest disappointment.

The Turkish diplomats, too suave and shrewd to say no, spoke in polite ambiguities. The Charter, they indicated, was a possibility in return for substantial sums of money. The Jewish bankers, on whom the sums depended, had less hesitation. Their no was prompt and unambiguous.

§ 2

But the story of those epic seven years is far from being an unrelieved record of failures. For the arena on which the real drama of the Zionist Movement was enacted was not located in the realm of high diplomacy and high finance. It lay in the great aggregations of the Jewish people in the Russian and Austrian empires, and in the giant cities across the ocean. It lay in old dreams and hopes which the First Zionist Congress now kindled to a bright flame. In response to its call, men and women across the world organized themselves on the basis of the Basel Platform, and in the year that followed the number of Zionist societies increased from 117 to 913. The increase would have been even greater if not for the restrictions which were imposed on the Movement in czarist Russia, the country with the strongest Zionist potential. There, as well as in Austria, Germany and England, the Congress swept into the new Movement the leaders of *Chibat Zion*, although the hostility of a few die-hards, among them Achad Ha'am in Russia and Willi Bambus in Germany, continued. Conferences and conventions were held in those lands as well as in the United States, at which the Basel Platform was endorsed and the leadership of Herzl acclaimed. In every language of Europe the call was spread abroad by the spoken and printed word. Zionist periodicals and pamphlets multiplied, and the people flocked to hear the orators whose words rang with the promise of speedy redemption. A new dynamic had entered into the scattered communities of the Jewish people, a ferment reminiscent of the messianic movements of old, but without their apocalyptic frenzies.

The center and spearhead of this worldwide surge was located in Vienna, in the Inner Actions Committee which the Congress had chosen and which Herzl, its president, in his driving impatience sometimes called the "Inactions Committee." The burden he carried was

tremendous. He was the editor and chief contributor of the central organ of the Movement, *Die Welt*, and paid its recurring deficits out of his private resources. He received numerous visitors and conducted a voluminous correspondence. He traveled a great deal, and not only on diplomatic missions, but to speed the creation of the financial arm of the Movement, the Bank. Again and again he came upon the hostility of the financial magnates in the capitals of Europe; and could the £2,000,000, the goal set for the Bank, be obtained from the impoverished Jewish masses? Nor were those the only cares that weighed on Herzl. His position in the anti-Zionist *Neue Freie Presse*, on which he was still dependent, was insecure, and he knew that his heart was in bad state. To his friends and followers he was always the leader of buoyant energy, unbending will and serene assurance, but to his Diary he now and then confided his anxieties. "I am tired and my heart is not in good order," he notes early in March 1898; and later the same month he writes: "I am still fighting with a wooden sword when I need a sword of steel." His private funds continue to dwindle; the shekel receipts are not sufficient for the mounting needs of the headquarters in Vienna. "We are still like the soldiers of the French Revolution," he records in his Diary on April 29, 1898. "We must go barefoot into battle."

In the meantime, as the Movement continued to grow its enemies were not idle. In Russia the most formidable opposition came from the Jewish socialist movement represented in the *Bund* (Alliance) as the "General Jewish Workers' Alliance of Lithuania, Poland and Russia" was called for short. The *Bund*, which began its career in the year of the First Zionist Congress, took its stand on the broad postulates of international socialism and the class struggle, and linked the future of the Jews with the countries in which they lived, confident that the rapidly approaching social revolutions, which would solve all human problems, would solve the Jewish problem also. And if the *Bund* added to its platform a demand for Jewish cultural rights, it was chiefly in order to blunt the attraction which nationalism exerted on the Jewish masses. Its championship of the Yiddish language was designed to improve its position in its vendetta against Zionism and the revival of the Hebrew language, both of which it stigmatized as reaction. Nor was the *Bund* alone in advocating a brand of Jewish nationalism minus a territorial basis. The chief architect of this theory, which came to be known as Autonomism, was the distinguished historian Simon Dubnow (1860-1943), who would have it that in the large concentrations of eastern Europe national Jewish life could be

maintained on the basis of a legalized cultural autonomy. The theory attracted not a few middle-class intellectuals, and it did away, of course, with the necessity of Zionism. Its devotees were not too much disturbed by the possibility that the dominant cultural groups, the Poles and Rumanians, for example, might not see eye to eye with them on the subject.

It was natural, of course, that the imposing Congress in Basel and its repercussions throughout the world should also stimulate the other foes of the Movement to fresh exertions. Foremost among them were the wealthy and emancipated who looked for the solution of the Jewish dilemma in the process of dissolution called assimilation, and they were profoundly disturbed by a movement aiming to establish a state and an allegiance with which they might be identified. They held positions of leadership and authority in the large Jewish communities, and it was their hostility, more than that of any other group, that defeated Herzl's immediate hopes and plans.

If, then, the Movement grew and gathered new adherents, the vast majority of them belonged to the poor and obscure. It was wholly beyond their power to provide the sums for the large-scale undertakings, political and economic, which Herzl envisaged. The shekel they paid was found insufficient even for the administrative budget of the Inner Actions Committee. But the shekel-payers, it can be safely assumed, were only a fraction of those who were stirred by the call of the Congress, for, as in all movements, the periphery of sympathy and assent was much larger than the center of active identification. The time was still distant when the broad and silent periphery, especially among the millions of the American community, would become a vocal and powerful factor in the Movement.

§ 3

The outcry that greeted the call to the First Zionist Congress was heard again on the eve of the Second, which met in Basel a year later. But the number of delegates, chosen now by definite constituencies, was twice as large and the Congress carried the Movement a long step forward. The addresses of Herzl and Nordau rang with hope in the speedy triumph of the cause and with defiance of its foes. The deliberations moved on a high plane. They dealt principally with the Bank and its statutes, with basic policy on colonization and with the delicate question of cultural work. A Bank Commission was chosen headed by David Wolffsohn of Cologne, Herzl's closest confrere, and the banker

Jacobus Kann of the Hague. After a gloomy and critical report on the situation of the colonies in Palestine by Leon Motzkin, the Congress declared for a colonization conducted openly and systematically, and only after the necessary sanction or charter had been secured from the Turkish government. Again the touchy cultural issue was raised, and the Congress sought to reassure the Orthodox by declaring that nothing would be done that might infringe on religious tradition. And a new call came out of this Congress to the Zionists of the world: "Capture the community organizations!" It was sounded by Herzl, now keenly aware that the dictatorship of the anti-Zionist magnates in the affairs of Jewish communities must be overthrown.

§ 4

The delegates went back to their own countries with new inspiration, and Herzl returned to Vienna to wrestle with opponents and deficits, with grave personal problems and with colleagues who could not maintain his driving pace. But an opportunity for a grand diplomatic stroke stood on the horizon, and Herzl had begun to prepare for it even before the Second Congress assembled. Wilhelm II, emperor of Germany, eager to "protect" Abdul-Hamid and 300,000,000 additional Moslems against the designs of the other European powers, was shortly to pay the Sultan a visit of state, and on his way back he was to stop in Jerusalem. The young Kaiser was no friend of the Jewish people. The prominence of Jews in the German Social Democratic party was alone enough to make him hostile. His chancellor, von Hohenlohe, and his foreign minister, von Bülow, were even more frankly anti-Semitic. But the Kaiser's great influence with the Sultan and Germany's rising importance on the international scene took precedence in Herzl's mind over other considerations; for the statesman, be his goal ever so lofty, must know how to use men and circumstances as they offer themselves. Besides, the international arena was a chessboard where a move with any one piece affected many others, and any success which Zionism might achieve with a first-class power should produce repercussions in other quarters. England, with her crucial interests in the Near East, was not happy with the Kaiser's aggressive wooing of the Sultan; would England remain indifferent to the prospect of an alliance between Germany and the Zionist Movement? If a league with a power other than Turkey should prove necessary, England was Herzl's first choice. But for any partnership not one but both sides must be willing and ready.

Deeply impressed with the advantages, direct and indirect, which Zionism might derive from Germany's support, Herzl applied all his energy and resourcefulness to obtain an audience with the Kaiser during his visit to the East. It was not an easy task, but with the help of his devoted friend the Grand Duke of Baden and Count Philip zu Eulenburg, the German ambassador at Vienna, it was arranged that about the middle of October a Zionist deputation headed by Herzl would be received by the Kaiser in Constantinople and Jerusalem. The Grand Duke and the ambassador had informed the monarch of Herzl's concrete proposal: a large-scale colonization of Palestine by Jews with the Sultan's consent and under the protection of Germany. The impetuous Wilhelm, it appears, was so attracted by the boldness of the idea that not even the cynical attitude of Hohenlohe and Bülow could dampen his enthusiasm. But the ministers knew how to give the mettlesome young monarch his head, and leave it to events and their own devices to pull him up short.

§ 5

On October 14, 1898 Herzl left for Constantinople with a deputation of colleagues, among them David Wolffsohn and Max Bodenheimer, the latter a prominent Cologne lawyer and Wolffsohn's old friend and comrade. Four days later Herzl was received in audience by Wilhelm II. Viewed in the light of the objective realities, it was a fabulous meeting. The king of a dream, which the world had long forgotten, confronted the monarch of the youngest empire, arrogant, aggressive and redoubtable. The affair even had its cloak-and-dagger aspect, for Herzl was seeking the aid of a foreign ruler in a matter that involved Turkish sovereignty, and he had been warned that he was risking his life in the city of the Sultan where sometimes matters of state did not stop short of assassination. Herzl rode to the audience in a plain cab amid ornate carriages where pompous officials glittered in gold-embroidered uniforms. "It occurred to me," he noted in his Diary, "that perhaps not one of those opulent vehicles carried as much history as my poor hired cab."

And the audience with the Kaiser went off quite well, in spite of the barbed interpolations of von Bülow, who was in attendance on his monarch. Wilhelm undertook to win the assent of his good friend the Sultan, and the matter would be officially concluded at the second audience in Jerusalem.

Then came Herzl's first and only visit to the land of his hopes. On

the way from the port of Jaffa to Jerusalem the deputation was hailed and feted in Mikveh Israel, Rishon Lezion, Rehovot and Ness Ziona—Jewish settlements in which Herzl sensed the heavy hand of a paralyzing paternalism. Jerusalem in the moonlight enchanted him, but in the glare of the sun he was depressed by the poverty, congestion and dirt of its twisting alleys. "The day the city is ours," he put down in his Diary, "and I am still alive and able, my first act will be to cleanse thee, O Jerusalem."

But the second audience with Wilhelm was a dismal anticlimax. In response to Herzl's carefully prepared address, the monarch delivered himself of vague and trivial generalities: "Yes, the soil is cultivable; what the country needs is shade and water; your movement is based on a sound idea." It was apparent that in the interval between Constantinople and Jerusalem His Imperial Majesty's ardor had cooled, and it must have been the Sultan's attitude that was responsible for the change. In the official communiqué, which the Zionist deputation first saw in Naples on its way back to Vienna, the audience with the Zionist deputation was very carefully minimized. A Jewish deputation had presented the Kaiser with "an album of pictures of the Jewish colonies in Palestine." His Majesty had expressed a "benevolent interest" in the improvement of agriculture in the land, as long as all efforts towards that end "were conducted in a spirit of complete respect for the sovereignty of the Sultan."

Herzl returned to his endless labors in Vienna sobered, but with confidence and courage unimpaired. That audience with Wilhelm at Jerusalem took place on November 2, 1898. Exactly nineteen years later Great Britain, locked in a life-and-death struggle with Wilhelm's Germany, issued the memorable Balfour Declaration, and not a few of those who have pondered the concatenation of events during those years have found more than a chronological coincidence between the interview and the Declaration.

§ 6

In the middle of August 1899 the Third Zionist Congress convened in Basel and reflected further growth of the Movement throughout the world. The two subjects that claimed the chief interest of the delegates were the tantalizing Charter and the Bank. The Congress was again dominated by the personality of Herzl and the eloquence of Nordau, but there were others who also commanded their attention, among them Max Mandelstamm, a famous eye doctor from Kiev,

Moses Gaster, distinguished scholar and Chief Rabbi of the Sephardic community in Britain, Yechiel Tchlenov, a Moscow physician and one of the leaders of the Movement in Russia, Jacob Kohan-Bernstein, a *Chibat Zion* leader from Rumania, and a twenty-five-year-old chemist named Chaim Weizmann.

In the nine months between his return from Palestine and the Third Congress it had become clear to Herzl that the temperamental Kaiser must be written off as a possible patron of the Zionist cause. So Herzl sought to strengthen his position with Russia. In June he had gone to the Hague, where an international conference to promote peace and disarmament, called on the initiative of Czar Nicholas II, was in session: the Russian autocrat was passing through a phase of sweetness and light. In the Hague Herzl had won the good will of the famous pacifists Bertha von Suttner and Ivan Bloch, both of whom had influence with the czar, and they undertook to obtain an audience for him with that ruler. At the same time Herzl had labored to overcome the endless difficulties that delayed the establishment of the Bank: legal technicalities, differences with regard to its statutes, the enormous task of obtaining the minimum of £250,000 from, as it finally appeared, 140,000 subscribers, and, above all, the obstructionism of the anti-Zionist financial magnates.

At the Third Congress Herzl for the first time proclaimed in explicit terms that the Charter was the immediate aim of the Movement. The debates on the work of the Actions Committee, on the Bank Statutes, and on the perennial problem of cultural work were conducted without too much heat, and in his closing address Herzl could say that it was a tranquil and fruitful Congress. But the debates made it clear also that underneath the pride and devotion which the leader evoked from the great majority of the delegates smoldered a formidable opposition. It pivoted around two fundamental questions. Shall the work of colonization in Palestine be halted until the Charter is secured? Was it certain that this movement launched by Herzl was irrevocably linked with Palestine, and Palestine only? There was an incident at this Congress which revealed how explosive and dangerous the second issue was. Davis Trietsch, a German writer and economist, leader of a small group of delegates who advocated what they called a "Greater Palestine," attempted to address the Congress on a project to colonize the neighboring island of Cyprus. He was shouted down, and the majority of the delegates, led by the large contingent from Russia, voted not to let him continue. He had jarred what was to prove the most sensitive nerve in the Zionist Movement.

Chapter XI : THE ELUSIVE CHARTER

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY stepped over the horizon and was hailed by the world eagerly and hopefully. The nations were at peace, science and industry were making giant strides, the poor and disinherited were reaching out for a more abundant life and there was growing evidence that men were becoming aware of their common humanity. The new century should raise mankind to still higher levels of "culture and progress."

In the lot of the millions of Jews in the cities of eastern Europe, however, the year 1900 found little to inspire either hope or confidence. In the empire of Nicholas II not only did the walls of the suffocating Pale stand firm, but new curbs and persecutions were devised against the prisoners, which added to the congestion and destitution. The mass migration which had begun in the pogrom year of 1881 continued. In Rumania, where a quarter-million Jews had the legal status of aliens, they were at the mercy of a savage anti-Semitism, and tens of thousands of them were streaming across the borders in helpless and chaotic flight. In Galicia, the Polish province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, there were nearly a million Jews who were exposed to less brutal pressures, but their need for migration was not less compelling.

Nor did the new century dawn with very bright promise for the Jews of the "civilized" west. The capital of the Austrian Empire, Herzl's own Vienna, in spite of, and perhaps because of, the important role the Jews played in all phases of its life, was worm-eaten with anti-Semitism: it was the city of the proto-Nazi Karl Lueger and his Christian Socialist party. In the province of Bohemia a Jewish cobbler named Leopold Hilsner had just been condemned to death on a charge of ritual murder. In all the lands of the Austrian Empire the Jews found themselves caught between the upper and nether millstones in the eternal conflicts among the numerous nationalities—Magyars, Rumanians and Slovaks in Hungary; Poles and Ruthenians in Galicia; and Czechs and Germans in Bohemia. Germany, of course, continued

to play the role of chief incendiary. Only a year before the turn of the century, the bible of German "scientific" anti-Semitism, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* by the renegade Briton Houston Stewart Chamberlain, had made its appearance, and in 1900 a ritual murder charge was trumped up in the West Prussian town of Konitz; the charge failed to stand up, but the town had to be placed under martial law. Even in France the Jews still felt insecure. Just before the arrival of the new century Dreyfus, after another infamous court-martial had found him guilty, was pardoned by President Loubet, but the religious and political passions with which France was torn were still inflamed, and here and there they broke into violence. Even England did not prove immune to the anti-Semitic virus. In their flight from eastern Europe some of the fugitives either settled in England or stopped there on their way to the Americas; it was shown later, in fact, that two out of every three did not remain in England. But by 1900 the anti-Semitic agitation against this "invasion," which five years later resulted in the drastic Alien's Act, was already under way. It was, it may be noted, in consequence of this agitation that in July 1902 Herzl appeared in London before a Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, and testified on the plight of the Jewish wanderers, an event which was to have important results for the Zionist Movement.

The newborn century saw the Movement gather more and more adherents, its huge reserve concentrated in the masses of eastern Europe, and most of its organized followers also drawn from the same source. The leadership consisted in large measure of "westerners" who had the courage to break through the illusions of Emancipation; and in its center in Vienna stood a small group headed by a man who still clung to the hope of performing a spectacular deed of salvation.

§ 2

The Fourth Congress convened in mid-August 1900 in London. Basel had already acquired a peculiar attraction for the Zionists of the world, but the Actions Committee had resolved to forego that advantage for the opportunity to display the strength of the Movement in the political metropolis of the world. For it became clear to Herzl that, apart from Turkey, the Movement must orient itself towards England. In April he had visited London but found the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, too preoccupied with the war in South Africa to give thought to anything else. At the same time he had continued his efforts to obtain audiences with the Sultan and the Czar. In his dealings with

the Sultan's camarilla in Constantinople, Herzl had found Philip Michael von Nevlinski, an impecunious but well-connected Polish nobleman, useful to him, although he had no illusions about his dubious character. He took men as he found them, nor did he recoil from the disagreeable necessity of dispensing baksheesh to the Sultan's pashas, if they appeared able to promote his quest.

The Fourth Congress brought to London some 400 delegates, half of them from Russia, and a much larger number of guests. It accomplished its primary purpose: it was an imposing demonstration. A preliminary public meeting under the chairmanship of the prominent Sir Francis Montefiore, who was the president of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain, attracted an audience of nearly 10,000. In his opening address to the Congress Herzl challenged the anti-Zionist philanthropic bodies who were proving themselves helpless in face of the mass exodus of Jews from Rumania, unable to direct the fugitives or even relieve their sufferings. And he pointed his peroration at England and her rulers. "England the great, England the free," he exclaimed, "England with her eyes scanning the seven seas, will understand us. From this place the Zionist Movement will rise to new heights!" And England did seem to understand. The proceedings of the Congress were reported fully in the leading newspapers, the Movement became an object of sympathetic interest in official circles, and Herzl was enabled to confer with Lord Lansdowne, the Foreign Secretary. In the Congress itself the reports and debates revolved mainly around the Bank, which was still unable to open its doors, and the question of cultural activity. Among others, there were two brilliant and contrasting addresses. Nahum Sokolow (1861-1936), Hebrew writer, editor and scholar, called for "the spiritual elevation of the Jewish people," and Max Mandelstamm, the physician, spoke on the improvement of the Jewish physique, enlarging on a demand previously made by Nordau for a "muscular Judaism."

§ 3

It was another eight months before Herzl was admitted into the august presence of "the skinny little man with the big crooked nose and dyed beard," His Imperial Majesty Abdul-Hamid Khan II, sultan of Turkey. And the long-coveted audience was obtained for him not through the mediation of the shifty Turkish officials, whose palms were always open for baksheesh, but by an apostate Hungarian Jew, an old friend of the Sultan, whom Herzl had won over to his cause.

He was the seventy-year-old Orientalist, explorer and adventurer Armin Vambéry who, among other diversions and occupations, had served as a secret agent for Turkey and England until, as Herzl puts it in his Diary, he himself no longer knew whether he was a Turk or an Englishman. Abdul-Hamid had stipulated that he would receive Herzl the Jewish notable and prominent journalist, not Herzl the Zionist, but in the two hours that the conversation lasted, Herzl dazzled the Sultan with a vision of Turkey redeemed from her foreign creditors and enriched by the enterprise and energy of the Jews. The little man was excited and tantalized. He asked Herzl to submit definite proposals to his ministers and bestowed a high decoration on him as a token of his favor.

In his conversations with the Sultan's eely ministers, which dealt with the funding of the Turkish debt and Jewish colonization, Herzl realized what formidable obstacles still had to be overcome, but he believed—and his opinion was shared by the canny Vambéry—that the Charter was a definite possibility. He needed £2,000,000 at once, but this time, Herzl felt, the Jewish money barons would open their bags. It was unthinkable that they should fail their people at such a moment.

Herzl went to Paris where he tried to reach Edmond Rothschild, the trustees of the Jewish Colonization Association and the Pereires, a prominent family of Jewish bankers and philanthropists. He left Paris emptyhanded and went on to London. The Maccabeans held a grand reception in his honor; the bankers turned him down. "The moneybags wouldn't even give me a hearing," he wrote his friend Mandelstamm. "There will have to be a flood of fire and brimstone before those stones will soften up." He even tried to interest the famous empire-builder Cecil Rhodes and the American magnate Andrew Carnegie. To the pressing demands that came to him from Constantinople he replied in evasive but optimistic terms, playing for time.

§ 4

The Zionist Congress of that year (1901) met again in Basel, but in December instead of August. The delay was necessary because too many Russian Zionists were busy that spring and summer in a vain attempt to persuade the ICA to relax its repressive methods in the administration of the colonies in Palestine, which it had taken over from Edmond Rothschild, and to help Jewish workers to remain in the

country instead of helping them to leave it. For Palestine was passing through a crisis, and the administrators found Arab labor cheaper than Jewish.

The Congress brought together some 300 delegates and three times as many guests. The reports submitted by the Actions Committee and by spokesmen of delegations from the larger countries showed the Movement gaining in breadth and depth throughout the world. "Today," Herzl declared, "none of us is indispensable." Nordau and other speakers called for action to improve the economic position of the Jewish masses in Europe, and Israel Zangwill threw down the gauntlet to the Jewish money barons including the ICA. It was clear that Zionism had grown stronger and bolder, its roots had struck deeper into the soil of Jewish life in all lands. Nevertheless, there was a mood of restlessness and dissatisfaction in the Fifth Congress, and for the first time an organized opposition made its appearance. It numbered some fifty delegates among whom the most prominent were Leon Motzkin, Chaim Weizmann, Davis Trietsch, the artist Ephraim Moses Lilien, the scholar and religious philosopher Martin Buber, and Victor Jacobson and Berthold Feivel, both of whom were to hold important posts in the service of the World Organization. They were all young men and they were greatly influenced by Achad Ha'am, whose attitude towards Herzl and his diplomacy was skeptical and even contemptuous. Their background was east European, where Jewish life was intense and "authentic," and they looked upon the Zionism of Herzl and his "western" entourage as lacking in emotional depth, as something merely intellectual and mechanical. Concretely, they demanded that the Organization take up what they called *Gegenwartsarbeit*, meaning immediate and uninterrupted activity not only in Palestine, but in the lands of the Diaspora also, the principal phase of this activity to consist of a broad program of cultural work. Needless to say, this cultural program, secular in character, was strongly opposed by the religious Zionists, whose claim to represent the Jewish masses and "authentic" Jewish life was not less strong. The young oppositionists called themselves "The Democratic Fraction," implying apparently that Herzl's leadership was personal and dictatorial, or that it lacked sanction in the will of the Zionist masses.

The Democratic Fraction played a conspicuous role at the Fifth Congress, but its opposition was neither formidable nor long-lived. At the Congress it staged a dramatic protest against a motion, backed by Herzl, to delay action on the cultural question. The Fraction

walked out of the session in a body. But it soon returned, and Herzl removed its sting by pouring oil on the troubled waters, although it cannot be said that he took the opposition with Olympian calm.

But the Fifth Congress is more memorable for its constructive achievements. First, it heard the official announcement that the Bank, or Jewish Colonial Trust, was at last open for business. Second, it made a number of constitutional changes, one of them providing that the Congress should meet biannually instead of annually, and another recognizing autonomous federations within the World Organization. Finally, it established the Jewish National Fund, originally proposed at the First Congress by Hermann Schapira. In time this fund for the purchase of land in Palestine, to remain forever the property of the Jewish People, endeared itself to the multitude more than any other institution created by the Movement. It became the vehicle by which even the poorest could, with their kopeks and pennies, give expression to their faith and devotion.

§ 5

For the leader as well as his followers and opponents the two years between the Fifth Congress and the Sixth were more crowded with events and passions than the five that preceded them. In the Movement events drove on to a dangerous crisis, and in the leader they exhausted the vitality of a constitution already impaired, and hastened the inevitable end. The Sixth Congress was to be his last.

Before the first year was over—in July 1902—it came home to him that his negotiations with the Sultan had come to a dead end. They were brought to a halt by two insuperable barriers: the monarch's fears for his sovereignty, which his dealings with the European powers had rendered morbid, and the venality of his courtiers and ministers. The Sultan declared himself willing, with certain stipulations and in return for definite services, to permit Jews to settle in small groups in various parts of his Empire, except Palestine! "Services" meant grants and loans, of course, but in the meantime a French syndicate had come forward with an offer of a loan to Turkey on exorbitant terms which the corrupt officials were "persuaded" to accept. Further negotiations seemed useless. Earlier that year, after one of his futile journeys to Constantinople, Herzl had put down a prophetic passage in his Diary: "I expected the Sultan would not let me leave empty-handed, but matters turned out otherwise. With him things always turn out in a way one does not expect. Perhaps, at an

unforeseen moment, I shall obtain the Charter from him. And perhaps not from him at all, for it is possible that we shall obtain the Charter only after the partition of Turkey by the Powers.”

But shortly before his final rebuff in Constantinople a new vista had opened for the leader in London. The Royal Commission on Alien Immigration was holding hearings on the influx of destitute foreigners into England—an influx all the more unwelcome because of the rise in unemployment after the war in South Africa. It was an open secret that the unwelcome foreigners were the Jewish fugitives from Russia, Rumania and Galicia. Herzl appeared before the Royal Commission as an expert on Jewish immigration and his testimony was simple, direct and unapologetic: the Jews were being driven out of their native lands by anti-Semitism; they gave rise to the same animosity in the lands where they found refuge; the only solution was a land of their own.

His testimony did not sound pleasant in the ears of Nathan Meyer, Lord Rothschild, a member of the Royal Commission who, as far back as 1885, had sat down in the House of Lords as the first Jew to be admitted to that august body. He was the head of the English Rothschild banking house, the recognized leader of the Jewish community in Britain, and his influence in English politics and finance was enormous. But Herzl and Lord Rothschild got together, and after some bickering the banker agreed to support the “demagogue” in an effort to obtain a concession from the British government for Jewish colonization in Cyprus or the Sinai Peninsula. Sinai, including the region of El-Arish to the north, was on the threshold of Palestine and had an exalted place in Jewish tradition. Even Cyprus, Herzl thought, was not too far away. Some refuge for the growing hosts of wanderers had to be found, as well as an outlet for the impatient energies of the worldwide Movement. And in the diplomatic game with Turkey for Palestine, a game that never advanced and never ended, a concession or Charter from Britain would be a trump card in Herzl’s hand.

In October of that year (1902) Herzl conferred with Joseph Chamberlain, the powerful and popular Colonial Secretary of the cabinet of which Arthur James Balfour had that year become the Prime Minister. He conferred also with the Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne. For political reasons Cyprus was found unsuitable, and the outcome of the negotiations, in which the Egyptian government and Lord Cromer, the British consul general in Egypt, participated, was the dispatch of a commission of experts to El-Arish to determine its fitness for large-scale colonization.

Throughout the negotiations in London and afterwards in Cairo, Herzl had the loyal and capable assistance of Leopold J. Greenberg (1861–1931), later the editor and publisher of the influential *Jewish Chronicle*, as well as of other British Zionists, among them Joseph Cowen and Colonel Albert Goldsmid. But Herzl attended to every detail of the negotiations and of the commission. In March 1903 he even went to Cairo himself, having become dissatisfied with Greenberg's handling of the affair in the Egyptian capital. His life was ebbing away and he knew it, but now at last a major success seemed to lie within his reach.

But again it slipped away. The plan was smothered in a Gordian knot of Egyptian and Turkish intrigue, which the British officials were reluctant to cut through. The area, the experts reported, could only be rendered fit for colonization by irrigation works, which required large quantities of water to be diverted from the Nile, and the Egyptian government found that the water could not be spared. Such was the official explanation for the dismissal of the project.

Another giant labor lost, another hope gone. Zionists across the world became aware of the failure. They assembled at the meetings of their societies to discuss and deplore the new defeat, and concluded them in the manner that had become traditional: by singing the *Hatikvah*. *Od lo avdah tikvatenu*: "our hope is not yet lost."

§ 6

As for the leader, his numerous frustrations dimmed his hope, but never extinguished it. He himself, he felt, would not live to see its fulfillment. "No Moses ever enters the Promised Land," he notes in his Diary. But Herzl was also a writer, and over a period of three years he had found the time amid all his labors to finish a Utopian novel portraying his vision of the Jewish state. The book, which appeared in October 1902 under the title of *Altneuland* (Oldnewland), is a glowing canvas of a dream fulfilled: a Jewish society firmly planted in Palestine, its economy founded on cooperative enterprise and the arts of applied science—a prosperous, progressive and free society with equal justice for all its inhabitants, Jews and non-Jews alike. Under different names the men who labored with him in the Movement—Wolffsohn, Mandelstamm, Cowen, the famous bacteriologist Alexander Marmorek, his brother Oscar and others—live in its pages. But what is most arresting about the book is the clarity with which the author foresaw many of the things that were actually to happen: the

development of Haifa as a shipping and industrial center, the harnessing of the Jordan for electrical power, the extraction of the mineral wealth of the Dead Sea and even the exploitation of the warm springs near Tiberias as a health resort. He envisioned other things which may still come to pass: the construction of a canal between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea, the Old City of Jerusalem rehabilitated and set aside as a religious shrine, and a splendid New Jerusalem around it where the nations will establish their international foundations.

Altneuland became an important instrument of Zionist propaganda. It was translated into several languages, into Hebrew by Nahum Sokolow, who gave it the title of *Tel Aviv* (Hill of Spring). But the book was guilty of an omission which made it the subject of a bitter controversy within the Movement: it failed to give due recognition to the Hebrew language and culture. To Achad Ha'am and his disciples the offense was unforgivable. The great Hebrew protagonist published a scathing attack upon the book, which elicited a slashing reply from Nordau, which in turn provoked a protest that appeared above the signatures of Weizmann, Feivel, Buber and others. Herzl's opponents accused him of indifference to Jewish cultural values. They charged him also with pursuing a policy of surrender to the rabbis who opposed cultural activity by the Zionist Organization. His defenders maintained that this policy was essential to the unity of the Movement, since the cultural question involved issues on which the Orthodox would never submit to majority control. As for his personal attitude, it was true, no doubt, that of the two factors that have entered into the making of modern Zionism—anti-Semitism on the one hand, and concern for the survival of the Jewish people and its culture on the other—it was the first that acted as the initial impulse on Herzl. But, his defenders affirmed, in his case as in that of many others, the first had led to the second. Already at the First Congress he had launched the slogan that became a rallying call to the indifferent and estranged: "Zionism is the return of the Jews to Judaism before their return to the Jewish land"; and he had gone on to declare that the consolidation of the Movement required the employment of "spiritual means for reviving and nursing the Jewish national consciousness."

But those who rejected the accusation against him could point to an even stronger refutation. It was something in the nature of a personal confession which Herzl had written shortly after the First Congress and which he called *The Menorah*. It is a story about an "emancipated" Jewish artist who broods over the sufferings of his people "until

his soul becomes a bleeding wound." The artist concludes that his people must return to their ancient homeland, whereupon he finds spiritual renewal and new significance in their faith and festivals. It is Chanukah, the Festival of Dedication, and in a mood of mystic exaltation, he and his children gather around the Menorah and kindle the Chanukah lights.

§ 7

While the leader was thus engaged in his exhausting and futile efforts to snare the elusive Charter, and the tensions within the Movement flared and flickered, the Jewish tragedy was following its "normal" course. During Easter week of 1903 came the pogrom in Kishinev, the capital of the Russian province of Bessarabia. It was a ghastly carnival of plunder, rape and murder, which had been planned and organized by the authorities, and it was followed by more outbreaks of Russian "patriotism" in other cities. The civilized world, not yet inured to large-scale horrors, protested vigorously, but the Zionist Movement felt that it faced a new and terrible urgency. A broader stream of fugitives would now sweep across the Russian borders: whither should they go?

No one felt the urgency more deeply than Herzl, but already there had risen a fresh hope of deliverance. The failure of the El-Arish project brought a new suggestion from the British Colonial Secretary: a Jewish autonomous settlement on a large area of the British East African Protectorate, in a region called Uganda. Herzl was well aware that such a proposal would encounter formidable opposition, particularly from the Russian Zionists. Uganda was not Palestine, nor did it, like Sinai, lie on the threshold of Palestine. It is also clear from Herzl's private and public utterances, as well as from the confidences he entrusted to his Diary, that he regarded Uganda only as a detour that must be made on the journey to Palestine. Moses himself, he declared, made detours when he led the people to the Promised Land. Uganda would meet the demand for an immediate haven for the hunted and driven, while the great prestige which the offer would confer on the Zionist Movement would smooth the road leading to Palestine.

§ 8

A letter from the British Foreign Office containing the official offer reached Herzl on a day in August 1903 in the city of Vilna where

he was stopping in the course of a visit in Russia. The letter was addressed to Leopold Greenberg, whom he had authorized to conduct the negotiations on his behalf. It was the first official communication over a span of forty-four years in a long series of exchanges, happy and unhappy, between Britain and the Zionist Movement.

Herzl had gone to Russia first, to induce the government of Nicholas II to rescind the ban it had imposed on Zionist activity; second, to obtain a promise of Russian diplomatic support in Constantinople; and third, to see for himself how the masses of his people fared in the classic land of Jewish persecution. He was received by the Minister of the Interior, Vyacheslav von Pleve and the Finance Minister, Sergei Witte. They were both hardened anti-Semites, although the second posed as a liberal, but they promised, on condition that the Russian Zionists would refrain from nationalist propaganda, to comply with Herzl's wishes. Russia had too many suppressed nationalities to permit such propaganda, but Zionism, they hoped, would relieve the czar of a large portion of his Jewish population. It was not pleasant talking to them, but Herzl was compelled to deal with those who had it in their power to help or hurt his cause, and he felt that he had accomplished his mission. Nevertheless, his visit to von Pleve, who was held responsible for the Kishinev pogrom, aroused a storm of criticism against him. It came chiefly from the leaders of the anti-Zionist *Bund*, who now had final "proof" that Zionism was a "reactionary" movement.

And in Russia Herzl saw the plight of more than half his people in the world, some six millions of them, who were huddled in the cities and towns of the Pale. He had a good sampling of it in Vilna, the "Jerusalem of Lithuania," the proud center of Jewish learning in Russia. The streets of the city were dense with the throngs that came out to hail the man to whom they looked for deliverance. But the Czar's police were everywhere, surly and suspicious: people gathered in crowds might break into revolutionary demonstrations. The authorities required him to leave the city in the small hours of the following morning, but when he arrived at the railroad station an immense crowd was there to bid him farewell, and the mounted police dispersed it with swinging knouts.

The effect on Herzl was shattering, but in his pocket was the letter from the British Foreign Office, holding out a haven and hope.

Chapter XII : HERZL ENDS HIS JOURNEY

WITH an attendance of 600 delegates chosen by shekel-payers who, in the two previous years, had almost tripled in numbers, the Sixth Zionist Congress opened in Basel on August 23, 1903. There were many items on its agenda: the Jewish Colonial Trust and its subsidiary the Anglo-Palestine Bank, which had opened that year in Jaffa; the failure of the El-Arish project and its causes; the growth and problems of the Jewish National Fund. Agricultural colonization in Palestine was discussed by the economist and political scientist Franz Oppenheimer, and Sir Francis Montefiore tried to interest the delegates in the problems of organization and propaganda. But one subject, Uganda, overshadowed every other. For two days and nights the delegates debated it in a crescendo of tension and passion. Concretely, and from the parliamentary standpoint, the issue revolved around a simple question: Shall or shall not the Congress authorize the despatch of a commission of experts to investigate the suitability of the territory offered by the British government for Jewish colonization?

In his opening address to the Congress Herzl declared: "Certainly, this is not and never can be Zion," and in his closing address he solemnly repeated the ancient oath: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning." Nordau characterized Uganda as only a *Nachtsyl*, "a shelter for the night," and what a dark and evil night it was! And other speakers—Rabbi Reines and Dr. Noble, the leaders of Orthodox Zionism; Nachman Syrkin, leader of Socialist Zionism; Leopold Greenberg of London, David Farbstein of Zurich, the novelist Sammi Gronemann of Berlin, Nissan Katzenelsohn of Libau, who had served as Herzl's aide in Russia—all pleaded for an affirmative vote on the motion to authorize a commission of inquiry. Such action, they maintained, would not mean the renunciation of Palestine or the abandonment of the Basel Platform.

But the opponents were not reassured. And, paradoxically enough, those who represented the unfortunates on whose behalf the

Nachtasyl was being urged were most vehement in opposing it. At a meeting of their own the delegates from Russia had, by a vote of 146 to 84, adopted a resolution to reject the Uganda offer, and now on the floor of the Congress their leading spokesmen—Kohan-Bernstein of Kishinev, Shmaryah Levin, Simon Rosenbaum, Victor Jacobson, Yechiel Tchlenov, Daniel Pasmanik, Zeev Tiomkin—warned that the “night shelter” was an illusion, that the Jews would make the necessary sacrifices for Palestine only, that Uganda would sap the strength of the Organization and Palestine would, in effect, be shelved. One of the Russian leaders, the redoubtable Ussischkin, was absent from the Congress on a visit in Palestine, but he was to be heard from later.

The debate rose to fever pitch: it was a duel between two thousand years of hope and longing and the immediate need for an escape from torment and shame. The vote was finally taken: as his name was called, each delegate said yes or no to the proposal to send a commission to Uganda. The “yes sayers” numbered 295, the “no sayers” 178, and 132 abstained from voting. Then came an amazing demonstration of grief and despair. The “no sayers” rose from their seats, and slowly, solemnly, they walked out of the session. In the corridors many of them broke down and wept. They came together for a session of their own, and Herzl, penetrated as perhaps never before in his life, appeared before them and addressed them. The spell of the leader was still potent; he succeeded in soothing them, and they voted to return to the Congress. The threatened rupture in the Movement was, for the time being, averted.

“It was a difficult Congress, but it moved on a plane of grandeur,” said Herzl in his closing address.

§ 2

But the storm was not stilled; less than two months after that fateful Congress it broke with fresh fury. The foremost representatives of the Movement in Russia, led by Ussischkin, met in the city of Charkov and voted to send a deputation to Vienna to present the leader with an ultimatum. He must agree to follow certain procedures designed to curb his tendency to “autocratic” action; he must agree to liquidate the East African project before the convening of the next Congress; and he must agree to a program of immediate work in Palestine. If he rejected the ultimatum, the Russian Zionists would withhold their shekel receipts and take steps to convene a congress of their own.

But the Charkov Conference only embittered the conflict. Protests against the ultimatum arose throughout the world, and it became doubtful if the Charkov conferees represented a majority even of the Russian Zionists. Many of them, led by Max Mandelstamm of Kiev and Israel Yassinovsky and Abraham Podlishevsky of Warsaw, denounced the "rebels" as irresponsible wreckers of the Movement. The tension reached its climax on December 19, 1903, when a Russian Jewish student fired two shots at Nordau, wounding a bystander. "Death to Nordau Africanus!" the student cried as he pulled the trigger.

That month the Charkov deputation arrived in Vienna and was received by Herzl, not however as bearers of an ultimatum but as fellow-Zionists and members of the Greater Actions Committee. He refused to be put on the defensive. He reminded them that his efforts in Constantinople and other quarters, all having Palestine as their objective, continued without pause. Not Uganda was weakening the Movement; it was they who were disrupting it. The Charkov emissaries who came as accusers went away as the accused, but the bitterness on both sides was not allayed.

Herzl, indeed, never relaxed his efforts, direct and indirect, to bring the Sultan to a more amenable frame of mind. He pressed for diplomatic support not only from Russia but also from Italy and Austria. In January 1904 he was received in audience by Victor Emmanuel III, king of Italy, whose response was favorable, but his Foreign Minister Tittoni was vague and noncommittal. While in Rome he had an audience with Pope Pius X. The Pontiff could not look with favor on the return of the Jews "to Jerusalem." *Non possumus* was the ancient formula which he employed. "If you come to Palestine and settle your people there," he told Herzl, "we want to have churches and priests ready to baptize you."

§ 3

The bitter strife over Uganda was finally put to rest at a special meeting of the Greater Actions Committee, the "Little Congress" as it was called, which was held in Vienna in April 1904. Both sides were eager for peace: Ussischkin and his adherents, because they knew they were in the minority and that the Zionist hosts would follow their leader; and Herzl and his supporters because they realized the Movement would be irreparably injured by the defection of the "rebels." With a patience and tact that ignored the hurt his opponents had in-

flicted upon him, Herzl succeeded in convincing them that his devotion to Palestine was unimpeachable. "I must be forgiving," he told a friend, "because I am stronger than they are." After five hectic days, a resolution of confidence in the administration and its president was adopted unanimously, and throughout the world there was relief and rejoicing.

§ 4

In Herzl's Diary, which is an enthralling record of nine years of incredible labors, the last entry, the text of a letter to the American Jewish banker and philanthropist, Jacob H. Schiff, is dated May 10, 1904. It was written in Franzensbad where he was trying to find a cure for his failing heart. Early the following month he went with his wife to the little mountain town of Edlach near Vienna. There his heart ailment became aggravated by an onset of pneumonia, and in the late afternoon of July 3 he died. During that day he kept death at bay by sheer force of will until he could see his mother and children again. "Greet all Palestine for me," was his parting word to an earlier visitor, the ardent Christian Zionist, Reverend William H. Hechler, "and tell them I have given my heart's blood for my people."

Three days later the mortal remains of Theodor Herzl, wrapped in the blue-and-white flag of Zion, were laid in a grave beside that of his father. The plain coffin was followed through the streets of Vienna by a procession of ten thousand mourners, with delegations from many countries among them. In the cemetery, a witness reports, "the foot-paths were too narrow—the crowd overflowed to the lawns and to the very gates. Never have I experienced anything like it. People who had not known Herzl wept aloud as the long wooden coffin was borne past."

§ 5

Thus ended one of the most singular careers of modern times, meteoric but creative. "God breaks the instruments that have served his purpose," he once wrote, but the purpose to which he gave his life went forward. The worldwide Movement which Herzl conjured into being was severely shaken by his death, but not destroyed. What he meant to the Jewish people was summed up twenty-five years later by Nahum Sokolow. "His genius," Sokolow wrote, "exercised a more powerful influence upon Jewry than the enormous fortunes of our

millionaires or the combined authority of our communal organizations.”

As precious as the concrete values he bequeathed to the Zionist Movement was the memory of his greatness, his daring and his fortitude. In an age of skepticism he stirred the imagination and hopes of his people as only the self-proclaimed Messiahs were able to do in an age of simple and naïve faith. An aura of moral and aesthetic idealism surrounds his words and deeds. “I believe I may say to you,” he declared at a public meeting in Berlin shortly after the First Congress, “that we have given something to the Jewish people: to the young a vision, to the old a dream, to all men something beautiful.” And he wrote his Utopia *Altneuland*, he tells us, not only to celebrate what he was sure his people would accomplish in Palestine, but to show “how much justice, goodness and beauty can be created on earth, if only there is a right will to do it.”

Out of his Diaries the nine years of his life from 1895 to 1904—the Zionist years—unroll before us with tragic grandeur. They were years of bold dreams and daring deeds, of great victories and great defeats, of personal triumphs that left his inner self untouched, of musing and doubting and Promethean suffering. In that brief period he knew the whole gamut of trials and obstacles, the petty and the formidable, that drag the dreams of men down into the dust. He knew them all, from the relentless cruelty of circumstances to the weaknesses and malice of men. But the essential spirit of Herzl, in spite of sharp words that occasionally spurted from his pen, remained whole and unembittered. The dream stood firm, firmer than the realities: his faith in ultimate victory stood unshaken. And through all his trials he harbored a peculiar sense of gratitude to the mission that consumed him. “Zionism,” he wrote in an entry dated January 24, 1902, “was the Sabbath of my life.”

§ 6

It had been Herzl's wish that eventually he should be laid to rest in the soil of Palestine, and forty-five years later, the year being the second of the State of Israel, on August 17, 1949, the wish was fulfilled. The coffin was flown in a plane of the Israel Air Force from Vienna to Lydda airport, and taken to Tel Aviv, where 250,000 men, women and children filed past it as it lay in state outside the Knesset building. The following morning it was taken to Jerusalem, and the entire population of the New City lined the route to Mount Herzl,

where the bier was lowered in a tomb hewn from the rock on the summit. There were simple exercises, religious and military, and in a final symbolic act emissaries from 300 settlements poured into the open tomb offerings of earth they brought with them from their fields. And the mood throughout the land was not one of mourning, but of solemn rejoicing. Theodor Herzl had come home.

Chapter XIII : ISSUES AND PARTIES

WHAT WAS to become now of this worldwide upsurge of an ancient hope to which the genius of a single man had given the appearance of shining reality? Would it go back to mystic contemplation and messianic longing? Or would Zionism now relapse to the narrow paths of *Chibat Zion* with its small and furtive infiltrations into Palestine, and its leaders standing hat in hand before the rich magnates and their arrogant underlings? Those who saw Zionism as a dangerous aberration that imperiled their status in the world now expected that the death of the leader would spell its doom, and many whose background lay in *Chibat Zion*, and who regarded Herzl's diplomatic efforts as romantic futilities, were eager to see the Movement grapple with the day-to-day realities in Palestine as *Chibat Zion* had been doing for more than twenty years.

But the seven years since the First Congress could not be so easily erased. They left behind them a legacy of assets, tangible and intangible, which not only insured the continuity of the Movement but kept it from settling back into the cramped mold of *Chibat Zion*. The most important of the tangible assets were undoubtedly the World Zionist Organization with its host of members across the world, and the Congress through which they acted. Two other important concrete assets were the Jewish Colonial Trust and the Jewish National Fund. But the intangible assets, more difficult to inventory, were even more important. They were the new vigor which those years had infused into the ancient hope, the new approach to its realization, its projection upon the stage of international affairs and the sympathetic attitude towards it on the part of not a few of the world's statesmen, particularly in England. For the man who headed the British Cabinet during the El-Arish and Uganda negotiations was Arthur James Balfour, and the attorney who was employed in 1903 to draft the charter for Uganda was David Lloyd George—the two men who were to hold the leading posts in a British War Cabinet in 1917 when the Charter that Herzl looked for in vain was finally won.

§ 2

But the immediate legacy which Herzl left the Movement was an unresolved issue that was fraught with the gravest peril to its unity and integrity. For the question of Uganda went deeper than that particular area of the earth's surface. It so happened that the majority report of the commission of experts which investigated Uganda was not favorable, and the Actions Committee easily agreed to recommend to the forthcoming Zionist Congress not to occupy itself with Uganda any further. But Britain or some other colonial power might come forward with another and more suitable offer, and the question that had to be disposed of was whether the Movement was to hold itself open to such offers, or make it clear that its objective was Palestine and Palestine only. Was it, in other words, to be Territorialism or Zionism?

In the stormy election campaign that preceded the Seventh Congress that question was vehemently debated. In Russia the opponents of Territorialism, who styled themselves *Zionei Zion*, "Zionists of Zion," were led by Ussischkin and the more soft-spoken but not less determined Tshlenov. The advocates of Territorialism in Russia found a leader in Max Mandelstamm, himself an old and tried "Lover of Zion," but its recognized world leader was the brilliant and paradoxical Israel Zangwill. He commanded a substantial following among the English Zionists who, their opponents charged, were influenced in their attitude by British patriotism.

The election results left no doubt that Territorialism would suffer a decisive defeat at the Congress. The fact was that many of the "yes sayers," who had voted to investigate Uganda, had only done so as an expression of confidence in Herzl's leadership, and they felt free now to give voice to their real convictions. But the grave question that faced all the delegates was whether the Movement would remain whole after the votes had been counted.

The debate at the Seventh Congress, which met in Basel from July 27 to August 2, 1905, was long and passionate. By an overwhelming majority the delegates finally adopted a resolution which, after invoking the Basel Platform, rejected, either as a means or an end, all colonization activity in countries other than Palestine and its adjacent regions. The resolution went on to express gratitude to England for its offer, and concluded with a pointed reminder that membership in the Zionist Organization was premised on an acceptance of the Basel Platform.

So the great issue was finally settled, but the Movement did not

emerge unbroken. Led by Zangwill and Syrkin, the defeated delegates walked out of the Congress and founded the Jewish Territorial Organization. It came to be known as the ITO, and its members and followers as Territorialists or Itoists. The enemies of Zionism rejoiced: the dissolution for which they were hoping had begun.

But they were deceiving themselves. In the end the departure of the dissidents, and the concentration on Palestine which was now possible, made the Movement stronger, not weaker. For two decades Territorialism added a strident note to the din of parties and movements in Jewry, and, as is always the case with a secessionist group, it reserved its sharpest arrows for the Movement from which it sprang. The most vocal segment of Territorialism was its Socialist contingent; the Socialist doctrine of historic materialism, which holds that mankind, like a mercenary army, marches on its stomach, made it easy for its votaries to brush aside the religious and historic sentiments that linked the Jewish people with Palestine.

But the career of this rival to Zionism need not detain us long. Even the polemics to which it gave rise proved to be only academic. Territorialism roamed the globe in vain to find some land other than Palestine for Jews to colonize. At various times it set its sights on Cyrenaica, Mesopotamia, Australia, Portuguese West Africa (Angola) and other regions. At one time, for reasons that seemed to have no connection with its objective, it tried to check the concentration of Jewish immigrants in the United States in the large cities of the Atlantic seaboard by routing some of them to the port of Galveston in Texas. Not a few of its followers in the meantime had returned to the fold they left, one of the first to do so being Nachman Syrkin. Finally, in 1925 the reluctant Zangwill bowed to the inevitable, and ITO went out of existence.

§ 3

Having removed the Territorialist thorn from its side, the Seventh Congress grappled with the problem of immediate work in Palestine, the other sharp issue which had arisen from time to time in the councils of the Movement. Again the question revealed the wide chasm between the so-called "practicals" and "politicals," between those who demanded the immediate application of the Organization's resources to the colonization of Palestine, and those who insisted that legal guarantees must come first. Otto Warburg of Berlin, a distinguished bota-

nist whom the previous Congress had put at the head of a Palestine Commission, was the leading spokesman of the "practicals," and he was, of course, stoutly supported by the leaders of *Chibat Zion*. Their principal argument was that the extension of Jewish assets in Palestine would also strengthen the political potential of the Movement. The other view was championed by Max Bodenheimer and Alexander Marmorek. The resolution which was finally adopted was in effect a victory for the "practicals," although it rejected "petty, unsystematic and philanthropic colonization." But the contest between the two schools of strategy did not end there. Until the First World War, when the Movement was confronted with new trials and opportunities, that issue dominated the Zionist scene.

There were men of force and stature at the Congress but none could fill the void left by Herzl, and the problem of leadership weighed as heavily on the delegates as the defection of the Territorialists. Max Nordau, whose authority in the Movement had been second to that of the departed leader, declined the presidency of the World Organization, and the man who was finally chosen for the office was David Wolffsohn, Herzl's first and most zealous collaborator. Seventeen years earlier, at the age of thirty-two, Wolffsohn had left his native Lithuania and settled in Cologne, where he became a successful lumber merchant, and where, as early as 1892, he and his friend Bodenheimer had tried to organize a *Chibat Zion* society. Wolffsohn was therefore believed to stand midway between the "practicals" and "politicals," and the rest of the Inner Actions Committee which the Congress chose was also divided evenly between the two factions: Ussischkin, Warburg and Kohan-Bernstein for the "practicals"; Marmorek, Greenberg and Jacobus Kann for the "politicals." One of the first acts of the new president was to remove the headquarters of the Organization from Vienna to Cologne.

§ 4

The leaders of Zionism returned to their own countries sobered but not disheartened. In the eight years of its organized existence the Movement had struck deep roots in the Jewries of the world. The teachers of the young were its fervent apostles, and the emotions on which it fed were nourished by talented publicists, poets and orators, who spoke and wrote in Yiddish, Hebrew and many other languages. In some countries, especially those of eastern Europe, the local Zionist

bodies brought their influence to bear on the immediate problems of their communities, a field in which the World Organization wisely permitted them freedom of action.

In Russia during the stormy years that followed the revolution of 1905, and in the Austrian Empire, where the Jews found themselves clamped between the rival nationalities, the Zionists appeared before the Jewish electorates with platforms of their own, and achieved notable victories against their opponents. They made bold and often successful attempts to "capture the communal organizations," obeying the summons which Herzl had issued at the Second Congress. Twelve Jews were elected to the first Russian parliament, the Duma of 1906, and five of them were Zionists, among them Shmaryah Levin, Victor Jacobson and Simon Rosenbaum.

Those were days of high hopes and bitter sorrows for the Jews of Russia. The first Duma, which was much too liberal for the Czar, was quickly dissolved, but even before it began its brief existence, the regime moved to suppress the revolutionary surge in an orgy of pogroms. Beginning in October 1905, Jews in hundreds of cities and towns were attacked by the dregs of Russian society, organized into the infamous Black Hundreds. An investigation conducted by Leon Motzkin for the Zionist Actions Committee disclosed the "official" character of the pogroms, in which 1,000 Jews perished and scores of thousands of Jewish homes were looted and wrecked. But the attackers did not come out unscathed. They were met nearly everywhere by Jewish self-defense groups who gave good accounts of themselves, although they had to contend not only with the rabble but with the police and military who shielded the "patriots."

The leading part in the defense of Jewish life and honor was taken by the Zionist and Socialist youth; they were together in this struggle, but in their basic concepts and aims they were far apart. The Jewish Socialists repudiated all links with their people's past, denouncing the idea of a return to Palestine as illusory and reactionary. For notwithstanding the pogroms, the atmosphere in the Pale was rife with hopes of speedy deliverance from czarist oppression, and in spite of the warnings of Achad Ha'am and others, large numbers of the Jewish youth went out to meet the Revolution more than half way. And Zionism had to contend not only with proletarian foes. Among the middle classes the influential League for the Attainment of Equal Rights for the Jewish People in Russia as well as the party that called itself "Folkist" maintained that, with guaranteed minority rights, the Jews

could preserve themselves permanently as a distinct nationality among the Russians and Poles. Why, then, undergo the hazards of a return to Palestine?

In the prevailing atmosphere the Russian Zionist Organization, the most important segment of the world Movement, felt it necessary to define its policy on the issues that confronted and divided the Russian Jews. In December 1906 its delegates met in Helsingfors (Helsinki) and adopted a program of *Gegenwartsarbeit*, which became a model for other countries. It called for a constitutional democracy in Russia, removal of all legal disabilities against the Jews, and recognition of their rights as a national, religious and linguistic minority, including autonomy in the conduct of their philanthropic and educational institutions. The Helsingfors Conference made it clear that Zionism was concerned not with Palestine alone but with the problems of Jews wherever they dwelt. The same policy, adapted to local conditions, was followed by Zionist organizations in other European lands, and eventually, as we shall see, in the United States. Among the prominent delegates at the Helsingfors Conference were Vladimir Jabotinsky and Isaac Gruenbaum, both of whom were destined to play important roles in the world Movement.

In the Austrian Empire the Zionists applied this policy of self-assertion in the crucial election of 1907 and met with a large measure of success, particularly in Galicia. It was a revolutionary departure for the Jews of that province, who were politically less mature than those of Russia and had until then been exploited by the rival Poles and Ruthenians for their own ends. During the election campaign the Zionists were opposed, at times with violence, by the anti-Zionist Chasidim, the Jewish Socialists, the Poles and the Ruthenians, but they succeeded in electing four of their candidates to the imperial Reichsrat, where they stood together as a separate "Jewish club." Its leader was Benno Straucher, the courageous president of the Jewish community of Czernowitz (Cernauti), the capital of Bucovina, and another of its prominent members was the popular Zionist orator Adolf Stand of Lemberg (Lwów).

§ 5

In the meantime the process of differentiation within the Movement went forward and gave rise to a party of Socialist Zionists and another party of Religious Zionists. Each became a separate federation

within the World Organization. There were friends of the cause who deplored the rise of parties as an augury of strife and weakness, and there were enemies who welcomed it for the same reason. They were both mistaken, for in spite of partisan dissension, which was sometimes bitter, the parties, in the final tally, proved a source of strength rather than of weakness. They were, to begin with, a natural reflection of the sociologic facts of Jewish life. Like other national groups, the Jewish people was not composed of a uniform mass, and the parties bore testimony to the power of the Movement to penetrate to its different strata. Each of the parties, moreover, stimulated to a large extent by the spur of competition, created economic and cultural values which added strength to the Movement in Palestine and the Diaspora. And each of them became a rallying center which drew into the orbit of the Movement a great many who otherwise would have remained aloof. Orthodox Jews came in because there was a Mizrachi party, which stood guard against the infringement of traditional Judaism in the affairs of the Movement, and demanded a Jewish state based on Torah. Socialist Jews became Zionists because there was a Poale Zion party striving for a cooperative commonwealth in Palestine "without exploiters or exploited." Cosmopolitan socialism had a strong appeal for the Jewish youth, and to win them to Zionism required more than ordinary dialectic skill, which only an organized group could bring to bear upon them.

§ 6

No such skill is required to prove that Jewish national restoration is an integral part of traditional Judaism. Faith, land and people are the strands that enter into the fabric of Jewish history, and the resumption of national life in the ancient land is a basic credo of the Orthodox faith. It was Reform Judaism that had to develop a special theology to justify the abandonment of that hope, a task which the champions of Reform in western Europe and America—Abraham Geiger, Samuel Holdheim, Isaac M. Wise, Emil G. Hirsch and others—performed to the satisfaction of their followers. After 1917, when the Balfour Declaration had been issued, large sections of the Reform community became reconciled to "a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine," although a few Reform rabbis, especially in America, had adhered to the Movement from the start and performed yeoman service in it. It was only the Orthodox, however, who became a separate organized body in Zionism.

But the Mizrachi, as the Orthodox party called itself,* failed to rally the entire Orthodox community to its standard. A great many of the Orthodox, like the Chassidim in eastern Europe and the followers of Samson Raphael Hirsch in Germany, clung to the doctrine that the restoration must await the coming of the Messiah and that it was impious to attempt to speed it by human action. Others were unwilling to become part of an organization of which the leaders were known to be indifferent to religious observance. In 1912 prominent Orthodox Jews who were opposed to Zionism met in Kattowitz and organized the Agudat Israel, which won considerable influence in the larger communities of eastern Europe. The Agudah adopted an educational, economic and political program which embraced Palestine also, but for many years it exerted itself to impede the progress of the Zionist Movement. It may be noted, however, that in the end events and realities proved stronger than programs. In the first general election of the State of Israel, the Agudah joined the religious bloc of which the Mizrachi was the leading component, and the principal Agudah representative in the country, Isaac Meir Levin, became a member of a coalition cabinet headed by a Socialist.

§ 7

The Mizrachi party was founded by a group of Russian Zionists who met in Vilna in 1902. Two years later its first international conference took place in Bratislava, where the distinguished rabbi, Isaac Jacob Reines of Lida (1839–1915), a man of original and intrepid mind, was chosen president. Its program aimed on the one hand to bring the Orthodox into Zionism, and on the other to safeguard the interests of traditional Judaism in the conduct of the Movement and its institutions in Palestine. The party obtained recognition as an autonomous federation within the World Organization, and for a long time it stood second in strength and influence at the congresses. The first place was held by the General Zionists, who, as a group, confined their allegiance to the Basel Platform and refrained from committing themselves in economic and religious issues. The Socialists held the third place, and the three represented respectively the Right, the Center and the Left of that unique parliamentary body, the Zionist Congress. Needless to say, there was no love lost between the “godless”

* The word is a contraction of *merkaz ruchani*, meaning “spiritual center.” At the same time it means also “Easterners,” revealing the orientation of the party.

Left and the "clerical" Right, and the Congress was often enlivened and sometimes bedeviled by the bickerings between them. Like the Socialist Zionists, the Mizrachi did not confine themselves to propaganda and internal politics, but in time extended their energies to the work of upbuilding in Palestine. They established schools and eventually colonies of their own, where *avodah* (labor) was combined with Torah.

§ 8

Religious Zionism, standing squarely on the ancient tradition, has been fairly free from the clamor of theoretic disputation with which Socialist Zionism was afflicted from the start. To begin with, it was no small task at the turn of the century to harmonize Socialism with any nationalist movement and persuade its followers to join the bourgeoisie in a common enterprise. Why waste time on the troubles of your own people when the Socialist millennium was about to usher in a golden era from which no people would be excluded? For the most part, therefore, Jewish Socialists turned their backs on Jewish problems, and in Russia, where the millennium had to be preceded by the overthrow of the czarist regime, many of them acquiesced in the slogan that "the wheels of the revolution must be lubricated with Jewish blood." That grisly slogan was taken quite seriously by the leaders of the revolutionary *Narodnaya Volya* (Freedom of the People). In 1881 they encouraged the Russian peasants to continue their bloody pogroms on the "dialectic" ground that the wrath of the Russian populace would roll on, and before long smite the heads of the Czar and his minions.

True enough, most of the Jewish Socialists, organized in the *Bund*, spent their missionary zeal on their fellow-Jews in the congested Pale, and to win their allegiance they were eventually compelled, as we have seen, to make concessions to nationalism. For one thing, they had to address them in Yiddish, and the eccentric Aaron Lieberman (1845-1880), who has been called the "Father of Jewish Socialism," and who had been a rabbinical student and *maskil* in his youth, even conducted his Socialist propaganda in a flowery biblical Hebrew! But the use of Yiddish was at first purely opportunistic. It did not imply recognition that the Jewish masses had special cultural interests and rights. Even the *Bund* began its career with a repudiation of all Jewish nationalist claims, and adopted the Yiddish language only as a vehicle for propaganda. Gradually the policy of the *Bund* underwent a

change: under the pressure of Zionist competition it adopted a nationalist program of a sort, defending the right of the Jewish masses to a language and culture of their own. But it was an "exile nationalism" without a territorial basis, and it meant no abatement of its antagonism toward Palestine, Hebrew and Judaism.

In the struggle for the mind of the Jewish youth, Socialist Zionism found in the *Bund* its most formidable though not its only rival, and from the cities and towns of the Pale the contest moved westward. In Vienna, Paris and the East End of London, in the "ghettos" of New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, the rivals set up their standards. The dialectic din which rose up from platforms, street corners and printed pages, and which developed a jargon of its own, mystified and sometimes diverted the innocent bystanders. As a doctrine, cosmopolitan Socialism was of course a much simpler affair than Socialist Zionism. Its goal for an undivided and happy humanity, free from the strife of classes and nations—a goal devoutly believed to be close at hand—required no mental effort and made a powerful appeal. In the light of that halcyon future, Socialist Zionism looked like a negation and betrayal of Socialism.

§ 9

The fusion of the two goals on the intellectual level was the work of a number of men of keen and original mind among whom Nachman Syrkin (1867–1924) and Ber Borochov (1881–1917) are outstanding. The basic premise and final conclusion of both were much alike. The economic plight of the Jewish proletariat in the Diaspora, they contended, was the result of the abnormal Jewish position in the general economic structure, a marginal and insecure position to which the Jews were forced by the hostilities that surrounded them. The Jewish proletariat, in other words, faced a unique problem which demanded a solution of its own, and the only solution was a Jewish Socialist commonwealth in Palestine. However, in their understanding of the forces that would bring about the fusion of Socialism and Zionism the two men were far apart. Borochov took his stand on the economic determinism of Karl Marx, and elaborated an intricate ideology based on the logic of necessity, which could only appeal to the intellectual. He conceived both Socialism and Zionism as the results of an inexorable historic process. Syrkin rejected Marxian dogmatism, deriving a large measure of his inspiration from Moses Hess. He appealed to the human will and spirit as it strove for truth and justice, and considered Socialist

Zionism the modern version of the message of the Hebrew prophets. Neither of the men remained stationary in his views. For a time Syrkin, as we have seen, stood out as a champion of Territorialism; in his later years he developed a deeper appreciation of religious values. Borochof, towards the end of his brief but eventful life, left his early materialistic doctrines so far behind that he found himself rejected by his former disciples—a fate that has overtaken many another teacher and leader.

From its very start, therefore, Socialist Zionism ran a turbulent course. It gave rise to a number of competing ideological currents and a corresponding number of parties and organizations. And the divisions sprang not only from basic doctrinal differences, but from current controversial issues. Should Socialist Zionism cling to Palestine or go with Zangwill into Territorialism? Should class-conscious Socialists join with “bourgeois” elements in any undertaking? And what place should Diaspora work have in the program of the party?

At the turn of the century Socialist Zionist groups calling themselves Poale Zion (Workers of Zion) appeared in the Ukraine and White Russia, and at a convention in Poltava in 1906, Borochof managed to compose their major differences and they became the “Jewish Social Democratic Workers Party, Poale Zion of Russia.” Two years earlier a Poale Zion party had been formed in Austria, but with a much less rigidly Socialist program than the Russian. In 1905 the groups in America, at a convention in Baltimore, organized themselves on the liberal lines of the party in Austria, but succumbed before long to the dialectics of Borochof. Despite their differences, these groups, together with those in other countries, were anxious to unite into a world body and did so in 1907 at the Hague, where the Eighth Zionist Congress was being held at the same time. Thus the Poale Zion, like the Mizrachi, became an autonomous body within the World Organization, and wherever they could muster a sufficient following they, like the Mizrachi, set up their own organization apparatus, with local branches, central executive organs and a press of their own.

There were two other parties with their roots in Socialist Zionism, which deserve mention in our story. The “Zionist Socialists” better known as the SS (in Russian “Zion” is *Sion*) and the “Jewish Socialist Workers Party,” better known as the *Seimists*, played a not unimportant role in the life of east European Jewry in the first two decades of the century. And if today they are only a memory, the basic reason is that neither of them was oriented toward Palestine. The first, in spite of its name, was not Zionist but Territorialist. The program of the

second was a Socialist version of Dubnow's middle-class Diaspora nationalism. The *Seimists* did not renounce a territorial solution of the Jewish problem, but their primary interest was the organization of Jewish life in eastern Europe on an autonomous basis under a *seim*, which is the Polish word for parliament.

§ 10

The winds of doctrine blow hot and strong in direct proportion to their distance from reality. In Palestine, where Socialist Zionism grappled with the daily problems of Jewish labor, colonization and defense, its current ran deeper, the need for united action was more compelling and the process of fragmentation less pronounced. Its prophets and exponents—Aaron David Gordon, Berl Katznelson, David Ben Gurion and others—appear to speak another language, concrete, simple and earthly. But the story of Labor Zionism in Palestine, from its small beginnings with the Second Aliyah in 1905 to its dominant role in the Yishuv and in the creation of the State, must be reserved for later chapters in our story.

Chapter XIV : THE PACE AND THE NEED

IN THE DECADE between the death of Herzl and the First World War, Zionism did not shrink back to the dimensions of *Chibat Zion*, but neither did it go forward with the *élan* which Herzl had given it; human affairs rarely follow the steady crescendo of a Greek tragedy. Nor could the divided and scattered Jewish people reach out for its destiny as strong and aggressive nations have done, sometimes finding what they seek, sometimes meeting with failure and disaster. Perhaps the most important role of the Movement during the decade, a role of which it was hardly conscious, was that of standing by and being ready for any auspicious moment that might arrive.

In the steady antagonism between the "practicals" and "politicals" the tide ran generally in favor of the former. It was a healthy instinct that impelled the Movement to attach itself more and more to the object of its desire, even if the prospect of full possession appeared remote. The policy of extending Jewish holdings in Palestine gave meaning to the existence of the thousands of Zionist groups, large and small, scattered over the world, which might else have languished and died from inanition. For no movement can live on memories and aspirations only, any more than a religion can live on doctrine without ritual. Contemplation of the millennial hope and singing the *Hatikvah* would not have sufficed. The support of Zionist enterprise in Palestine became the chief ritual of the Movement, nourishing the loyalty of its adherents, who found joy in the progress of the work and sorrow in its setbacks. The work in Palestine gave content to their common deliberations and substance to the flights of their orators.

As the World Organization and its affiliates extended their assets in Palestine, the Movement found itself facing squarely in two directions. It would be difficult to say which of the two, Palestine or the Diaspora, was the more important, although the "practicals" would not have hesitated to declare for the former, and the "politicals" for the latter. This duality, at any rate, became the outstanding feature of the movement since 1905, the year of the "Uganda Congress." In time,

both fronts were recognized as one and indivisible, but until the First World War priority was claimed by the different protagonists for the one or the other.

§ 2

In the principal debate which took place at the Congress that followed—the Eighth in the succession of these great signposts of the Movement—the conflicting claims came sharply to the fore. The Eighth Congress met in the middle of August 1907 in the Hague, that city having been chosen because the Second International Peace Conference was meeting there at the same time. President Wolffsohn and his cabinet hoped that the conscience of the world, which the Peace Conference claimed to embody, would be moved by the plight of the Jewish people, especially after the recent orgy of pogroms in Russia and the unabated persecutions in Rumania. Accordingly, in his brilliant address at the Congress, Nordau made a moving appeal to that conscience. But it gave no sign of being stirred. After all, the progenitor of the Hague Conference was none other than the czar of Russia.

The Eighth Zionist Congress proceeded to its order of business. It heard Wolffsohn report on another futile international conference. It had been called on his initiative and consisted of representatives of important Jewish bodies. It had met in Brussels in January of the previous year to devise measures of relief for the victims of pogroms and persecution, but the well-worded resolutions which the conferees adopted remained pious wishes. The ICA and the French *Alliance* had declined Wolffsohn's invitation; their presence would have given Zionism too much prestige.

The Congress heard Nahum Sokolow, who was now the General Secretary of the Organization, report on the activities of the Inner Actions Committee, and the critics of the report received a surprisingly sharp rejoinder from Wolffsohn. Then came Otto Warburg's report on the work of the Palestine Commission, and the memorable debate that followed was a drawn battle between the "practicals" and "politicals." One of the notable speeches in this debate was delivered by the chemist Chaim Weizmann, who called for a fusion of both standpoints, naming the compound "synthetic Zionism."

Wolffsohn insisted on a smaller executive body as being more efficient, and obtained his wish against considerable opposition: the new president was proving himself not only a more skillful parlia-

mentarian but a much stronger man than either his friends or opponents had thought him. In addition to himself, Otto Warburg and Jacobus Kann were chosen for the new Inner Actions Committee.

§ 3

Three major developments are to be noted in the fortunes of Zionism during the two and a half years between the Eighth Congress and the Ninth. First, the depression caused by the Territorialist secession was definitely overcome. Second, the World Zionist Organization inaugurated its own program of colonization in Palestine. Third, the Movement passed through a hectic period of new hopes and disillusionments as the result of a revolution in Turkey, which put an end to the flabby and corrupt regime of Abdul-Hamid II.

It became clear that there was no basis for the early fear that Territorialism would prove a serious rival to Zionism. The new claimant seemed to have everything to assure it of a large following: the stern logic of necessity, and the failures suffered by its opponent. But Territorialism lacked history and psychology; it could not wean the multitudes away from Palestine. Before long it lost every claim to the title of a popular movement; it became another philanthropic enterprise, with a good sprinkling of hard-bitten anti-Zionists who saw in it an opportunity to undermine the Movement that disturbed their peace. In all countries, and especially in Russia, Austria and Germany, Zionism grew in numbers, influence and conviction. To the central weekly organ *Die Welt*, which Herzl had established, was now added the Hebrew *Ha'olam* (The World), both edited by Nahum Sokolow, and the branch organizations throughout the world, as well as the Mizrahi and Poale Zion parties, issued periodicals of their own. The *Juedischer Verlag*, established by the World Organization, published books of commanding quality. In nearly every country youth groups devoted to educational and athletic activities sprang up within the Movement.

The second important development on the Zionist scene between 1907 and 1909, the assumption by the World Organization of the role of colonizer, is associated with the name of Arthur Ruppin (1876–1943). In 1908 Ruppin became director of a Palestine Office in Jaffa, which the Actions Committee had authorized him to establish. Ruppin was an economist and sociologist whose first important work on Jewish life and problems, *The Jews of Today*, appeared in 1904. His conclusions in that study were not favorable to the Zionist standpoint;

they followed rather closely the theories of Diaspora nationalism as expounded by the historian Dubnow. But Ruppin did not stand still. He advanced from autonomism to Zionism, and from a student and observer to a colonizer of great energy and resourcefulness.

§ 4

But the event that stirred the Movement to new and high hopes was the revolution in Turkey. Its first and bloodless phase, on July 24, 1908, compelled Abdul-Hamid to acquiesce in a constitutional and parliamentary regime for his rickety empire. In April of the following year, when he attempted a counter-stroke, Constantinople was occupied by a revolutionary army after severe fighting, and Abdul-Hamid was deposed. The force behind the revolution was the party of Young Turks, headed by a "Committee of Union and Progress," whose aim was to save their ailing country by cleansing its government of inefficiency and corruption, and introducing western political institutions and industrial methods.

What would be the attitude of the new rulers of Turkey towards Zionism? Would the Young Turks, like the autocrat they had overthrown, oppose it as an attempt to separate Palestine from their empire, or would they accept the assurances of loyalty so solemnly proclaimed on numerous occasions by the leaders of the Movement? Would they perceive the benefits that the colonization of Palestine by an energetic and resourceful people from the west would confer not only on that province but on the whole empire? Such were the questions that now agitated the councils of Zionism the world over, and since men are inclined to believe whatever flatters their hopes, the answers ranged from cautious expectancy to blissful certainty.

The first indications, moreover, encouraged optimism. Two-thirds of the population of the Turkish empire consisted of an assortment of non-Turkish nationalities—Greeks, Serbs, Armenians, Kurds, Arabs, Jews—who collaborated with the insurgents, hoping the Young Turks would listen sympathetically to their claims for autonomous rights, and the statements that came from revolutionary leaders were reassuring. Gracious words were also addressed to the Jews. Among the Jews in Constantinople and other cities of the Empire Zionism became popular in defiance of the community leaders whose attitude remained hostile. The establishment of a branch of the Jewish Colonial Trust in Constantinople, which Wolffsohn and his colleagues had long contemplated, was now expedited, and Victor Jacobson, the

shrewd and capable manager, became the unofficial ambassador of the Zionist Movement in the Turkish capital. He even published a general daily newspaper, *Le Jeune Turc*, which advocated a bold program of reform for Turkey, including autonomous rights for the nationalities and a favorable attitude towards Zionism.

It was not long, however, before the current of Young Turk policy began to run in the opposite direction. The new rulers of Turkey had found it expedient, as long as their tenure was insecure, to direct friendly nods to the nationalities of their sprawling empire, but autonomous rights, as they saw it, meant separatism and eventual secession. As they grew stronger, they adopted a policy of suppression and centralization, which became more and more pronounced. Nor did they, in their foreign policy, shift the orientation of Turkey from Germany, the power which Abdul-Hamid had favored, to Britain, as it was generally expected they would do. The man to whom the Young Turks entrusted the crucial post of reorganizer and drill master of the Turkish army was the German Field Marshal Colmar von der Goltz, who prepared the youth of Turkey for the shambles of the First World War. Thus, not only the domestic but the foreign policy of the Young Turks boded ill for Zionism. For England had proved herself friendly to Herzl's pleas while the experience of a decade had shown that Zionism could expect nothing from Germany, the fountainhead of the new anti-Semitism and, in its influential Jewish circles, the center of rabid anti-Zionism.

By the end of 1909, when the Ninth Zionist Congress convened, the attitude of the new Turkish regime had become abundantly clear. The Zionists, declared the Grand Vizier Hakki Bey, were visionaries; they were dreaming of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine.

§ 5

It was a bleak Congress which met the last week of December 1909 in Hamburg, with inner tensions that gave rise to hectic episodes. Wolffsohn's opponents accused him of having chosen the distant city in order to reduce the delegation from Russia. Even Nordau's address lacked his customary fire. It all stemmed from the new situation in Turkey and the high hopes it had roused and dimmed. This proud effort of an ancient people to raise itself from the Valley of the Shadow was now reduced to the humiliating necessity of making loud protestations of loyalty to a semi-barbarous power, bent on holding in its grasp lands and nations to which it had no moral claim. Even the

Charter, keystone of Herzl's policy, was now, for the sake of appeasement, declared obsolete. But in his peroration Nordau was again the great spokesman of the ineluctable goal. "If the new Turkey," he declared, "will enable us to realize our national dream, we will hail its action as a turning point in Jewish history. If not we must wait. It is bitter to wait and wait, but it is no disgrace. To waver and lose faith—that would be a disgrace."

In the deliberations that followed and lasted for days, the strong opposition to Wolffsohn's leadership stood out conspicuously, for disillusionment breeds discontent. Even his journey to Russia the previous summer, when Wolffsohn was received by the czar's Prime Minister Peter Stolypin and by his Foreign Minister Izwolsky, was denounced. Nor did Wolffsohn's rejoinder to his critics act as an emollient. But every attempt to set up a new administration, with the Russian Zionists strongly represented to act as a curb on the president, failed, and the previous Actions Committee was continued. Underlying the discontent with Wolffsohn was the still unresolved struggle between the "practicals" and "politicals," although the former scored another gain when the Congress authorized Franz Oppenheimer to proceed with the establishment of a colony in Palestine along cooperative lines which he advocated.

§ 6

Two years later, at the Tenth Zionist Congress, the victory of the "practicals"—those who insisted that in fair political weather or foul the work of colonizing Palestine must go on—became complete. A year earlier, in fact, at a meeting of the Greater Actions Committee which took place in Berlin in June 1910, the triumph of the "practicals" had become a foregone conclusion. At that meeting Wolffsohn had accepted the principal demands of the opposition: that the next administration be enlarged, that its headquarters be moved from Cologne to a city with a larger Jewish community and that its president be chosen by itself, not by the Congress. On Wolffsohn's part, it was to all intents and purposes a complete capitulation. It was dictated by a realization that, in spite of the general respect which he commanded, the two strongest units of the World Organization—the Russian and the German—were against him, and by the fear that another secession might result which would wreck the Movement.

The Tenth Congress, which met in August of the following year (1911) in Basel, had only to approve the agreement, so that the at-

mosphere was free from the tension and bitterness that had marred the preceding Congress. The only sharp opponent of Wolffsohn's administration who made himself heard was Daniel Pasmanik, whose talent for caustic criticism had enlivened and irritated previous Congresses. A clash occurred also between the Mizrachi and the Poale Zion. On behalf of the first, the distinguished artist Hermann Struck protested against the infraction of Jewish religious observance in settlements established on land of the Jewish National Fund, and on behalf of the second, Struck was denounced for "attempting to impose a religious police" in Palestine. On the question of whether the World Zionist Organization should embark on a program of cultural work, however, the Mizrachi and Poale Zion, for separate reasons of course, stood on the same side. Both were against it.

There was another flurry at a special session of the Congress devoted to cultural problems and conducted in Hebrew. The Poale Zion delegate Leon Chasanovich insisted on speaking Yiddish. Those were the days when a bitter struggle was being waged between Hebraists and Yiddishists. The first maintained that the national Jewish language was the language of the Bible and the Mishnah and other great products of the Jewish genius, that only Hebrew could become the common tongue of the linguistically divided people, that it must be zealously cultivated and modernized to become the language of the future Jewish state. The Yiddishists, most of them radicals, championed the vernacular of the Jewish masses and pointed proudly to the impressive literature it was producing in the works of writers like the poet Isaac Leib Perez, the humorist Sholem Aleichem, the satirical novelist Mendele Mocher Seforim and many others. They denounced the zeal for Hebrew as a species of snobbery and social reaction. In those early days the Socialist Zionists, except those in Palestine, were for the most part Yiddishists, setting great store by the bold but arid theorizing of Chaim Zhitlowsky, the foremost exponent of the cause.

The administration which the Tenth Congress elected consisted of five men, three "Russians" and two "Germans," all "practicals." They were Nahum Sokolow, Victor Jacobson, Shmaryah Levin, Otto Warburg and Arthur Hantke. They chose Otto Warburg president, and the headquarters of the Movement were transferred from Cologne to Berlin. Thus David Wolffsohn, Herzl's heir, as he was called, yielded to the pressure for immediate and continuous activity in Palestine, and surrendered the leadership without a struggle. He was, however, chosen to head the Jewish Colonial Trust. There were not a few who

now declared, some with grief and some with glee, that political Zionism was dead.

But great and dire events were brewing in the European cauldron, and Herzl's aim and method were soon to acquire a new urgency and a new opportunity.

§ 7

The last Zionist Congress before the outbreak of the First World War was held in Vienna in the first days of September 1913, and it seemed to confirm the impression that Herzl's way no longer animated the Movement. Some of his fervent disciples, including Nordau and Alexander Marmorek, were conspicuously absent, and although Wolffsohn was chosen to preside at the Congress, he declined to lead an organized opposition against the administration. The Inner Actions Committee appeared before the delegates confident of their approval. Its report disclosed that the Movement was making steady headway, although in Russia it was severely hampered by a new government ban. The work in Palestine, led by Arthur Ruppin as director of the Palestine Office, was developing in a number of directions, and could already point to important accomplishments. The function of the Palestine Office, as Ruppin explained to the delegates in a masterly address, was to guide, stimulate and aid the work of other groups and individuals. And to forestall certain criticism, which, however, did not fail to come, Ruppin insisted that the work of the Organization in Palestine must be appraised not on the basis of a bookkeeper's balance sheet, but by its value in promoting the national restoration. The Congress voted approval of the administration and its work in Palestine, and reelected its five members for another term, adding Yechiel Tchenov to the group.

Nevertheless, the "politicals" retained one important post in the elaborate structure of the Movement: control of the Jewish Colonial Trust and its subsidiaries. The administration could, in all likelihood, have wrested this control from them, but it wisely refrained from asserting its power; the rift and the hurt would have been too deep, and it would have involved men of stature in the Movement like Nordau, Wolffsohn, Kann, Katzenelsohn and Bodenheimer. Nordau, whose alienation had already gone too far, had addressed a letter to the Congress in which he exhorted the delegates "meeting in Herzl's city to remember Herzl's conception of Zionism," and to bear in mind "that

our financial weapons, which were forged with so much toil, are not strong enough to sustain careless and reckless use."

In its "foreign affairs," the two years that preceded the Eleventh Congress saw the Movement, with its headquarters in Berlin, orient itself more closely towards Germany. It was an orientation that provoked a good deal of criticism at the Congress, especially since the German language already dominated its proceedings and records. For by one of the grimmest ironies of history, the language of those who were to mass-murder the Jews of Europe proved most accessible to the great majority of them, their native tongue being Yiddish. But the orientation was defended on the political ground that Germany was the power with the greatest influence in Turkey. Those two years saw also a serious decline in the power and possessions of the Turkish Empire as a result of its defeat in the Balkan War of 1912, but the hope that this humiliation would make the Young Turks more receptive to Zionist proposals proved another illusion. It only hardened their suspicions and made them cling to their shrinking domains with greater tenacity.

§ 8

Among those who delivered valedictories at the last session of this Congress was Chaim Nachman Bialik, the foremost Hebrew poet of modern times, and his presence and words highlighted the intimate connection between the progress of Zionism and the efflorescence of the new Hebrew literature. In 1897 Bialik, who was then twenty-four, had voiced the new hope of his people in a poem which he addressed to the delegates of the First Zionist Congress, concluding with the lines:

*Your memory like a faithful sun will light
The heavy darkness of your people's night.*

And now, sixteen years later, he spoke to the chosen representatives of a Movement which girdled the globe. He spoke to the delegates in the ancient tongue which he made flexible to modern uses without sacrificing its biblical flavor. In particular, he hailed their decision to proceed at once with the establishment of a University in Jerusalem. The leading advocate of the proposal had been Chaim Weizmann, but Bialik reminded the delegates that as far back as the First Congress the idea had been projected by the frail but indomitable Hermann Scha-

pira. It was characteristic of Zionism, Bialik pointed out, that an enterprise of such great spiritual import should have had its birth in the precise mind of a mathematician.

§ 9

It was clear, moreover, that Zionism had given stimulus not only to the new Hebrew literature but to Jewish cultural activity in all fields and in many languages, including, of course, the vernacular of the Jewish masses, Yiddish. In the heat of the conflict between Yiddishists and Hebraists some of the latter went to the extreme of repudiating Yiddish altogether. But in the main, Zionists refused to be stampeded into such an attitude. For the fact was that the new Yiddish literature was not anti-Zionist. On the contrary, its creators drew their inspiration from the spiritual roots of their people, and echoed their hopes as well as their sorrows. They were nourished by the Jewish ethos and quickened it in turn. Both literatures illumined the significance of the Movement and deepened its emotional content.

The rebirth of Hebrew as a living vernacular and the efflorescence of its literature are associated principally with the resurgence of Jewish national life in Palestine. But the first decade of the twentieth century saw the new Hebrew literature strike root and spread its branches in Europe and across the ocean in America. In Russia there was an impressive Hebrew press and periodical literature with three dailies, the oldest of them, *Hamelitz* (The Advocate), in the capital, the Warsaw *Hatzefirah* (The Morning), of which Nahum Sokolow was for a number of years the editor, and the Vilna *Hazman* (The Times). Among the periodical reviews *Hashiloach* (The Messenger), founded by Achad Ha'am and edited for a quarter of a century by Joseph Klausner, was the most important. And the revival of the ancient tongue in eastern Europe was further stimulated by the important place it had in the schools which were established through Zionist initiative. Besides, the great creators of the new Hebrew literature—the poets Chaim Nachman Bialik, Saul Tchernichovsky, Jacob Cahan, Jacob Fichman and Zalman Shneour; the essayists and historians Achad Ha'am, Nahum Sokolow, Joseph Klausner and Reuben Brainin; the novelists Joseph Chaim Brenner, Samuel Joseph Agnon, Micha Joseph Berditchewsky, Judah Steinberg, and David Frischman—all had their roots in the intense Jewish life of eastern Europe, though many of them were destined to become part of the new life in Palestine. And this is true also of the foremost pioneer of the

Hebrew revival, Eliezer ben Yehudah. It was chiefly the Zionist Movement that spurred these men to self-expression. It sustained them in their self-dedication to a medium with a still limited scope and audience.

Zionism spoke in many other languages also—in Russian, Polish, German, English. It addressed itself to the Jews and their neighbors through a periodical press across the world. And the Movement stimulated self-expression and self-assertion in other fields—in music, the drama and the plastic arts, in athletics and self-defense. An impressive demonstration of athletic skill was staged by Jewish gymnastic societies before the delegates of the Eleventh Congress in Vienna, and the occasion was further embellished by dramatic performances and art exhibitions. The Movement launched by the First Congress sixteen years earlier was revitalizing Jewish life, especially in the populous communities of eastern Europe.

§ 10

Apart from Zionism and the ancient faith, those communities had little on the eve of the First World War that was hopeful and heartening. The millions in the Russian Pale were finding life increasingly hard. "How do you bear it?" was the question Herzl had again and again asked the community leaders in 1903 when he traveled in Russia and saw the misery of his people. But a decade later their lot was even worse. The czar and his ministers were always haunted by the specter of revolutionary outbreaks like those of 1905, and their chief device for heading them off was to intensify their persecutions against the Jews. They found a willing tool in the reactionary Third Duma, better known as the Black Duma, which met in the fall of 1907 and continued to the spring of 1912. That assembly of the ungodly, which owed its existence to skillful juggling with the electoral law, devised new brutalities against the Jews and made merry at their expense while doing so. More and more of them were rendered destitute by new expulsions from cities outside the Pale and from villages inside of it. The cities of the Pale became more congested, the competition keener and the opportunities for earning a livelihood fewer and fewer. At the same time the *numerus clausus* against Jewish pupils in the schools was enforced with new refinements of cruelty.

But in 1911 the czar and his camarilla, dominated by the depraved monk Gregory Rasputin, outdid themselves in a revival of the medieval charge of ritual murder. It was staged on an elaborate struc-

ture of distortion and perjury against Mendel Beilis, a Jewish watchman in a Kiev brickyard, near which the body of a murdered Russian boy had been discovered. The infamous case, which roused the indignation of decent humanity throughout the world, dragged on from 1911 to 1913. Beilis was finally acquitted, but only a month before the outbreak of the War twenty-five prominent Russian lawyers were convicted of agitating against the government because they had condemned the manner in which the case was being conducted by the Minister of Justice. A solemn denunciation of the czar's blood libel was voted by the Eleventh Zionist Congress in Vienna.

In the Polish provinces of the Russian Empire the anti-Semitism that proceeded from the imperial capital was reinforced by the native hostility of the Poles. It expressed itself most effectively in a virulent economic boycott against the Jews, and the same policy of economic extrusion was pursued by the Poles in Galicia. Thousands of Jewish families in that province lost their livelihood when the salt mines and wine trade were made government monopolies. The motives that impelled the Poles were the same which, as Herzl had pointed out, operated in the countries of western Europe. The Poles wanted the middle-class positions in commerce, industry and the professions—positions largely occupied by Jews—for themselves.

Even more deplorable was the lot of the 250,000 Jews in Rumania. In Galicia they were subjects of His Imperial Majesty, Francis Joseph II, and, before the law, equal citizens of the Austro-Hungarian state. In Rumania they were still legally aliens and completely at the mercy of a vicious and deep-rooted anti-Semitism, official and popular. The Boyars, or large landowners, found it convenient, as in the agrarian disturbances of 1907, to divert the wrath of their peasants upon the Jews, and in the cities the professional and commercial classes acquired the habit of inciting the students and the rabble against their Jewish competitors. The Rumanian Jews were legislated out of the villages and small towns, deprived of many sources of livelihood, and barred from the schools and universities. And although the rights of citizenship were denied them, they were not exempted from its duties, including military service. In 1913 many Jews fought for Rumania in the Second Balkan War; they were promised naturalization, but the promise was cynically broken.

The harassed millions in those lands could not, of course, look for immediate succor from Zionism. The beacon which Herzl had kindled at the turn of the century still burned, but with a smaller flame. The Jewish establishment in Palestine was helpless in face of the

hosts who were seeking an escape. But Zionism gave these hosts a pride and a self-respect which they also needed in order to live. In Russia where, in spite of official malevolence, Zionism continued to draw its main strength, it brought the inhabitants of the Pale new dignity and fortitude. In Galicia Zionism led the Jews in their political struggles against the oppressors and their Jewish lackeys. In Rumania, as in all other lands, it inspired the Jewish youth with courage to face their persecutors in physical encounter. Wherever it struck root Zionism brought an affirmation of national pride and a quickening of morale. And it acted as a brake on the tendency to accept abjectly and uncritically the ways and norms of the dominant majority, that demoralizing tendency which has a way of creeping into the habits of every suppressed minority.

As for the greater hope with which the Movement was launched, its fate depended largely on the current of international affairs, winding and plunging in a manner which no one could predict.

Chapter XV: ZIONISM COMES TO AMERICA

EVER SINCE the pogrom wave of 1881, the haven of refuge for the hounded and destitute who managed to escape from eastern Europe was America. From that year until the outbreak of the First World War some two millions of them from Russia alone had found asylum in the United States, and scores of thousands had come from Rumania and Galicia. By 1914 the community in the United States was estimated to number nearly 3,500,000; it was the second largest under one political jurisdiction in the world, the first being the Russian. But until that year the part played by American Jewry in the Zionist movement failed to measure up to either its size or resources. And many were the causes that produced this failure. Some of them, social and ideological in character, are not difficult to find and appraise, while others are more subtle and elusive.

This impressive aggregation, to begin with, could hardly be called a community, if that term implies a common outlook and common aims. In 1909 a brave attempt was made to weld the great conflux in the City of New York into a real community, to create a *Kehillah* or over-all communal organization. It was led by Judah L. Magnes, a popular and dynamic young rabbi, who won considerable support for the undertaking. But the attempt failed; the divisive influences proved insurmountable. They sprang from differences in countries of origin, in length of residence in the New World, in economic station, in cultural background, in religious outlook. At one extreme, the Left, stood the leaders, if not the rank and file, of the labor unions, radical and militantly anti-religious and anti-Zionist. At the other, the Right, were the notables of the American Jewish Committee, nearly all of them belonging to the older or "German" stratum of American Jewry, Reform in their religious affiliation, men of wealth and influence who were not inclined to share their power with the more recent arrivals, whose capacity for responsible communal action they distrusted. Their aversion to

Zionism was quite as strong as that of the Socialist labor leaders, and on that issue the two ends stood together against the Center. This Center consisted of the great and generally Orthodox majority. They were deeply moved by the messianic ferment that had seized upon their kindred in the Old World, but economically and socially they had not yet "arrived," and they were sadly lacking in leadership.

On the rock of these differences the *Kehillah* movement in New York foundered, and any attempt to extend the effort to a wider geographic front was out of the question. The Jews of America had a multitude of organizations—religious, philanthropic, fraternal and others—but American Jewry was disorganized. There were times when the differences were submerged in a common effort, but they were occasions of distress and alarm, like the Kishinev pogrom of 1903, the Russian pogrom wave of 1905 and 1906, and the disaster that smote the world in the summer of 1914.

For Zionism in America, the great reservoir of strength lay, of course, in the large but amorphous Center. Its constituents were chiefly recent arrivals who were still seeking their bearings in the New World. It was new not only in the geographic sense, but novel, strange and baffling in every other. Concerning Palestine, Jews who went there reported a remarkable thing: they felt at home in it the moment they touched its shore. That certainly was not the experience of the millions who came to America, hospitable as its shores might be. The feeling of at-homeness came to them only after a more or less prolonged and difficult period of adjustment; they had to pass through the wringer of Americanization. Many of them were too bewildered not to be impressed by the warnings of the bankers and philanthropists that the Movement launched in Basel by Theodor Herzl was incompatible with their obligations to America. For the first two decades, therefore, Zionism in America failed to realize on the great potential that lay stored for it in the multitudes that hailed from eastern Europe.

But even the small number of those who did answer the call of the First Zionist Congress and organized to promote its purpose were unable to furnish the top-level leadership out of their own midst. For nearly twenty-five years organized Zionism in America presented the curious spectacle of rank-and-file adherents consisting of east Europeans—foreign-born, as its opponents were never weary of pointing out—and its leaders hailing from the older or "German" stratum. Those leaders, of course, were isolated "rene-

gades," who defied the prevailing attitude of their milieu. In their own circles they were met by dubious stares, but on the East Side of New York they were raised high in the councils of the Movement. They had social prestige and poise, these "Westerners," and they spoke the language of the land without an accent. And they were invaluable for refuting the charge that Zionism was a foreign and un-American product.

§ 2

The first organized response to Herzl's summons in the United States came not in New York but in Chicago, and it came as early as 1896, the year when the *Judenstaat* was published. A group of "Russians" came together and constituted themselves the "Chicago Zionist Organization Number One," the numeral testifying to their faith that their example would be emulated by many more in their city. The exuberant Harris Horvich and his more sober brother Bernard, both of whom were fresh from a journey to Palestine, were the moving spirits of the group, and it had at least one "intellectual" in the Yiddish journalist Leon Zolotkoff. Bernard Horvich was chosen president and Zolotkoff was sent to Basel to represent the group at the First Zionist Congress.

But there was one lone "German" at the meeting where organized Zionism in America was born. He was Bernhard Felsenthal, a distinguished Reform rabbi already in his seventy-fifth year, and altogether a remarkable man. He stood like a rock against the waves of wrath and entreaty that beat upon him from his pulpit colleagues. He made light of their warnings against compromising the loyalty of his coreligionists in America, and even treated their favorite doctrine of "the mission of Israel" with lofty scorn. "We as individual Jews," he declared with a penetration and boldness that must have dismayed the "missionaries," "have no special message to deliver to mankind. From Palestine, from a Jewish *Musterstaat* (model state), our so-called 'mission' can best be fulfilled." On the eve of the Second Zionist Congress the aged zealot sent the president of the organized Zionists of America an expression of profound regret that his advanced years prevented him from serving as a delegate. "Those high-minded and generous-hearted enthusiasts," he wrote, "whom you will see in Basel—extend my greetings to them, and tell them that on the shore of distant Lake Michigan there is an old man who longs for the blessed fulfillment of their hopes." Felsen-

thal died in 1908, and in the last ten years of his life, writes his daughter Emma in a moving biography of her father, "Zionism was his most absorbing interest. . . . When Herzl died in 1904 there was mourning in the hearts of Zionists all over the world. In Chicago a funeral procession marched several miles through the streets of the Jewish district, escorting an empty carriage. My father was one of the silent marchers."

§ 3

The hope that shone in the numeral of the name adopted by the first Zionist society in Chicago was fulfilled, but not quite in the manner envisaged by its founders. To win a larger following they soon afterwards took a leaf out of the experience of other movements and organizations that were springing up in the country. The Catholics had their Knights of Columbus, and the young and militant labor movement had its Knights of Labor, fraternal orders with secrets and mysteries and rituals which, for reasons not easy to fathom, exercise a fascination even on adult and sophisticated minds. The Zionists of Chicago decided to reconstitute themselves as the Knights of Zion. The separate units of their order they called "Gates," that is to say, portals leading to Zion, probably suggested by the words of the Psalmist: "This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous may enter it." In one year ten "Gates" were opened in Chicago, and the order, reports its first president, Bernard Horvich, had "thousands of members." It was apparently a successful application of a popular vogue, but its very success was destined to prove an obstacle to the efforts that came later to establish a single Zionist organization for the entire country. For years the Knights of Zion insisted on remaining a separate body. In 1907 it changed its name to the Federated Zionist Societies of the Middle West, for by that time it had ceased to be a fraternal order, but it was not until 1913 that it became a part of the larger body of the Movement in America, the Federation of American Zionists.

The metropolis of the Middle West holds a high place in the history of American Zionism not only for having been the scene of the first organized effort, but for the important personalities it contributed to the Movement. The most distinguished among them was Julian W. Mack, a judge of the United States Circuit Court, a man of vigorous intellect and persuasive charm. Among the others were Hugo Pam and Harry M. Fisher, who also sat on the judicial

bench; Gerson B. Levi, Solomon Freehof and Solomon Goldman, prominent rabbis and scholars; Nathan D. Kaplan, who was among the first American Jews to establish themselves in Palestine; the chemist and industrialist Abraham K. Epstein, and the energetic leader of the Knights of Zion, Max Shulman.

§ 4

That lone enthusiast in the Reform fraternity of the Middle West had his counterpart in the East, the fearless and eloquent Gustav Gottheil, rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in New York, the wealthiest Reform congregation in America and for many years one of the citadels of anti-Zionism. Gottheil was seventy years old when the First Zionist Congress convened in Basel, and in the six remaining years of his life he made brave but futile efforts to inspire his flock with some of his own enthusiasm for the new cause. He was more successful in imparting his convictions to his son Richard, a distinguished orientalist and professor of Semitic languages at Columbia University. Richard Gottheil was one of the first organizers of Zionism in America, and served as president of the Federation of American Zionists from 1898 to 1904. He attended the First Zionist Congress in Basel with his wife Emma, who achieved distinction in her own right as one of the leaders of the Movement among the women of America.

The Federation of American Zionists began its career at a national conference held in New York in July 1898, at which nearly 100 societies were represented, 36 of them with a membership of some 5,000 in New York alone. The Federation was a rather loose organization, in which the unit of membership was not the individual but the society, and it took in not only groups that sprang up in response to the Basel Platform but *Chovevei Zion* societies, Hebrew-speaking clubs, Jewish educational societies and even a number of synagogue organizations and fraternal lodges. The primary responsibility of the individual was to his group, not to the national federation. Many of the groups were short-lived, and the strength they contributed to the central body, including the essential item of financial aid, was meager and precarious. It was not until 1917 that these weaknesses in the organizational structure of American Zionism were remedied by replacing the Federation with the Zionist Organization of America, in which the individual, not the group, was made the unit of membership.

The first conference of Zionist societies in America in 1898 which elected Richard Gottheil president, also elected the twenty-four-year-old Reform rabbi Stephen S. Wise as secretary. The young man was already revealing the exceptional gifts which were to make his career one of the most brilliant and constructive in American Jewry: tireless energy, fearlessness and a zest for combat, an uncompromising devotion to principle and unrivaled oratorical power. Not many years later, Wise was offered the most coveted post in American Reform Judaism, the pulpit of Temple Emanu-El in New York. He rejected it, branding it as a "muzzled pulpit," the startling adjective referring chiefly to the unwillingness of the Temple members to have their ears assailed with sermons favorable to Zionism. Wise established his own Free Synagogue where he spoke freely and compellingly on Zionism and other subjects, popular and unpopular.

The Conference also elected five vice-presidents, two of whom, Joseph Bluestone and Bernhard Felsenthal, have already entered into this chronicle. The others were Marcus Jastrow of Philadelphia, eminent scholar and leader in Orthodox Judaism; Zvi Hirsch Masliansky, active for many years in the Movement in Russia and a Yiddish orator who attracted large audiences and kept them spellbound; and Scheftel Schaffer, a Baltimore rabbi, who had been a delegate to the First Zionist Congress the year before. Baltimore harbored a number of other distinguished adherents. There were Benjamin Szold, teacher and scholar, and Aaron Friedenwald and his son Harry, both distinguished ophthalmologists and ardent Zionists.

As early as May 1897, Herzl took note in his Diary of the first sprouts of the Movement in the New World. He had been informed of meetings in New York, and received an article on Zionism which had appeared in the *New York Sun*. He showed the clipping to Benedict, one of the publishers of the *Neue Freie Presse*, the paper of which Herzl was now the literary editor, but which observed a hostile silence on his Movement. "You are driving the whole world crazy," Benedict remarked, "you are the genuine Pied Piper of Hamelin."

§ 5

In the records of the First Zionist Congress there are four accredited delegates from the United States and the Second Congress has six. The growth of the Movement in America was slow. The well-to-do held aloof from it, and the societies, each burdened

with its own small problems, had no effective sense of obligation towards the Movement as a whole. The Federation found itself in a state of chronic indigence; delegates to the Congress were those who could pay their own expenses. In October, 1901, *The Maccabean* began its brave and toilsome career. This official organ of the Movement in America, which appeared only once a month, was unable to pay for articles or editorial service, and for many years it owed its life to the generosity and drudgery of the modest David H. Lieberman, one of the many obscure and unsung zealots of the cause. Its first editor was the twenty-five-year-old Louis Lipsky, whose gifts for trenchant expression as writer and orator raised him to a high place in the Movement. In 1902 Jacob de Haas (1872-1937), a London journalist and one of Herzl's first adherents in England, came to America at the leader's request, and became secretary of the Federation of American Zionists and editor of *The Maccabean*. Tenacious, resourceful and dynamic, de Haas was also destined to achieve a high place in the American Movement, but not many years after his arrival the impecunious condition of the Federation forced him to resign his posts. He launched a publishing enterprise of his own in Boston, where he got to know a prominent Bostonian named Louis D. Brandeis.

Among the other growing-pains that afflicted the Movement in those early days was an outcropping of inner dissensions, which in 1901 resulted in a schism. The original *Chibat Zion* groups, led by Joseph Bluestone, felt they were not given adequate recognition by the "newcomers" and seceded, setting up a federation of their own. It is significant that the conflict was interpreted as the result of a basic antagonism between "east" and "west"; it was the forerunner of a more serious schism that came two decades later. To Herzl, who tried to heal the breach, Bluestone explained that it resulted from basic differences between the Americanized group under the Gottheil-Wise leadership, and an immigrant Orthodox group headed by Rabbi Philip Klein and himself. But several years afterwards the breach healed itself, as it were. The new organization disbanded, and its members, including Bluestone himself, returned to the Federation.

§ 6

The annual convention became a permanent feature of the Movement in America, and among the early conventions the one

that took place in Pittsburgh in June 1903 stands out prominently. American Jewry had been horrified by the Kishinev pogrom which occurred in April of that year, and the civilized world in general had been shocked by it. The reaction in the United States was impressive. Scores of indignation meetings were held all over the country, the one in New York under the chairmanship of Mayor Seth Low, with ex-President Grover Cleveland the principal speaker. In the work of organizing meetings and demonstrations, as well as collecting funds for relief, the Zionists were among the most active. A huge protest parade in New York was organized and led by the valiant Joseph Barondess, one of the few labor leaders who threw off the shackles of dogmatic Marxism and devoted his great energies to the Zionist cause. A special fund to aid Jewish self-defense in Russia found a champion in Judah L. Magnes, who defied his social milieu and rose rapidly in the leadership of American Zionism. The Pittsburgh convention registered the strong impulse which the Kishinev pogrom added to Zionism the world over. "We shall bring to the Basel Congress a program which, we believe, will help our people," said Herzl in a cabled message to the convention. He was alluding to the ill-starred Uganda project which, alas, was to bring his people no help, but produced, instead, an ominous rupture in the Movement.

§ 7

What more convincing proof that Zionism was the only answer to the Jewish question than the Kishinev pogrom? The enthusiasts, at any rate, felt that their answer had been vindicated, and they expected a large influx of new converts into the fold. But the hope proved an illusion. The shock and the indignation subsided, and people returned to their old habits of living and thinking, for it is not the way of men to remain long affected by suffering that is thousands of miles removed. Those who found Zionism a menace to their repose saw no reason for embracing it because something had occurred that had jarred them for a brief moment. Nor could an "incident" like Kishinev shake the assurance of the theological opponents of Zionism, of men like Kauffmann Kohler, for example, head of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, the powerhouse of Reform in America. Kohler declared that "the Zionist who clamors for a specific Jewish land does not understand the designs of God and the nature of Judaism."

For another long decade—until the outbreak of the World War

in 1914—Zionism in America continued to be a small and feeble enterprise. It provided an outlet for some thousands of devotees who met in their societies like the votaries of some bizarre cult. They discussed the latest developments in the nerve centers of the world Movement, sold *shekolim*, made collections for the Jewish National Fund, sold shares of the Jewish Colonial Trust and sang *Hatikvah*. The Movement remained an "East Side affair," which meant that it had no money or influence or social prestige. True, its leaders were not "East Siders," they were from the right side of the tracks, but they were like British officers in an army of "natives." Gottheil, Wise and Magnes were unable to induce others of their social stratum to join them in their "descent."

§ 8

If the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, which trained rabbis for Reform congregations, was a stronghold of anti-Zionism, the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, whose graduates occupied the pulpits of Conservative congregations, was an important source of strength to the Movement. This role of the Seminary was confirmed when in 1902 Solomon Schechter (1847-1915) became its president. Schechter was that rare sort of teacher who influences his students more by what he is than by what he says. His attainments in the field of scholarship were imposing, but with all his devotion to what was called Jewish science, Schechter, unlike most of its devotees, remained a religious mystic. In Zionism he saw the salvation of Judaism, and he entered the lists as its champion, although he deplored its tendency towards secularism. He inspired his students with his own exuberant convictions, which they in turn carried to numerous communities over the country.

Already in those early days Zionists in America were frequently angered by the accusation of "double loyalty," and Schechter did not hesitate to break a lance with the accusers. In 1907 the charge came from none other than Jacob H. Schiff, the redoubtable financier and lavish philanthropist, whose generosity embraced every branch of Judaism, as well as many other causes, non-Jewish as well as Jewish. In August 1907 Schiff declared: "I cannot for a moment concede that one can be at the same time a true American and an honest adherent of the Zionist Movement." Coming from such a source, the statement produced consternation among the Zionists and jubilation among their opponents. A Zionist mass-

meeting in New York denounced Schiff's aspersions, and Schechter made a vigorous reply to the philanthropist, who, as it happened, was a leading benefactor of Schechter's own institution. It was an issue on which the Zionists were exceedingly sensitive. Their side of it had the support of distinguished Americans, including John Hay, Elihu Root and Theodore Roosevelt, and perhaps the most cogent reply to the accusers came later from Louis D. Brandeis in the pithy sentence: "Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent." But the ghost of double loyalty was not laid. Throughout the history of Zionism it has stalked the scene, at times an almost invisible wraith, at other times a more substantial and menacing specter. As for Schiff himself, his generous emotions, if not his opinions, were destined to bring him into close association with the work of rehabilitation in Palestine. In 1918 he rebuked the bitter intransigence of the eminent Reform rabbi, David Philippon, and two years later he proclaimed: "Let American Jewry unite for the upbuilding of Palestine."

§ 9

At the convention of 1904, which took place in Cleveland, Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore was chosen president of the Federation of American Zionists, and he continued in that office for eight years. He was not an aggressive leader, nor did he wield influence in the American community, but he was a man of sterling character and personal charm and his devotion to the cause was hereditary and profound. The convention of 1904 was the last to receive a message from the leader across the ocean, whose strength was being drained away by the stormy Uganda issue. "I was deeply pained to note that it was believed that I had given up Palestine," Herzl wrote in his letter to the convention under date of April 28, 1904. And he went on to express the hope that the Zionists of America would devote their attention "to obliterating the injuries done our cause in the last few months by the refusal on the part of some to obey the mandate of the Congress." He was referring, of course, to the ultimatum which had been issued by the Charkov Conference. But the news of the leader's death was flashed to America while the convention was still in session.

The defection of the Territorialists a year later produced only feeble echoes in America. The small but devoted army of Zionists struggled on to achieve a larger place for the Movement against the

inertia of the immigrant environment by which it was hemmed, and the opposition of the privileged and sated. But the decade that followed did register progress in a number of directions. In 1908, the year when Ruppin set up the Palestine Office of the World Organization in Jaffa, Simon Goldman, a merchant of St. Louis, launched a bold and ingenious project to attach individual American Jews to the expanding settlement in Palestine. He called it the *Achoozah** plan, and under it, land in Palestine was to be purchased and improved by an association with capital subscribed by members, who in due course would be settled on the land. In 1911 Goldman established the colony of Poriah, the first American settlement to be planted in Palestine. It encountered unforeseen difficulties and eventually had to be abandoned, but in 1913 there were seven *Achoozah* groups in the United States with a membership of 250 and a capital stock of nearly \$500,000; and the plan had been copied in other countries, particularly in Russia.

In 1909 a weekly organ in Yiddish, *Dos Yiddishe Folk* (The Jewish People), was added to the monthly *Maccabaeen*, with the meticulous and scholarly Senior Abel as editor. And the decade before the First World War saw the emergence of three offshoots of the Federation, which became important factors in the growth of the Movement in America. They were the Order Sons of Zion, Young Judea and Hadassah.

§ 10

Zionist societies came and went, and their members also stayed on for a time and dropped out. It was with the aim of attaching the individual more firmly to the Movement that the Order Sons of Zion was created. In addition to providing its members with the benefits "in case of sickness or need" which other fraternal orders offered, it adopted as one of its primary aims "to help the Zionist Congress to provide our people with a publicly assured, legally secured home in Palestine." The idea of a Zionist fraternal order was not new; it had, in fact, already been embodied in the Knights of Zion of the Middle West, and in 1901 it had been advocated by Bluestone and opposed by the officers of the Federation, who hoped that the members of the existing orders would flock to their banner. But the years brought greater wisdom, and the Order Sons of Zion was born in 1907 with the blessings of the Federation, of which it

* The Hebrew word meaning estate or landed property.

became an integral part. By 1914 it numbered several thousand members, grouped in "camps," as the local lodges were called. Among its moving spirits were the attorney Joshua Sprayregen and the physician Hyman J. Epstein.

For the adults the Movement in America now had societies and "camps," and somewhat later Hadassah "chapters"; but a new generation was growing up in the "ghettos" of the great cities. Would the children be loyal to the traditions and hopes of their parents? The alienating influences were many and strong, and the tendency of the young to break away from the ancient moorings was difficult to check. On the leaders of the Federation lay heavy burdens—the eternal deficit being the most galling—which prevented them from grappling with the serious problem of providing Zionism with a future. Until 1909 all efforts to form groups of young people under the wings of the Movement were half-hearted and sporadic. The most important group of the sort was the "Doctor Herzl Zion Club," consisting of boys of whom some, including Emanuel Neumann and Abba Hillel Silver, were destined to play leading roles in the world Movement.

At the convention of that year, which was held in Atlantic City, Young Judea was officially born. It was a league of clubs of boys and girls between ten and eighteen, aiming "to perpetuate the high ideals and traditions of Judaism and develop a love for Palestine and a desire to participate in its rebuilding." A year later Young Judea started a monthly magazine for its members, *The Young Judean*, and by 1914 it embraced 175 clubs with a membership of five thousand. Its first president was Israel Friedlander, a teacher of the Jewish Theological Seminary, but the founder and moving spirit was the indomitable David Schneeberg of Philadelphia. The organization was enthusiastically promoted by a group of older young men and women—among them Sundel Doniger, Charles Cowen, Samuel Borowsky, Jessie Sampter and Joshua Neumann—all of whom belong to the large company of the "illustrious obscure" of the Zionist Movement.

Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, also began as an affiliate of the Federation of American Zionists. Under the slogan "the healing of the daughter of my people," which was furnished by the prophet Jeremiah, Hadassah* was launched in 1912 in New York. It utilized as a beginning a number of exist-

* Hadassah was the Hebrew name of the biblical Queen Esther.

ing "Daughters of Zion" Societies, and set itself the double aim of "promoting Jewish institutions and enterprises in Palestine and fostering Zionist ideals in America." Among its initiators and leaders were Alice Seligsberg, Rose G. Jacobs, Irma Lindheim, Lotta Levensohn, Emma Gottheil and Eva Leon. But the commanding figure was Henrietta Szold, who by character and achievement belongs in the line of the great Jewish women of history, the line which includes among others the prophetess Deborah and Gracia Mendes, the valiant benefactress of the sixteenth century.

The task which Hadassah assumed under its first aim was to promote the health of Palestine by combating its endemic diseases—trachoma and malaria—and assisting its people, irrespective of race or creed, to better health and hygienic living. That task has remained Hadassah's principal mission in Palestine. It was begun in January 1913 with the dispatch of two trained nurses who established a health center in Jerusalem. It was the modest start of what became an imposing network of institutions for healing and health conservation. At the same time the organization in America grew rapidly: chapters of Hadassah soon appeared in the larger cities throughout the country.

§ 11

To round out the picture of American Zionism on the eve of the First World War, two more groups must be added to the canvas: the Mizrahi and the Poale Zion. As early as 1898 a conference of Orthodox rabbis in the United States, whose messianic beliefs were in step with those of Zevi Hirsch Kalischer and Samuel Mohilever, endorsed the Basel Platform. Five years later the first Mizrahi society made its appearance in New York, and in the two years that followed there was rapid growth, with the Mizrahi societies a distinct group in the Federation of American Zionists. Then came tension and stagnation. In Europe the World Mizrahi Federation had been created, and the groups in America felt that their affiliation belonged to that body. The religious Zionists, moreover, found the Movement in America too secular in its leadership and spirit. In 1914 they terminated their connection with the American Federation and became affiliated with their own world federation. They took the step under the guidance of the resolute and resourceful Rabbi Meyer Berlin (1881-1949), who had come the previous year from Europe. It was he who revitalized religious Zionism in America.

Socialist Zionism in America, as in all other countries, had a much more tumultuous career. To begin with, it was only one of many Socialist voices that competed for the ear of the Jewish workers in America. The others were all cosmopolitan in their outlook; any manifestation of nationalism was anathema to them. Their appeal was more simple, their promise of salvation was in the here and now, and they won a large following. But in the battle of ideologies, the Socialist Zionists were bold and persistent, and they succeeded with those—always a minority—who refuse to apply ready-made nostrums to all ailments. The first Poale Zion group in America was organized in New York in 1903, and among its founders was Abraham Goldberg (1883-1944), a gifted writer and speaker, who in later years transferred his allegiance to the General Zionists. Soon afterwards Poale Zion groups were formed in a number of other cities. The Territorialist issue then appeared on the scene and played havoc among them. At a conference in 1905 they tried to straddle the issue, but it was not until 1909 that the strife came to an end. At a convention held that year in Chicago a “Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion” was established. Curiously enough, the Young Turk revolution acted as chief conciliator. The rosy hopes it inspired persuaded the leading Socialist Territorialists, including Syrkin who had come to America two years before, to abandon the quest for a land other than Palestine. Nor were the Socialists the only ones to be elated by that revolution. At the convention of the Federation held the same year in New York the delegates gave overwhelming assent to a declaration by Magnes that the grant of a constitution in the “free” Ottoman Empire meant the fulfillment of the Basel Platform! Hardheaded realism was not yet a characteristic of American Zionism.

By 1914 the Poale Zion had become an important component of the Movement in America, and a close working relationship existed between that group and the Federation. Two years earlier the Jewish National Workers’ Alliance, the Poale Zion counterpart of the Order Sons of Zion, had been established, and added greatly to the strength of Socialist Zionism in America; within a year the Alliance garnered a membership of two thousand. In the larger American cities, and particularly in New York, the Poale Zion became a vigorous force in Jewish communal affairs. In the sizable Jewish Socialist movement of those days, it acted as a wholesome critic and monitor, exposing its shallow cosmopolitanism and deflating its pontifical doctrinaires.

§ 12

But American Zionism was also in need of intellectual stimulation. Though it stemmed from the deep longings of a homeless people, its thinking was superficial, its expression stereotyped. American Zionism suffered from a lack of articulation with basic Jewish values and with the intellectual trends of the day and hour. From the mouths of most of its American orators and spokesmen Zionism emerged thin, trite and apologetic.

To fill the great need was the work of a number of brilliant apostles from abroad. The apostle to the Mizrachi in America, as we have told, was Meyer Berlin. The chief apostles to the Poale Zion were Syrkin and Borochoy. To the General Zionists there came in the years before the First World War a larger number of mentors and prophets, among them the versatile and persuasive Nahum Sokolow and Ben Zion Mossinsohn, the principal of the Herzl Gymnasium in Jaffa, a man of imposing presence and an impressive orator. Others who came were Israel Belkind, Aaron Aaronsohn and Menachem Shainkin, who brought with them the hopes and problems of the expanding settlement in Palestine, and Eliezer ben Yehudah, the embodiment and living symbol of the Hebrew revival in that land.

But the "foreigner" who left the deepest impress on American Zionism was Shmaryah Levin. His first visit to America was in 1906, and his audiences were astonished and dazzled. Levin was an orator *sui generis*: he spoke at once to the head and the heart. He was tall, with massive, stooping shoulders, his sensitive face swarthy and bearded, his speech spontaneous and volcanic. No platitude ever crossed his lips nor did he strive after effect, but he left his hearers refreshed and exalted. And unlike other orators, he had the secret of captivating not only large audiences but small groups and even individuals. He proved an effective "apostle to the gentiles," the self-styled "non-Zionists." And even some of those who figured as anti-Zionists, among them Jacob H. Schiff, were won over by him to support the work of upbuilding in Palestine.

§ 13

The Eleventh Zionist Congress, which met in Vienna in September 1913, included 40 delegates from the United States. It was an impressive number, welcomed by the Congress as evidence of the

stature to which American Zionism was rising. There were also 12 delegates from Canada, where the Movement had started as early as 1887 with a *Chovevei Zion* Society founded in Montreal by the noted lexicographer, Alexander Harkavy. In 1898 had come the Agudat Zion of Montreal, the nucleus of the vigorous Canadian Zionist Federation, of which Clarence I. de Sola was still the president.

After seven days of reports, debates and demonstrations, the 500 delegates from all over the world left Vienna in a mood of high hopefulness, for the Movement was whole again, it was rising to new strength and its work in Palestine was expanding. But eight grim years were to elapse before it was possible to convene another Congress, and during those years an immense burden was borne by the Zionists of America. And it may be recorded that at the Congress in Vienna Nahum Sokolow read to the delegates a letter of greeting from an American Jew who had but lately become a convert to Zionism, the Boston lawyer Louis Dembitz Brandeis.

Chapter XVI : FIRST FRUITS

CONGRESSES, conventions, resolutions; societies, federations, parties; meetings, speeches, *Hatikvah*—such were the ingredients of the Zionist Movement across the world, the new modes in which a homeless people expressed its age-old longing. But those things made up only one front of the great surge which Herzl saw as “the Jewish people on the march.” There was another front, situated in Palestine, the goal of the march, and with the ascendancy of the “practicals” over the “politicals,” the second front was becoming more and more important. And the contrast between the two could hardly be greater. In Palestine Zionism meant grain fields, vineyards and orange groves; tractors, cows and horses; houses, schools and workshops. On that front the Jews, untrained and ill-armed, were engaged in a grim struggle with refractory nature and hostile men to gain a foothold in their ancient homeland. What had been the outstanding developments in this sector? What progress had the Jews made in Palestine by the time the First World War engulfed the nations?

§ 2

But first the principal physical features of the land—its topography, climate and natural resources—should be briefly indicated. For the course of Jewish resettlement in Palestine has been largely determined by its geography.

While the frontiers of the country over its long history did not remain static, they usually embraced the region on the east called Transjordan, the broad plateau that rises from the Jordan River and recedes into the deserts of Arabia. On the north the border skirted the foot of Mount Hermon, and on the south it ran along the River of Egypt and touched the tip of the Gulf of Akaba. And from the Mediterranean to the eastern deserts, these boundaries include four longitudinal zones that make up the outstanding topographical features of the country.

The first zone is the low maritime plain which comes up out of the Mediterranean Sea, narrow in the north and widening as it rolls south. At Haifa Bay the plain is almost blocked by Mount Carmel, the passage at its foot being only some 600 feet wide. Just below this point, the coastal zone is known as the Plain of Sharon, and further south, where at some points it reaches a width of 20 miles, it used to be called the Plain of Philistia, after the ancient Philistines, whose five formidable cities, of which Gaza was the most famous, were located in this region. It was the warlike Philistines, incidentally, for whom the nations named the land as a whole. To the Jews, however, it has always been *Eretz Israel*, the Land of Israel.

The second zone is the mountainous backbone of Palestine, stretching 150 miles from the precipitous crags of Upper Galilee to the low hills of the southland, or Negev, which merges with the desert of Sinai. In Galilee the hills rise in irregular clusters and ridges interspersed with fertile vales; in Samaria they reach their highest altitude near Nablus; and further south, in Judea, they ascend in gentle slopes to broad rounded summits. Today the slopes and summits are for the most part treeless and bare, their soil having been eroded by the rains of centuries. But the stony ledges that are left of the ancient terraces, where the soil was preserved for vineyards and groves, tell of a time when these gray slopes were lush and green. On the most important point of the Judean range—a cluster of hills some 2,500 feet in altitude—stands Jerusalem.

The big break in this mountainous backbone of Palestine is the Valley of Jezreel, called briefly the Emek, meaning plain or valley. The Emek, which was once the granary of Palestine and which has had a big role in Zionist colonization, is an undulating, irregular plain roughly triangular in shape. Its western tip is at the foot of Carmel where the River Kishon falls into the Mediterranean; its eastern corner touches the ridge of Mount Gilboa; and its apex is at Mount Tabor. In ancient times the Emek was a vital section of the road which was traveled by the merchant caravans and the armed hosts of the great empires that lay north and south of Palestine. It was covered with fields and vineyards, and it bristled with fortified cities. In our days the first Zionist pioneers found the beautiful valley a fever-ridden marsh.

The third of the four zones of Palestine is the Valley of the Jordan, stretching from the foot of Mount Hermon to the Dead Sea. The Jordan, meaning the "downcomer," rises in the glens of Hermon and flows

at sea level through the marshy plain of Huleh and shallow Lake Merom. Then, in a rush of only ten miles to Lake Kinneret, the beautiful "Lake of the Harp," called also the Sea of Galilee, the river drops almost 700 feet. Out of this lake the Jordan, twisting and coiling, "comes down" an additional 600 feet before it merges with the thick waters of the Dead Sea, that strange salt lake which lies in the earth's deepest depression. The Dead Sea is hemmed in by desolate wastes, and its waters are too brackish to sustain life, but it harbors immense mineral wealth. Except where it widens at Bet-shean and Jericho, the Jordan Valley is rarely more than four miles wide. In the summer the torrid heat makes most of it uninhabitable, but it has many fertile spots which may be cultivated in the rainy season. But the river itself is a prime economic asset as a source of electric power and irrigation.

The broad plateau of Transjordan, the fourth zone of the land as history delimits it, rises up abruptly from the Jordan Valley. Its northern region, known as the Hauran, was once famous for its grain and cattle, just as Gilead south of it became a trade-mark for balms and spices. Today the entire region is inhabited by a sparse and chiefly nomad population.

The climate of Palestine offers the same sharp contrasts, of course, as its topography. It is a short trip from temperate Safed to subtropical Tiberias, and the descent from Jerusalem to Jericho brings a quick change from a temperate climate to a tropical one. The year has two seasons: the dry summer from May to September and the rainy winter from October to April, but even during the summer the dryness is relieved by heavy dew. The vegetation varies, of course, with the climate: palm and pine stand within sight of each other on neighboring plain and mountain. The higher altitudes, now bare, were once covered with forests of timber trees such as cedar and cypress, sycamore and oak; and the coastal plain and Emek yielded rich harvests of wheat and barley. Even in the hot and rocky Negev the shepherd found pasture for his sheep and goats. There is impressive evidence that this southland once harbored a large settled population, and there are indications that it contains deposits of oil.

And finally, no account of the physical aspects of Palestine, however brief, should fail to point out that its sudden and striking contrasts make it a land of extraordinary beauty. Its ancient prophets and psalmists saw the mountain skip like rams, they heard the trees of the field clap their hands and the heavens declare the glory of God. And their descendants who have returned to the land in our day have produced poets and artists who have been equally spellbound by its beauty.

§ 3

Most of the Jewish settlements planted during the First Aliyah, often called the BILU period, were situated on the coastal plain, among them being the important colonies of Petach Tikvah, Rishon Lezion, Rehovot, Ness Ziona, Gederah, Ekron, Zichron Yaakov, Hadera and others. By the year 1900 that period may be said to have ended; that was the year when Edmond Rothschild transferred to the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) the administration of the colonies which had benefited so much and suffered not a little from his generous patronage. Those colonies, it will be recalled, were based almost entirely on viticulture; they depended on a single crop for which there was practically no domestic market and which faced heavy competition abroad.

Between 1901 and 1909 the ICA established a group of colonies in Lower Galilee based on cereal-growing, among them Sedjera, Yavniel, Bat Gan and Kinneret. The new administrators were on the whole more understanding than the previous ones, but the new settlements were also dependent on a single crop, and besides, the acreage required by each farming unit was considerably greater. From the standpoint of the ultimate objective—the national regeneration of a people—both groups of settlements suffered from the same major evil: the labor by which they were sustained was not Jewish. There were, to begin with, few Jewish farm workers available in Palestine, but, more important, the Arabs were better inured to the hard work, they were more submissive, and having a much lower standard of living, they were satisfied with a smaller wage. The Jewish proprietors tended to become a class of gentlemen farmers supervising a “native” labor force, and their children developed no attachment to the soil. It required no gift of prophecy to see that the reunion of the Jewish people with the soil of Palestine—a basic condition of national restoration—would never come about if that situation continued. It was not a national rural economy that the ICA was creating in Palestine, but a system of imperialist occupation.

So it happened in the first years of the new century, when the Movement across the world was agitated with alternating hopes and disillusionments and torn with strife, that the work of reclamation in Palestine was in a state of virtual stagnation. In May 1901 a delegation of *Chibat Zion* leaders, headed by Yechiel Tchlenov, journeyed, as we have seen, to Paris in an attempt to persuade the ICA to expand

its colonization program in Palestine and safeguard the basic purpose by encouraging the employment of Jewish labor. That mission bore no fruit; the work in Palestine was not revitalized by the philanthropists in Paris or the *Chibat Zion* leaders in Odessa. The vital impulse came from a new wave of immigration, the Second Aliyah, which began to flow from Russia in 1905.

Physically and psychologically, the newcomers were much better prepared than their predecessors of the First Aliyah. They were fresh from the revolutionary ferment in Russia, and they had borne their share in the defense of Jewish life and honor during the pogroms in which the czarist regime smothered the revolution. To Palestine they brought a bold program for their own and their people's salvation, a fusion of Socialism and nationalism, which was destined to set an indelible seal on the development of the Yishuv. It proclaimed the principle of self-labor, which demanded that the colonist live by the work of his own hands, not by that of hired workers. It exalted the principle of cooperative living, with "no exploiters and no exploited," a principle that found its fullest expression in the collective farm settlement, or *kvutzah*, which some regard as the most significant contribution to the problems of human society made anywhere in modern times. The newcomers, finally, insisted on the principle of Jewish self-defense which, under the conditions prevailing at the time of their arrival, meant that the protection of Jewish life and property would have to be taken away from hired Arab guards and taken over by the Jews themselves.

Self-labor, cooperative colonization and self-defense could not be attained overnight. The immediate aim of the youthful newcomers was expressed in the formula *kibbush avodah* or the "conquest of labor." It meant more than being hired by a Jewish landed proprietor: it meant the vindication of the right and ability of Jewish labor to play its part in the national revival. It meant ultimately the creation of a Jewish peasantry in Palestine.

The first encounter of the newcomers with life in Palestine has been related out of his own experience by David Ben Gurion. He arrived with the Second Aliyah in 1906, and found work in Petach Tikvah, the "metropolis of the Jewish colonies." For about a year he worked in that and other colonies of Judea. "But," he reports, "I was down with malaria and I starved even more than I worked. I became intimate with all three. My malaria was reliable and punctual, it visited me for four or five days every fortnight. I knew just when to

expect it, and it never failed me. Hunger also was a faithful visitor. By day it was not too annoying, but at night it sometimes got out of hand and kept me from falling asleep."

But the grape- and orange-growing colonies of Judea were operated with Arab labor. Their owners were betraying the ideals with which they had once set out for Palestine. So many of the new pioneers left Judea. They went north to Galilee, the region where, throughout history, life was freer and men were more courageous.

§ 4

In 1907 the grain-growing settlement of Ilanya in Lower Galilee, where the ICA conducted a model farm, was the only colony in the country where Jewish labor predominated. And there an organization of armed and mounted men, called *Hashomer* (The Watchman), was born, and the principle of self-defense began to be realized. The first two of the many who gave their lives to establish the principle belonged to that settlement. They were the watchman Israel Korngold and the colonist Simeon Malmud.

Hashomer was the first organized contingent of armed Jews to make its appearance in Palestine in modern times. Its task was to protect the settlements against marauders and brigands, a task it took over from Arab watchmen, who were not seldom found to be in collusion with those whom they were paid to fight off. Among the founders and leaders of *Hashomer* were David Ben Gurion and Isaac ben Zvi, both of whom were destined to play outstanding roles in Palestine; the fighter and dreamer Michael Halpern; Israel Shochat and his wife, the indomitable Manya, and the man of Spartan habits and iron will, Israel Giladi. *Hashomer* was a fraternity of the elect; applicants were accepted only after meeting the most rigid tests. Its members became famous for hard riding and straight shooting. They inspired a new respect for the Jews among the Arabs, and they provided the vanguard for posts of danger.

Many fears and misgivings had to be overcome before the colonists accepted the services of the *shomrim*, but performance proved more persuasive than arguments. By 1914 nearly all the settlements were guarded by them. In 1920, deeming its mission fulfilled, *Hashomer* dissolved voluntarily, and its members merged with the new and larger defense apparatus which the Jews of Palestine had created. But to the new defenders *Hashomer* bequeathed a precious legacy: the example of its daring and the memory of its fallen heroes.

§ 5

In December 1909 *Hashomer* took part in the establishment of the first collective colony or *kvutzah* at Daganian in the upper Jordan Valley, and in 1911 it stood guard over the beginnings of Merhavia in the western Emek, a cooperative settlement on lines worked out by Franz Oppenheimer and approved two years earlier by the Ninth Congress in Hamburg. Merhavia did not prove a success; too many limitations were imposed on the cooperative principle as the idealists of the Second Aliyah understood it, including the appointment of a manager and inequality of wages. Differences arose between the settlers and the manager, and Merhavia made scant progress towards self-support. After the War the settlement was divided. One part became a *kvutzah*, where the cooperative principle receives its maximum application; the other part became a *moshav*, a type of settlement based on self-labor, but with individual holdings, and cooperation applied only in the purchase of equipment, the use of farm machinery and the marketing of crops.

Daganian became known as the "mother of the *kvutzot*," the settlements which have played a dominant role in the colonization of Palestine and the creation of a Jewish peasantry. In a *kvutzah* everything is done by its own members, and the management is in the hands of committees elected to supervise the different branches of the work. The members receive no wages, all their needs—housing, food, clothing, etc.—being supplied by the collective. Women are assigned their own tasks and have equal rights with men, and special quarters, under expert charge, are provided for the children.

The small *kvutzah* and its larger equivalent, the *kibbutz*, did not spring full-blown from the brains of social philosophers. They were the result of hard necessity and bitter experience. In the conditions that prevailed in Palestine in the first and second decades of the century, the *kvutzah* appeared to be best qualified not only to meet the social aspirations of the new immigrants, but to extend the network of Jewish agricultural settlements, especially in the exposed and dangerous locations of the country. New difficulties kept facing the collective settlements to which new adjustments had to be made. After more than a generation of trial and error, they have, on the whole, satisfied the demands not only of idealists but also of economists, but like all human societies, they are not free from serious problems. After the establishment of the State of Israel they were confronted by a lack of an adequate reserve from which to recruit new members, and

strong pressure to admit unqualified members. In addition they had to grapple with the problem of private personal property and a growing demand for a higher living standard, and many of them were bedeviled by inner dissensions as a result of a political cleavage in the labor movement. But perhaps the best evidence of the success of the *kvutzah* is the fact that very few of its children have left the farms to find a more glamorous life in the cities.

Life in the collective settlements was primitive and hard, but it was lighted up by the two ideals of national restoration and human brotherhood. To these was added a third, the ideal of personal redemption through labor on the soil, of which Aaron David Gordon (1856-1922) was the leading exponent and prophet. It made a powerful appeal to the intellectuals who left behind them the cramped and artificial life of the Russian Pale and joined the ranks of the Second Aliyah "to build and to be rebuilt," as one of their many inspiring songs expresses it. Gordon's influence on them was immense. He was himself a heroic embodiment of the ideal, and he preached it with the reasoned exposition of a social philosopher and the fervor of a Hebrew prophet. He was nearly fifty when he turned his back on a clerk's desk in a small Ukrainian town and inured his frail body to agricultural labor in Palestine. He became a member of the most remarkable peasantry in the world, the Jewish farmers of Palestine, whose devotion to the things of the mind and spirit is as keen as their interest in their acres and cattle. Gordon addressed himself not to the nation, or to a class or group; he spoke to the individual, calling on him to achieve his spiritual regeneration by means of productive labor in contact with the quickening forces of nature.

The Jewish workers in the years before the First World War were grouped in two parties, the Poale Zion and the Hapoel Hatzair (The Young Worker), and Gordon became identified with the second. Hapoel Hatzair was also Socialist, but its Socialism was flexible, adapted to the needs of the national restoration, and it rejected the doctrine of the class struggle and the other dogmas of Marxism. But even the Palestinian Poale Zion, who were part of the world federation of Socialist Zionists and in theory committed to those dogmas, found it difficult to honor them in practice. The dominant issues in those days were the "conquest of labor," self-defense and the struggle to revive the Hebrew language; the class struggle appeared irrelevant and remote. The foremost leaders of the Poale Zion in Palestine were Ben Gurion, Ben Zvi and Berl Katznelson, the party's prophet.

§ 6

It is doubtful, however, if with all the ardor of the dreamers and toilers, the restoration of Jewish life in Palestine would have advanced as far as it did in the decade before the First World War without the moral and material aid of the Zionist Movement. The existence of a worldwide hinterland of pride and solicitude was of itself a factor of incalculable value. In addition, three instruments of the World Zionist Organization were at work in Palestine whose help was concrete and often decisive. They were The Anglo-Palestine Bank, a branch of the Jewish Colonial Trust which was opened in Jaffa in 1903; the Jewish National Fund (*Keren Kayemet*), which began purchasing land in Palestine in 1905; and the Palestine Office in Jaffa under the direction of Arthur Ruppin, which began to function in 1908. None of these instruments alone, nor all of them together, could muster the financial resources of Edmond Rothschild or the Jewish Colonization Association; the annual receipts of the Jewish National Fund, for example, amounted to only \$50,000. Certainly the Movement was not embarking on the reclamation of Palestine on anything like the scale envisioned by its founder. But its organs in Palestine possessed one asset which the others lacked, and which in the long run proved more productive than the coffers of the philanthropists: a steady awareness that the ultimate goal of all their labors was the restoration of the Jewish people to nationhood.

The Palestine Office, charged with the functions of initiating, experimenting and advising, was fortunate in having at its head a man who combined fidelity to the goal with a keen perception of the realities and the ability to win the confidence of the diverse groups and individuals who sought his help. He was resolved not to make the mistake of dissipating the most precious asset of the new immigrants, their idealism, initiative and daring, by a system of paternalism and bureaucratic control. The *kvutzah* which the Office helped them establish at Dagania, and which became the model of scores of similar settlements, was the answer to their insistence on freedom from such control. The land on which the *kvutzot* were planted was provided by the Jewish National Fund, and in the case of the early ones, the Fund provided the initial improvements and inventory also. Near the large orange- and wine-growing colonies in Judea, the Zionist agencies and other public bodies built workers' quarters, consisting of homes with small plots of land, in order to make the employment of Jewish labor

in those colonies more practicable. The first of these workers' quarters, called Ein Ganim, was founded by the Odessa Committee in 1908 near Petach Tikvah.

There was warm debate in the councils of the Movement on another aspect of agricultural colonization, the issue between intensive and extensive farming: every informed Zionist had to be something of an agricultural expert. But the more immediate issue in Palestine was between single-crop and mixed farming. Both the intensive plantation colonies in Judea and the extensive cereal-growing colonies in Galilee were precariously dependent on single crops. In 1905, for example, the wine-growing colonies were producing more than they could market, and in order to equalize supply and demand many of the precious vines had to be pulled up.

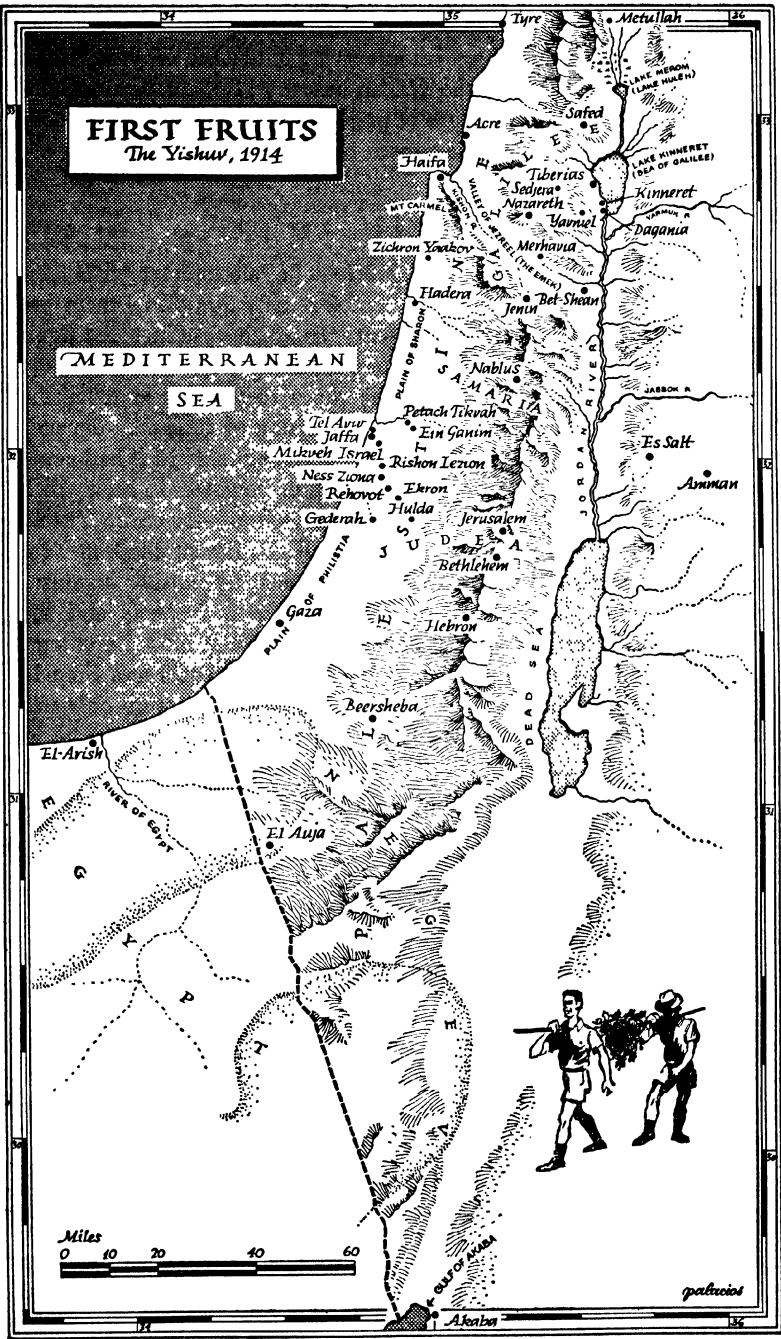
The settlements promoted by the Zionist agencies adopted a system of mixed farming centering around dairy products, the choice having been indicated by the results of experiments directed by the noted agriculturist Isaac Wilkansky. Thus the farmers were no longer dependent on a single crop which might meet with failure either in the fields or in the markets. A start was also made with the urgent task of reforesting the country in order to check the erosion of the soil on the hillsides and the accumulation of disease-breeding marshes in the valleys. Groves of olive trees were planted near the Zionist settlement of Hulda and Ben Shemen as part of the Herzl Forest.

But the agencies of the Movement operating in Palestine did not limit their concern to the workers and to agriculture, basic as those two factors were for the ultimate goal. The Palestine Land Development Company, founded in 1908 as a central land purchasing agency to act as a check on land speculation and to meet the obstacles imposed by Turkish law on the transfer of land, operated for private purchasers as well as for the Jewish National Fund. And the Fund applied its resources to urban development also. Its most important contribution in that field before the First World War was a loan of 300,000 francs to a group calling itself *Achuzat Baith*; it consisted of 60 residents of Jaffa—teachers, physicians, merchants and others—who had organized to build a Jewish suburb north of that squalid and unsanitary Arab city. That loan meant the beginning of the city of Tel Aviv. The foundation stone of Tel Aviv was laid in 1909 in a sea of yellow sand by a small group of stubborn idealists, who turned a deaf ear on the warnings that came from "practical" people, and by 1914 the suburb already had a population of two thousand. The Jews of Haifa started their first suburb in 1910, but the expansion of that

FIRST FRUITS

The Yishuv, 1914

MEDITERRANEAN
SEA



FIRST FRUITS

city and of Jerusalem did not get into swing until after the War. There was a modest start before the War in industry also: oil factories and workshops for the manufacture of pumps and the repair of machinery had already made their appearance.

§ 7

In 1904 there were some 60,000 Jews in Palestine; ten years later the number was estimated at 85,000. But only 30,000 of them belonged to the New Yishuv (settlement), in which were included those who were self-supporting. The others made up what was called the Old Yishuv, and they lived on the doles they received from the *Chalukah* system. True enough, the proportion of *Chalukah* dependents was diminishing; in 1880 it was 94 per cent; in 1914 it had come down to 65 per cent. With regard to education, however—a need which claims priority with Jews over physical necessities—the entire Yishuv was dependent on philanthropy. Nearly all the Jewish children were educated in schools established and controlled by outside organizations, of which the French *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and the German *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* were the most important. And the language of instruction in the *Alliance* schools was French, while in those of the *Hilfsverein* it was German. There were only two schools, in fact, where the pupils were taught in Hebrew—the Girls' school in Jaffa set up by the Odessa Committee in 1902, and the Herzlia Gymnasium in the same city, a secondary school established by Zionists three years later.

Now, it had become clear to Zionists all over the world, and in Palestine especially, that the adoption of Hebrew as the everyday speech of the Jews in Palestine was an indispensable condition of national restoration. The revival of the language of the Bible was more than a nostalgic longing; it was a basic necessity if the community that was gathering in Palestine, its members arriving with different speech on their lips, was to be welded into a unity. By 1914 considerable progress had been made towards the revival and modernization of the ancient tongue. Eliezer ben Yehudah (1858–1922), who blazed the trail for it, had been living in Jerusalem since 1881 and waging his grim battle against skepticism, indifference and the hostility of the Orthodox, who insisted that the sacred tongue must not be put to secular uses. On the subject of Hebrew ben Yehudah was a deliberate fanatic: in his home every other language was banned. And he was going forward with his monumental General Dictionary of the

Hebrew Language, adapting old words or coining new ones for the things of which his forebears had no knowledge. His admirers and imitators in and out of Palestine were increasing. Hebrew was becoming their current tongue and the new Hebrew literature the fountain of their intellectual life.

In this critical battle for a language, the schools were of primary importance. The medium of instruction employed in the schools would become the speech of the pupils. And not their speech alone, since every language carries a culture. If the children of the old colonies were not attracted by the life of their parents, it was not only because they identified it with the depressed Arab peasants who worked in their fathers' vineyards and groves, but even more, perhaps, because the French language and culture they absorbed in the schools of the *Alliance* turned their desires towards Paris and the glittering cities of Europe. Then came the *Hilfsverein* and established schools where the German language and culture were exalted. It became apparent that the rivalry between France and Germany had found an arena in Palestine, and that the *Alliance* and *Hilfsverein* were promoting the interests of their respective governments. And the infant community in Palestine, which the Movement watched with so many anxious hopes, this first sprout of the national restoration, was being used as a pawn in a game between two Great Powers. In the beginning the *Hilfsverein*, in order, it was suspected, to win popularity at the expense of the *Alliance*, had made important concessions to Hebrew in its schools, but gradually it changed its policy in favor of German. Finally, in October 1913, a month after the Eleventh Zionist Congress in Vienna, it provoked a language struggle in Palestine which echoed across the world and played no small part in establishing the supremacy of Hebrew in the Yishuv.

§ 8

The Eleventh Congress had voted to build a university in Palestine, but there was even more pressing need for schools to teach the useful arts and prepare their students to earn a livelihood and contribute to the rehabilitation of the country as engineers, architects and chemists. One school which trained its pupils to become self-supporting was already in existence. The Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts had been founded in Jerusalem in 1906 by Boris Schatz, a sculptor who taught in the University of Sofia and dreamed of developing a distinctive Jewish art in Palestine. Bezalel enabled hundreds of young

Chalukah recipients hailing from Yemen, Persia, Bokhara, Morocco and Europe, to become self-supporting by teaching them domestic arts like carpet-weaving, lace-making, ivory-carving and filigree work. The school received substantial aid from the Zionist Organization, and its products were admired and purchased in many lands.

By 1913 an even more important educational project, the Haifa Technical Institute, was taking shape. Sizable sums for it had been obtained from the Wissotzky family in Russia and from Jacob H. Schiff in America, but its principal backer was the *Hilfsverein*. On Mount Carmel a handsome building was under construction, and the Institute was scheduled to open during the Passover week of 1914. But a serious difference over the language of instruction to be employed in the school arose between the Zionist members of the directorate and those of the *Hilfsverein*, the latter insisting that the language should be German, and the Zionists—Shmaryah Levin, Tchlenov and Achad Ha'am—that it should be Hebrew. A rumor got abroad that James Simon, the president of the *Hilfsverein*, who headed the directorate, had promised the Kaiser that the Haifa Technical Institute would be a German institution. Simon and his energetic colleague Paul Nathan, the secretary of the organization, won over a majority of the directors, and when the Zionists found themselves outvoted, they resigned and issued a solemn protest against the blow that was being aimed at the national renaissance of the Jewish people.

The protest was the signal for a vehement outburst in Palestine and in the Movement throughout the world. In Jaffa, Jerusalem and Haifa there were large public demonstrations organized by the teachers. Most of the pupils of the *Hilfsverein* schools, with those of the Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem in the lead, left the classrooms, demanding that Hebrew should take the place of German as the language of instruction in their schools. Paul Nathan hastened to Palestine where he behaved with typical German truculence. He went over to the offensive, and, among others, he discharged David Yellin, the principal of the Teachers' Seminary and the ranking educator in Palestine. But he failed to put down the uprising. The teachers took the initiative and established new schools, with Hebrew, of course, as the medium of instruction, and with most of the financial burden taken up by the Zionist Organization. That was the beginning of a network of schools in Palestine which expanded as the *Yishuv* grew and became one of the major responsibilities of the Zionist Movement.

As for the Haifa Institute, a compromise was finally agreed upon under which some of the subjects were to be taught in Hebrew at

once, and the remainder after four years of delay to permit the preparation of texts and teachers. That was in February 1914. But before the compromise could be put into effect, the struggle against the inroads of *Kultur* in Palestine was superseded by the war against the same aggressor across the world.

§ 9

On the eve of that conflict the Jewish community in Palestine—the *Yishuv*, as it was briefly designated—constituted only 11 per cent of the total population of the country. There were few Zionists in those days who were much concerned about the 600,000 Arabs in the country, although an Arab-Jewish conference had already taken place in Palestine towards the end of 1913 to promote better understanding between the two peoples. It was obvious that, with proper development, the land could support a much larger population, and there appeared to be no good reason to fear that the Arabs would oppose the influx of large numbers of Jews. On the contrary, many reasons were pointed out why they would favor it. Jewish capital, enterprise and ingenuity were creating new opportunities for them. Arab peasants were selling their produce to Jews and finding employment in Jewish colonies. Arab landowners were selling their land to Jewish purchasers, and getting high prices for it. For four hundred years the Arabs had been ruled or misruled by Turkish governors, and they showed no serious signs of nursing national ambitions that might make them hostile to “foreigners.” If clashes did occur between Jews and Arabs they were not the result of national antagonism, but rather of a zest for plunder which harked back to remote times, and for which the Jews provided new opportunities.

What the future, near or far, and apart from the Arabs, held in store for the small Jewish community no one could predict with any assurance. For the country as a whole was ruled by a regime that was indifferent to its welfare. The Turkish officials were venal and indolent. The roads were neglected and impassable, the postal service was incredibly inefficient, there was no concern for public health and sanitation, the system of land registry multiplied disputes instead of preventing them, and the administration of justice was demoralized. It was a regime, moreover, that looked upon Zionist work with sullen suspicion, and, as happened in 1900, an edict against it might come out of Constantinople at any time. This little community—the New *Yishuv* as well as the Old—was literally an act of faith.

Nevertheless, there were already indications that Zionism was introducing a dynamic impulse into Palestine which promised to infuse new life into the entire Near East. It was often pointed out that the Jews, by race and origin an eastern people and by experience and skills a part of the west, were exceptionally qualified to bring the stagnant east into the orbit of western civilization. And the hope was added that the progressive spirit of western civilization would not be accompanied by its vices, that the society which Zionism would create would implement the social and ethical ideals of the Hebrew prophets. It was a hope to which the founder of the Movement was profoundly attached and which permeated his thoughts and deeds. And the same hope was cherished by all three groupings of the Movement—Socialist Zionists, Religious Zionists and General Zionists—different as their approach might be to its realization.

§ 10

By 1914 Jewish pioneering had produced impressive testimony to the ability of the Jewish people to recreate their national life in the ancient motherland. The Chalukah takers were still in the majority, but their spirit no longer dominated the community: it had given way to the bold, resourceful and independent spirit that characterized the New Yishuv. There was convincing evidence to refute the skeptics who were sure that Jews could not become successful farmers. A population of 12,000 was now settled in nearly fifty colonies, producing a variety of crops and ranging in size from outposts like Metullah in Upper Galilee to large villages like Petach Tikvah in Judea. And the Jews showed themselves able not only to plow and plant and reap, but to defend themselves against greed and brigandage. The revival of the Hebrew language, something else the skeptics had declared impossible, was now a reality, and the Yishuv had demonstrated its ability to defend that accomplishment also. It was clear, finally, that what had been claimed by the idealists was true: the ancient homeland was evoking a degree of sacrifice from Jews which no other land could hope to match.

But perhaps the most important asset which the Yishuv possessed was the worldwide Zionist Movement which, like the community itself, now stood on the threshold of an unprecedented crisis and test.

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Part Three: BATTLEERS AND BUILDERS

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Chapter XVII : IN A WORLD AT WAR

IN THE fall of 1913 Zionist prospects on both fronts—in Palestine and across the world—were looking up. The Eleventh Congress, which held its closing session on September 9 of that year, seemed to have finally resolved the dragging conflict between the “politicals” and the “practicals,” and although Nordau and Alexander Marmorek, the leading spokesmen of the “politicals,” continued to issue solemn warnings against the perils that inhered in the new course, the Zionists in every land approved the leadership of Ussischkin, Tchlenov, Warburg and Ruppın, and rejoiced in every advance made by the Yishuv, no matter how small. And until the summer of 1914 the gains continued, with some 5,000 new arrivals and further expansion in urban and rural settlement. The challenge of the *Hilfsverein* to the revival of the Hebrew language and the vigorous reaction it provoked in the Yishuv had raised the morale of the Movement throughout the world.

That summer the entire world suffered a cataclysmic change. The racial teachings in which Germany had been nurtured bore their bitter fruit for all mankind: the war of 1914 was the first attempt of the “master race” to achieve world supremacy. In early August the great Powers of Europe, with Germany and Austria on one side, and Britain, France and Russia on the other, were locked in the most stupendous conflict that had scourged the human race up to that time, and before it was over all the other Great Powers of the earth and nearly all the smaller ones were drawn into the vortex. Out of the carnage and terror a new and better world was expected to emerge, and in every land old hopes and ambitions rose up and flourished amid the mounting ruins. But for the Zionist Movement with its branches spread among the warring nations, for the frail and imperiled Jewish community in Palestine and for the bulk of the Jewish people caught between the embattled armies the outlook was grim.

For more than three years the borderlands between Russia and the Central Powers from the Baltic to the Black Sea made up the

eastern front across which their armies advanced and retreated, and the cities and the towns of these lands contained nearly three-quarters of the Jews of the world. They had been the mainstay of the Zionist Movement, and it was they who suffered most at the hands of the warring hosts. And the Jews suffered at the hands of their "friends" as well as their foes when the Russian generals, who met with defeat and disgrace, sought to shift the guilt to the eternal scapegoat. It was almost natural to accuse the Jews of having commerce with the enemy: how could a people whom the czar's government had so abused remain loyal to it? The generals proceeded to "explain" their defeats by evacuating entire Jewish communities—old men, women and children—from the war zones to the interior of Russia, some of them as far as Siberia. They were packed into boxcars in which many of them perished, or they were driven on foot for hundreds of weary miles. The nearly 700,000 Jews who fought in the armies of the czar, and the scores of thousands who shed their blood for him, meant nothing to his cynical and incompetent generals. And to the exiles in Russia must be added the Jews of Galicia, nearly half of whom became fugitives when the Cossacks, whose zest for pogroms was well-known to them, swept across their borders. Thus the communities from which Zionism drew most of its moral and material strength found themselves broken and helpless, compelled to appeal for relief to their more fortunate brothers in the lands of the west, particularly in America.

The state of war between Germany and Russia separated the two most important branches of the World Organization and disrupted its administrative apparatus. With its membership scattered among all the belligerents, the Organization had to adopt a policy of neutrality and it could not continue its headquarters in Berlin. A central office, directed at different times by Tchlenov, Motzkin and Jacobson, was therefore established in neutral Copenhagen, and the headquarters of the National Fund were removed from Cologne to the Hague, where it was administered by Jacobus Kann. But it was more than doubtful if the administration elected by the Congress in Vienna would be able to cope with the problems of the Movement amid the upheavals of a world war, or seize the opportunities which the political changes of war might produce.

§ 2

Whatever opportunities might eventually arise, the immediate prospects of the Movement and its vanguard in Palestine were alarm-

ing. The dangers to the Yishuv stemmed from two causes, one economic, the other political. The three export commodities of the Yishuv—oranges, wines and almonds—produced by the plantation colonies of Judea were all dependent on overseas markets, and with the sharp curtailment of shipping at the outbreak of the War, and the blockade of the Mediterranean ports after Turkey joined the Central Powers three months later, those markets were drastically reduced. In the first year of war the proceeds from the sale of those products fell to 25 per cent of the prewar annual income of 4,000,000 francs. The planters stopped gathering the oranges, and in the words of one reporter the fruit covered the groves "like a golden carpet." In the second summer the havoc wrought by war was completed by a locust plague of unusual severity. Nearly all the vines and orange trees and about half the almond trees were destroyed or seriously damaged; the insects consumed everything except the actual wood of the trees. Before long the blockade led to serious food shortages, especially in the cities, for the Yishuv imported no small part of its food supply from overseas. For the Old Yishuv the situation became catastrophic. The flow of *Chalukah* from Russia, Austria, Germany and England ceased, and those who were dependent on it were faced with starvation.

To these economic afflictions were added other woes which flowed from Ottoman distrust of Zionism and of the leaders of the Yishuv. Shortly after Turkey entered the war, Jemal Pasha, the commander of the Turkish forces in Syria and Palestine, accused the Jews publicly of planning to establish a government of their own, and he set out to eradicate every manifestation of Zionism. He ordered the dissolution of *Hashomer* after arresting Israel Schochat and his wife Manya, who were both leaders of the organization. He closed the Anglo-Palestine Bank and made the use of Jewish National Fund stamps, a method employed for raising revenue for the Fund, a capital offense. He confiscated the arms which Jewish colonies kept for self-defense, and arrested and exiled many of the Yishuv's leaders. Jemal's repressions were impartial; he charged Arab leaders also with planning rebellion, and scores of them were executed.

The plight of thousands of Jews in Palestine who were Russian subjects was complicated by their legal status as enemy aliens and their reluctance to accept the doubtful boon of Ottoman citizenship, which entailed military service. Most of those who declined the privilege were expelled from Palestine and found asylum in Egypt; others were exiled to Syria. Early in 1917, when the British began their invasion of Palestine from Egypt, the misfortunes of the Yishuv multiplied.

From Tel Aviv and its environs some 5,000 Jews were evacuated to Jerusalem and the northern settlements under hardships that caused many deaths. At the same time the jittery Turkish authorities began a spy hunt among the Jews which led to arrests, trials and long confinements in unspeakable Turkish prisons. Two Jews were hanged and two, unwilling to submit to torture, took their own lives, one of them being Sarah, the sister of the agronomist Aaron Aaronsohn of Zichron Yaakov. She and her brother, convinced that Zionism had no future under a victorious Turkey, were furnishing intelligence to the British.

There was little the Jews could do to mitigate the sufferings they endured from the fears of the Turkish officials, although before the invasion began and the Turks were less panicky they took proper advantage of their venality and inefficiency. They did, however, display remarkable resilience and ingenuity in meeting their economic difficulties. The Yishuv promptly set up a system of self-help, with a loan service, a food administration and a department of public works, which provided employment in special relief projects. Bread and other foods were sold at cost, affording relief to the poor and keeping down the general price level. To overcome the scarcity of legal tender, which followed a moratorium on bank payments, the Anglo-Palestine Bank issued to its numerous depositors certified checks in small denominations, which won general acceptance as common currency. The Palestine Office of the World Zionist Organization served as the agency through which most of those projects were launched.

But basically the Yishuv was not a self-sustaining society. It depended not only on the outside world for its surplus products and necessities, but on the financial help that flowed through the *Chalukah* for the Old Yishuv and the Zionist agencies for the New. From all the important countries of the world, except one, this flow could no longer continue. It became clear that America alone must not only save the Yishuv but keep the Zionist Movement alive and alert in a convulsed and broken world.

§ 3

On August 14, 1914 the liner *Kronprinzessin Cecilie* was on her way from America to Germany, when she suddenly veered about and steamed back to New York: word had been flashed to her that Germany and England were at war. Among her passengers was Shmaryah Levin. He remained in the New World throughout the War and played a valiant part in the great upsurge of the Movement in America

during those critical years. The Vienna Congress, it will be recalled, had elected him a member of the Inner Actions Committee, or World Zionist Executive, as this body came to be called, and in that capacity he was in a position to exercise official authority.

But the man whom the crisis raised to the leadership of American Zionism was one of America's great native sons, Louis Dembitz Brandeis. For seven years this newcomer into the affairs of the American Jewish community stood at the helm of its most dynamic enterprise. He came to it from a world that seemed even more remote than the world in which Herzl spent his formative years, and he was, besides, a much older man when, like Herzl, he was beguiled by the idea of putting an end to the homelessness of his people. At the age of fifty-eight Brandeis occupied a high and unique position in American life. His was the America of Emerson, Whitman and Theodore Parker, the America of the common man, who should be free to walk like a king. With the poets and preachers it was a world of ideas and passions; with Brandeis the ideas and passions served as a lever for deeds. He was extraordinarily endowed with the persistence and skill that are necessary for effective action in a world of clashing views and interests. An imperious need for translating ideas into deeds and a genius for action were traits which Brandeis and Herzl had in common.

He was born in 1856 in Louisville, Kentucky, of parents who came from Bohemia to find refuge in the United States from the reaction that followed the Revolution of 1848. After a brilliant career as a student of law in Harvard and some years of legal practice in St. Louis, he established himself permanently in Boston, the Zion whence the libertarian ideals of America had gone forth. As a lawyer he was an immediate "success," as that word is commonly understood, but his real success went far beyond that. He became known as the "people's lawyer," the champion of the common man against the large industrial combines, the implacable foe of monopolistic greed and what he called the "curse of bigness." America must be a land of great and sturdy little men, and the avenues of initiative must be kept open to them. He represented the public interest against utilities, insurance companies and employers who opposed improvement in labor conditions. He became a symbol in the public life of America, feared and hated by the reactionaries, admired and followed by the liberals. In 1916 Woodrow Wilson nominated him an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and, as one reporter put it, the groan that rose up from Wall Street was "like the echo of a great national disaster."

Before the nomination was confirmed by the Senate, Brandeis was the arena on which a drawn battle was fought out between the progressive and reactionary forces of America.

What influences produced his profound attachment to Zionism? For to the end of his days Zionism was the cause he cherished most deeply. The credit for awakening in Brandeis an interest in Zionism has been claimed by or for different men. It is fairly certain, however, that until his middle fifties the weal or woe of the Jewish people had no separate place in his heart. In his family background there was one influence, that of his maternal uncle Lewis Naphtali Dembitz (1832–1907), which must have produced some stirrings in Brandeis the Jew. Dembitz, also a “forty-eighter,” was the pride of the family and unquestionably a man of parts, and Louis was a great admirer of his brilliant uncle; he even adopted his uncle’s surname as his own middle name. Lewis Dembitz was a man of encyclopedic knowledge, a prominent lawyer and civic leader in Louisville, an ardent abolitionist, and one of the three nominators of Abraham Lincoln at the National Republican Convention of 1860. But Dembitz was also a staunch and proud Jew, learned, deeply religious and a Zionist. Something of his Jewish enthusiasm must have found lodgment in his nephew.

But it was only in 1910, when he acted as mediator in a strike of garment workers in New York, that Brandeis had an opportunity to become acquainted with Jews in their collective aspect. He found these Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe altogether to his liking. They were intelligent, intensely earnest and idealistic, and they had an unusual capacity for organization and self-government. He felt his kinship with these struggling cloakmakers not only as a social idealist but as a Jew, and for the rest of his life he was grateful to them for bringing him closer to his people.

But whatever prior influences might have prepared Brandeis for Zionism, it appears that his full conversion, which occurred in 1912, was accomplished by Jacob de Haas, who was still editing *The Jewish Advocate* in Boston. Brandeis was intrigued by Herzl’s vision of a Jewish State and by Herzl’s epic labors, which de Haas spread out before him. He found Zionism in harmony with the highest ideals he cherished, the liberation of men from oppression and the extension of the boundaries of freedom and responsibility for the common man. All that he regarded as true Americanism he found in Zionism; the two were more than compatible, they were spiritual kin. “To be good Americans,” he expressed it, “we must be better Jews, and to be better Jews we must become Zionists.”

He gloried in the new spirit which Zionism infused into the persecuted Jewish masses of Europe, citing as an example the influence the Movement exerted on the Jewish students in the University of Vienna, as reported by Henry Wickham Steed, the editor of the *London Times*. Jewish students no longer submitted tamely to anti-Semitic insults. "The best fencers of the fighting German corps found that Zionist students could gash cheeks quite as effectively as any Teuton, and that Jews were in a fair way to become the best swordsmen of the University." Brandeis' call went out with special force to the educated American Jew, the heir "of our great inheritance and the glorious traditions of our people." The educated Jew must obey the command of *noblesse oblige*, which requires him not only "to live nobly" as an individual, but to reject assimilation as "national suicide." It obligates him to strive for a land "where the Jewish life may be naturally led, the Jewish language spoken, and the Jewish spirit prevail . . . and that land is our fathers' land; it is Palestine." Never had Zionism been presented to the Jews of America with such cogency and simplicity, and by a voice of such commanding authority.

The first announcement of Brandeis' formal affiliation with Zionism was made at the convention of the Federation of American Zionists which met in Cleveland in 1912. In the two succeeding years his association with the Movement became increasingly closer. He appeared at public meetings, and his simple words, delivered without oratory, left a deep impression. Nor did his personal enemies or the enemies of Zionism fail to take note of the distinguished convert. An editorial in a leading southern daily suggested that he ought to "catch the first boat to the Mediterranean," and Isaac M. Wise, the eminent leader of Reform Judaism in America, after charging that Zionists "prefer luxuries instead of privations," made a similar suggestion.

§ 4

On the eve of the First World War organized Zionism in America was still a feeble and parochial enterprise. Its influence and its financial resources fell pitifully short of its potential in the American Jewish community, which already numbered more than three million. In the preceding decade the three branches of the movement—the Federation of American Zionists, the Poale Zion and the Mizrachi—had no doubt made progress. All three, and particularly the first, had developed a diversified organization pattern designed to attract different groups into the Movement. But the pattern still waited to be

filled in. At the prewar convention of the Federation, which met in June 1914 in Rochester, New York, it was reported that the Organization had mustered only 14,860 shekel-payers, and the budget which the convention adopted amounted to the pitiful sum of \$12,150. The delegates reacted with defiance and indignation to the attempt of the *Hilfsverein* to foist *Kultur* on the Yishuv; they rejoiced in the growing strength of the Movement in Europe and Palestine, but the fate of Zionism, they felt, did not to any great extent rest with them. The Jews of America, they complained, had forgotten the ancient hope of their people.

Six weeks later the scene was transformed. In Europe the War had split the Movement apart, and in Palestine the Yishuv was threatened with destruction. America was the great and powerful neutral, American Jewry must come to the help of the war-torn communities of Europe, and American Zionism must rescue the Yishuv, preserve the World Organization and defend Zionist interests in any new situation which the war should produce. Such, in the view of the American Zionist leaders and of Shmaryah Levin of the world leadership, was the role which the crisis laid upon the small and feeble Movement in America.

The emergency called for emergency action. On August 30, 1914 "an Extraordinary Conference of representatives of American Zionists" met in the Hotel Marseilles in New York. The call to the Conference had been issued by Shmaryah Levin on behalf of the World Zionist Administration and by Louis Lipsky on behalf of the Federation. "The Zionist Central Bureau in Berlin, established upon an international basis," the call stated, "is utterly destroyed. The Organization in Europe is shattered . . . It is our first and most holy duty to hold and maintain in this critical moment the Zionist Organization, and especially the positions we have won . . . in Palestine."

The Conference was attended by 150 delegates, including representatives of the Poale Zion and Mizrachi. It created a "Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs" to represent every branch of the Movement in America and, in addition, to act for the world Movement. It issued a call for an Emergency Fund of \$200,000, a sum considered sufficient to meet the immediate needs of the Yishuv. But the most significant result of the Conference was the assumption of leadership by Louis Brandeis. He was unanimously elected chairman of the Provisional Committee. He did not feel qualified for the task, he told the Conference, "but," he said "I hold it to be my duty and my privilege to aid . . . and I will join you in the great work."

The mettle of the new leadership asserted itself immediately. The Conference adjourned, but on Brandeis' insistence the Administrative Committee stayed on and spent the greater part of the night and the whole of the following day deliberating on the grave problems that confronted it. With rich experience in the handling of large and complex affairs, Brandeis brought to those problems the same intellectual and moral gifts, the same approach and methods which had won him his high place in American life: a thorough mastery of facts, strict adherence to goals and policies once they had been adopted and devotion to the task in hand which he himself gave and which he demanded and obtained from his coworkers. He was an exacting master, but those who followed him did so willingly and with a sense of fulfillment. It was the fashion for Zionist orators to speak of sacrifice, to appeal to their hearers to sacrifice for the cause. "I know nothing about sacrifice," said Brandeis, "I only know duty." But with all his austerity, he was not dour or forbidding. Numerous people came to him for advice, and they went away not only enriched by his wisdom but stimulated by his simple warmheartedness.

§ 5

With the impulse that flowed from the war crisis and the new leadership, there was a prompt and marked advance in the organized strength of American Zionism. The 1915 Convention of the Federation of American Zionists reported an increase from 198 to 270 in the affiliated societies and a corresponding increase in the membership of the older societies. The number of shekel-payers had more than doubled; it now stood at 30,178. Besides this rise in the organized strength of the Movement, the new leader's authority attracted to its higher councils a substantial number of individuals of distinction and ability. Among them were Julian W. Mack, Bernard Flexner, Felix Frankfurter, the philanthropists Nathan Straus and Mary Fels, Louis Kirstein, Robert Szold, Benjamin V. Cohen and Walter Meyer. Brandeis himself kept in intimate touch with the manifold activities that were drawn into the program of the Provisional Committee. His appetite for reports and memorandums was insatiable, and with his tersely worded directives to Benjamin Pearlstein, the administrative secretary of the Committee, he controlled every phase of the program.

The problems of organization claimed a considerable part of his energy. His demands on his fellow-Zionists were bold—some thought overbold. In one of his stirring calls, which spurred the Movement

forward but evoked resentment from non-Zionists, he said: "Organize, organize, organize, until every Jew in America must stand up and be counted—counted with us, or prove himself, wittingly or unwittingly, of the few who are against their own people."

§ 6

The first obligation which the plight of their coreligionists in Europe and Palestine laid upon the Jews of America was summed up by the word "relief," but in the raising as well as the application of relief funds the basic divisions in American Jewry came to the fore. Within a year, there were three separate groups raising funds for relief: the Central Relief Committee, which represented Orthodox groups; the People's Relief Committee, which was under Socialist control; and the American Jewish Relief Committee, dominated by the notables of the American Jewish Committee. Fortunately it was possible, in the allocation of relief, to overcome partisan rivalries, and a single agency, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), was created. In November 1914 began the long, beneficent and far-flung career of this body, popularly known as the "Joint." By the end of 1916 over \$6,000,000 had been obtained for war relief, and in 1917 the amount raised was \$10,000,000.

In general the Zionists preferred constructive as against merely palliative or "soup-kitchen" relief, and for Palestine in particular they were concerned with the future and not only with the distress of the moment. There was bound to be tension between them and their opponents, who controlled the policy of the Joint Distribution Committee, especially after the *Hilfsverein* was appointed as its agent for distributing relief to the Jews of Russian Poland. The members of that body were known to have no great love for *Ostjuden*, and in addition the *Hilfsverein* aroused Zionist wrath by taking advantage of the war situation to acquire the Haifa Technical Institute at a forced auction sale. Nevertheless, it was apparent that in America even the non-Zionists had a special place in their affections for Palestine: for them also it was the Holy Land and the Land of Israel. Among the Jewish communities of the world the Yishuv stood out unique, not only for its economic structure, but for the nostalgia it stirred in the heart of nearly every Jew. Shortly after the outbreak of the war Henry Morgenthau, United States ambassador to Turkey, turned over to Ruppin a sum of \$50,000 for relief which he had obtained from America, the greater part of it from non-Zionist sources. And what

added to the importance of this sizable sum was the fact that it arrived in Palestine on an American warship.

In March 1915 the American collier *Vulcan* left Philadelphia for Jaffa with a cargo of 900 tons of food for distribution to the famished people of Palestine—Jews, Moslems and Christians alike. The undertaking was sponsored by the American Jewish Relief Committee, the initiative having come from the Provisional Committee, and the Zionists of America worked hard to raise the funds and stock the vessel. They felt aggrieved when the *Vulcan* was not permitted to fly the blue-and-white flag of Zion together with the Stars and Stripes. The non-Zionists were anxious that the Yishuv should survive and thrive—but a Jewish flag beside the flag of their country? That would have amounted to “double loyalty.”

§ 7

The three major undertakings of American Zionism for the relief and rescue of the Yishuv were represented by the Emergency Fund, the Transfer Department established by the Provisional Committee to facilitate remittances from individuals and the dispatch by Hadassah of a Medical Unit to Palestine. By the end of May 1915 E. W. Lewin-Epstein, the treasurer of the Provisional Committee, reported that nearly \$350,000 had been transmitted to Palestine by the Emergency Fund, a sum which would have seemed fantastic to the delegates who attended the convention of the Federation less than a year before. The Zionist Transfer Department began in late 1914 to send without charge remittances from Jews in America to friends and relatives in Palestine and Egypt. Before long non-Jews availed themselves of the service, and by the middle of 1915 it was extended to include other parts of the Middle East, as well as Russia and Rumania. The Department gained an enviable reputation for efficiency, ingenuity and daring. Funds were often delivered in the war zone at considerable risk, and even inmates of Turkish prison camps received messages as well as remittances. The American and other Governments aided the work of the Department and the American consuls abroad were helpful. The millions of dollars which were remitted by the Transfer Department represented a major contribution to war relief.

After more than a year of war, health conditions in Palestine had deteriorated alarmingly, with epidemics of typhus and cholera aggravated by a serious shortage of physicians, medicaments and hospital facilities. The Provisional Committee, called upon to help, charged

Hadassah with the task of dispatching a Medical Unit to Palestine, a costly and complicated undertaking, involving diplomatic as well as financial and organizational problems. It was only in September 1918, when the British were driving the Turks out of the country, that the American Zionist Medical Unit arrived in Palestine. In its personnel of forty-five men and women there were physicians, nurses, social workers and administrators, and its equipment included clothing and several ambulances. It established a hospital and nurses training school in Jerusalem and an eye clinic in Jaffa, besides sending medical aid to different parts of the country. And after the War the medical services established by the Unit were expanded over the years until they became the large network of health institutions which the Zionist women of America have contributed to the rehabilitation of Palestine.

Chapter XVIII : THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

IN COPENHAGEN the men who were chosen by the Eleventh Congress struggled on to save the disrupted Organization and hold its different parts to an impossible neutrality; in America, the trials that descended on the Yishuv and the dangers and opportunities that faced the Movement ushered in a new leadership and produced a new stream of creative energy; and in Egypt, as we shall see, exiles from Palestine took the initiative in an effort that brought Jewish military units into the battle for the liberation of Palestine. But the scene of the most significant activity for the future of the Movement was the capital of the British Empire. There the Charter, which Herzl considered the *sine qua non* of Zionism, was finally attained. It consisted of a brief statement of policy by His Majesty's government, known as the Balfour Declaration, which served as the basis of the Mandate under which Great Britain was to hold dominion over Palestine for nearly thirty years.

The Balfour Declaration was the consummation of three years of diplomatic exertions which, though centered in London, reached out to Paris, Rome and Washington. The opposition which the effort encountered from Jewish as well as non-Jewish sources required the collective wisdom and vigilance of a distinguished group of men, leaders and friends of the cause, among whom Chaim Weizmann, already a prominent figure at Zionist Congresses, rose to a commanding position.

Weizmann was born in 1874 in a townlet near the city of Pinsk in White Russia, and studied in the universities of Berlin and Geneva, where he took a leading part in the activities of the student Zionist circles. In Zionism he recognized Achad Ha'am as his preceptor, and at Zionist Congresses he stood out as an opponent of Herzl's political postulates and diplomatic efforts which he considered lacking in realism. In the long struggle between the "politicals" and "practicals" he sided, of course, with the latter, and shortly before the War broke out he threw himself into the project of establishing a Hebrew Uni-

versity in Palestine. Since 1903 he had been teaching chemistry in the University of Manchester and his scientific attainments played their part in his diplomatic success, along with his gifts of persuasion, his *savoir faire* and personal charm.

Basically, of course, it was the new world structure that was emerging out of a global war that gave Zionism the opportunity that had eluded Herzl. It was the War, also, that enabled Weizmann the chemist to render an important service to Britain, which gave Weizmann the Zionist access to the ears of British statesmen. Early in the War he devised a new process for the large-scale production of acetone, a substance essential in the manufacture of explosives. Lloyd George, at the time the chairman of the War Munitions Committee, records that when he asked Weizmann what recognition he desired, he replied, "I would like you to do something for my people," and he went on to plead for British aid for the fulfillment of the Zionist hope.

§ 2

Weizmann proceeded to build up a group of influential Jews and non-Jews to obtain support in government circles and in British public opinion. He was not a member of the World Zionist administration, but his efforts received official sanction when he was joined by Nahum Sokolow and Yechiel Tchlenov, whom the administration in Copenhagen entrusted with the promotion of Zionist interests in the Allied countries. There were others in the group whose names had already entered into the annals of the Movement: Moses Gaster, the spiritual head of the Sephardic community in Britain; Joseph H. Hertz, chief rabbi of the Ashkenazic community; Achad Ha'am, who was then living in London; Joseph Cowen, who had been a close friend of Herzl's; Herbert Bentwich, a leader of the English *Chovevei Zion* in Herzl's day; Boris Goldberg, a leading Russian Zionist, and others. To these were added a number of distinguished newcomers: Herbert Samuel, who became Secretary of State for Home Affairs in 1916; Lord Lionel Walter Rothschild, to whom the letter embodying the Balfour Declaration was addressed; James Rothschild, son of Edmond Rothschild of Paris, the illustrious patron of Jewish colonization in Palestine; Harry Sacher, lawyer and journalist; and Norman Bentwich, scholar and jurist. Among the non-Jews who assisted in the enterprise were Charles P. Scott, the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, Henry Wickham Steed, the editor of the *London Times*, and Herbert Sidebotham, a prominent journalist who became the editor of

Palestine, a weekly publication which was launched to direct public attention to the problems of the Near East and create a favorable attitude towards Zionism.

The leaders of Zionism and their friends were determined that the national restoration of the Jewish people should be part and parcel of the new world that was "aborning." But their efforts to obtain the sponsorship of the Zionist cause by His Majesty's government came upon formidable obstacles. In the first two years of the War the Near East had but a small place in the preoccupations of the government. Its attention was monopolized by the European fronts, and as for the regions inhabited by the Arabs, their disposition was arranged in a secret pact between Britain and France, negotiated in early 1916 by Sir Mark Sykes, who directed the Middle East division of the British Foreign Office, and Georges Picot, a former French consul-general in Beirut.

In this pact, known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement, Zionist aspirations were entirely ignored. The agreement envisaged a confederation of Arab countries under the joint protection of France and England, with the greater part of Palestine under an international regime and the Jews accorded political, religious and civil equality, but no more. France considered the Agreement an important safeguard for her longstanding interests in the Near East, and she had the support of Russia. Recognition of Zionist aspirations would have upset a delicate arrangement in a time of extreme peril, and would, besides, have encountered the opposition of British military officers; they wanted nothing done that might offend the Arabs, whose collaboration in the War they were anxious to obtain. Of the full terms of the Sykes-Picot Agreement the Zionist leaders in London did not become aware until long after it was concluded.

By the spring of 1917, however, those obstacles to Great Britain's sponsorship of Zionism had either been removed or largely neutralized. In December 1916 Lloyd George and Balfour, both of whom had been friends of the Movement for more than a decade, became respectively Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, and Sir Mark Sykes joined the group headed by Weizmann and Lord Rothschild. Apparently the British were not happy with the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which allowed France and other nations a share in the control of Palestine. In March 1917, moreover, came the collapse of Russia, and France, deprived of effective Russian support, became more amenable to British suggestions for modifying the Agreement. The following month the United States declared war on the Central

Powers, and the attitude of President Wilson on this as well as all other questions became a matter of the greatest importance.

But there was one obstacle that remained unyielding—the bitter antagonism of certain influential British Jews. This antagonism centered in two important organizations in British Jewry, the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association. The first, which had been in existence since the middle of the eighteenth century, represented the leading Jewish congregations in Britain; the second, established in 1871, was the British counterpart of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden*. In matters affecting Jewish political interests the two organizations worked together through a Conjoint Foreign Committee, and this committee now made it its business to balk the efforts of the Zionist leaders. Early in 1916 it addressed a memorandum to the government urging that the Jews of Palestine receive civil equality and nothing more.

§ 3

The first suggestions “for a Jewish resettlement of Palestine in accordance with the aspirations of the Zionist Movement” were made to the British government in October 1916, but more definite proposals resulted from a memorable meeting of Zionist leaders which took place in February 1917 in the home of Moses Gaster. Sir Mark Sykes was there in the capacity of an unofficial but sympathetic observer. The proposals, as finally submitted in July 1917, were based on the recognition of “Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish People.” They called for a grant of internal autonomy for the Palestine Jewish Community, free Jewish immigration and official status for a Jewish colonization agency to be established. There were many Zionists, especially those who clung to the political legacy of Herzl, who considered the proposals inadequate. The world cataclysm, they held, should give birth to nothing less than a Jewish state, and their view found support in some non-Jewish quarters also. But the leaders in London thought otherwise. Their course, they felt, was beset with too many rocks and shoals; they must be cautious and moderate.

It was clear to them, moreover, that whatever pro-Zionist policy Britain might adopt would have to have the concurrence of the other Allies, especially France and Italy, as well as the approval of President Wilson. Nahum Sokolow shouldered the difficult assignment of roving Zionist ambassador in Europe. In Rome his efforts were success-

ful not only with the government but, surprisingly, with the Vatican also. Benedict XV assured him that "Jews and Catholics would be good neighbors in Palestine." In Paris, however, the French statesmen were not yet ready to yield the advantages that accrued to France in the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement.

Under the leadership of Brandeis the Movement in America played no small part in the long and ramified negotiations that led to the Balfour Declaration. In 1914, shortly after he became head of the Provisional Committee, Brandeis, with the help of Stephen Wise and Richard Gottheil, submitted the claims and hopes of Zionism to the British and French ambassadors in Washington, as well as to Wilson, whose natural sympathy for the cause was strengthened by his admiration and esteem for its chief advocate. As the war years dragged on the conviction grew in the minds of American Zionists that Herzl's dream was on the verge of fulfillment, and after April 6, 1917, when America entered the war, it was clear that American influence might prove decisive. Brandeis and his associates were kept informed of the negotiations that were proceeding in London, and in May he had a "satisfactory talk" with President Wilson and with Balfour, who had come to America on a war mission. Among other Americans whose good will was cultivated were Secretary of State Robert Lansing and Colonel Edward M. House, Wilson's principal adviser.

§ 4

The revolution of March 1917, which transformed czarist Russia into a constitutional democracy but proved unable to stem the demoralization of the Russian armies, had an important influence on the fortunes of Zionism in London. The revolution, it may be noted, gave fresh *élan* to the Movement in Russia. In May there were Zionist conferences in Petrograd (now Leningrad) and Warsaw where the two demands that were deemed essential for the dignity and future of the Jewish people—cultural autonomy in Russia and Poland and a national center in Palestine—were boldly proclaimed. But the elimination of Russia from the War was a terrible blow to the Allied cause. France was now definitely deprived of her chief support for her claims in the Near East, and the government in London became more impressed with the importance of winning the sympathy of the worldwide Jewish community, especially the Jewry of America. In the summer of that year Sokolow made another journey to Paris, and this time he found the Quai d'Orsay more sympathetic to Zionist aspira-

tions. The prospects of a favorable response by the British government to the proposals of the Zionist leaders brightened considerably.

But the influential and irreconcilable anti-Zionists in London were still to be heard from. In the spring of 1917, as the tempo of the negotiations rose and it became apparent that the government was about to issue a pro-Zionist declaration, they redoubled their efforts. On May 24, 1917, a letter repudiating the political aims of Zionism appeared in the London *Times* over the signatures of the presidents of the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association. It was something of a bombshell. There were vigorous replies by Weizmann and other Zionist spokesmen, and public meetings in the principal cities of the country denounced the repudiators and called for the "upbuilding of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish People." An even more impressive reaction came from the members of the Board of Deputies themselves; they ousted their president and chose the pro-Zionist Sir Stuart Samuel, a brother of Herbert Samuel, in his place. Another effective counterstroke was an editorial reply in the *Times* upholding the justice and logic of the Zionist position. But the enemies of Zionism were not silenced, and they found a formidable champion in Edwin S. Montagu, who in 1917 became a member of the government as Secretary of State for India. He was a son of the first Lord Swaythling, but he failed to inherit his father's attachment to *Chibat Zion*. He fought against a declaration of sympathy for Zionism by the government with determination and passion, and he had the support of the army officers who feared such a declaration might disturb their good relations with the Arabs.

The proposals submitted in July underwent important modifications, but the Declaration was finally published. The forces, personal and impersonal, that were ranged on its side proved stronger. What finally tipped the scales in its favor was a message which President Wilson, at the request of Brandeis, addressed to Prime Minister Lloyd George, approving the pronouncement. The final version was laid before the Zionist leaders as well as a number of prominent anti-Zionists. The latter rejected it; the former, although it fell short of their expectations, accepted it.

And so at last there emerged on the arena of international affairs the momentous and controversial Balfour Declaration, one of the most hopeful and heartbreaking documents in history. It was in the form of a letter above the signature of Arthur James Balfour,

the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated November 2, 1917, and addressed to Lord Rothschild. It ran as follows:

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this Declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

§ 5

The motives that prompted Britain to sponsor the Zionist cause were mixed. No doubt, the long tradition of British sympathy for the national redemption of the People of the Book played its part, and the long-range value for the British Empire of a grateful world Jewry and of a large, vigorous and loyal community on the road to India was not lost from view. But there was also a more immediate consideration. The War was not going well for Britain and her Allies. Russia was no longer in it, American manpower was not yet engaged in telling numbers, the French army clung to its trenches, the Italians had been disastrously defeated at Caporetto and the enemy submarines were playing havoc with Allied shipping. In the circumstances, the attitude of the Jews of the world, and especially of America, was considered a factor of sizable importance. Perhaps the British statesmen, as is the case with the general multitude in all lands, exaggerated what one writer called "the incalculable and universal influence of Jewry," but twenty years after the Declaration was issued Lloyd George revealed the force of that motive when he stated: "The Zionist leaders gave us a definite promise that, if the Allies committed themselves to give facilities for the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, they would do their best to rally Jewish sentiment and

support throughout the world to the Allied cause. They have kept their word."

That the British statesmen were not alone in attaching importance to the attitude of world Jewry is clear from the reaction which the Declaration evoked among Britain's enemies. The Turkish government, through the Grand Vizier, made the Jews promises of free immigration into Palestine, economic and cultural concessions, as well as autonomous rights, all of which seemed to add up to the Charter that Herzl had so much wanted. In January 1918 those promises were officially approved by the German government, and the Austrian government had even earlier assured the German Zionist leader Arthur Hantke that it would intercede with Turkey on behalf of Zionism.

§ 6

It will be recalled that the proposals submitted to the government by Weizmann and his associates four months earlier called for "the reconstitution of Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people." The wording in the Balfour Declaration is different; it favors "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." In both versions, it is true, the term "national home" is employed, a term which had no status in international law and usage. The Zionist leaders found sanction for it in the Basel Platform, which calls for "a publicly assured, legally secured home for the Jewish people in Palestine," and they adopted it in order to avoid the provocative "Jewish State": the vaguer term they hoped, and hoped in vain, would allay the fear and wrath of the anti-Zionists. But there is quite a difference between "the reconstitution of Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people" and "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The second version, to begin with, dispensed with the need of defining the boundaries of Palestine; the national home might be no more than a small enclave within the country. Only five years later, as we shall see, the broad area east of the Jordan, which the Zionists, citing historic evidence, had included within the boundaries of Palestine, were declared by a British White Paper to be outside of them. The first version, moreover, has definite state overtones; "Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people" implies a Jewish state sooner or later. In the second version such an implication could be denied. In fact, twenty-five years later,

with the Jews in Palestine still a minority, that version enabled British statesmen to claim that the Balfour Declaration had already been fulfilled.

The second important difference between the Zionist proposals and the Declaration lies in the two reservations, particularly the first, by which the British promise is circumscribed. The second was obviously intended to meet the apprehensions of anti-Zionist Jews with regard to their civil status in case a Jewish state should come into existence. It failed to propitiate them, but it could not be invoked to hamper the implementation of the Declaration. Not so, however, in the case of the other reservation, which safeguards "the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." The communities referred to were undoubtedly the religious communities, Moslem and Christian, which under Turkish law enjoyed certain religious and juridical rights. Nevertheless, the provision was interpreted as intended to protect the Arabs against the Jews, and was often invoked in order to veto measures essential for the establishment of the national home. So far as non-Jews in a Jewish state are concerned, no responsible Zionist spokesman had ever suggested that their rights should be abridged. On the contrary, the equality of all citizens, irrespective of race or creed, was one of the glories of the Jewish state as the founder of the Movement envisioned it in his *Altneuland*.

§ 7

Whatever denials and retreats the years were to bring, there is no doubt that the British statesmen who were responsible for the Declaration—Lloyd George, Balfour, Churchill, Robert Cecil, Jan Smuts—understood it as a prelude to Jewish statehood. The much debated term "national home" is explained by Lloyd George in his book, *The Truth about the Peace Treaties*, as follows:

There has been a great deal of discussion as to the meaning of the words "Jewish National Home" and whether it involved the setting up of a Jewish National State in Palestine. . . . It was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a National Home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Com-

monwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never entered into the heads of anyone in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing.

In 1920 Balfour appealed to the Arabs "not to grudge that small notch in what are now Arab territories being given to the people who for all of these hundreds of years have been separated from it." In 1918 Robert Cecil, who was Minister of Blockade, declared: "Our wish is that Arabian countries shall be for the Arabs, Armenia for the Armenians, and Judea for the Jews." In 1920 Winston Churchill, who was Minister of Munitions when the Balfour Declaration was issued, spoke of "a Jewish State by the banks of the Jordan . . . which might comprise three or four million Jews," and in 1919, Jan Smuts, also a member of the War Cabinet, envisaged the rise of "a great Jewish State."

Not less important than these words of the leading British statesmen is the view of President Wilson, whose approval of the Declaration was sought and obtained before it was issued. "I am persuaded" said Wilson on March 3, 1919, "that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." The principal Allied nations had by that time already made public their endorsement of the Declaration. France did so in February 1918, Italy in May 1918, China in December 1918, and Japan in January 1919.

§ 8

The ambiguities alone of the British promise would have been sufficient to mar its performance, but the Declaration was still further bedeviled by certain commitments which the British had made to the Arabs two years earlier. In October 1915, Husein, the Grand Sherif of Mecca, who became king of the Hejaz after the War, was promised by Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, the British high commissioner in Egypt, that in return for an Arab revolt against Turkey Great Britain would "recognize and support the independence of the Arabs." Sir Henry's letter to the Grand Sherif included in the area of Arab independence those regions "wherein Great Britain is free to act without detriment

to the interest of her ally France," and specifically excluded "portions of Syria lying to the west of the District of Damascus," both reservations indicating that Palestine was not included. A British White Paper issued in June 1922 declared, after a recital of the facts, that "the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was thus excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge," and in a letter that appeared in the London *Times* on July 23, 1937 Sir Henry himself wrote:

I feel it my duty to state, and I do so definitely and emphatically, that it was not intended by me in giving this pledge to King Husein to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised. I had also every reason to believe at the time that the fact that Palestine was not included in my pledge was well understood by King Husein.

But these and other denials were of no avail. The Arabs and their supporters persisted in the claim that the Balfour Declaration was a violation of a prior commitment made by Britain to the Grand Sherif of Mecca.

§ 9

It was, of course, only through the years which followed that the seamy side of the Balfour Declaration became apparent. No doubts or misgivings marred the enthusiasm with which its publication was hailed by the Jews throughout the world. A Manifesto above the signatures of Weizmann, Sokolow and Tchlenov proclaimed the beginning of a new era in the Zionist Movement, the era of fulfillment. In the non-Jewish as well as the Jewish world the Declaration was taken to mean the speedy restoration of the Jewish State.

There were special thanksgiving services in synagogues and joyous demonstrations, including street parades, all over the world. In many communities, where President Wilson was credited with having played a dominant role in the issuance of the Declaration, there were enthusiastic gatherings before the American consulates; in Odessa the number of celebrants, as reported by the American consul of that city, was 100,000. Preachers and orators compared the Declaration of Balfour the Briton with that of Cyrus the Persian some 2,500 years earlier. The Declaration of Cyrus had ushered in the Second Jewish Commonwealth; the Balfour Declaration ushered in the Third. And

in those days, too, as the Psalmist recorded, "we were like unto them that dream. Then was our mouth filled with laughter and our tongues with singing."

But the Second Commonwealth was established only after decades of toil and struggle and crisis, and the Third was to prove a no less formidable undertaking.

Chapter XIX : THE LEGION

ON DECEMBER 9, 1917, some five weeks after the Balfour Declaration was issued, the Egyptian Expeditionary Force under General Edmund Allenby completed the first phase of its brilliant campaign for the liberation of Palestine by occupying Jerusalem. The fall of the Holy City after four centuries of continuous possession by the Turks made a profound impression all over the world, and it added enormously to the significance of the Declaration; the British pledge had been validated by British arms.

The event gave impetus to a project which had been launched shortly after the outbreak of the War among the Jews who were expelled from the Yishuv and found refuge in Egypt. Its aim was to put Jewish military units in the field to fight in and for Palestine, and it sprang from the realization that only those who fight for victory may claim a share in the fruits of victory. By the end of 1914 there was a sizable concentration of these exiles in Alexandria, and among them were not a few who had fought in Jewish self-defense units in Russia or had measured themselves in Palestine against Arab brigands as members of *Hashomer*. They were eager to form a separate unit of the British Army, and fight for the conquest of Palestine.

Among them were two men each of whom has an important place in the story of Zionism. Vladimir Jabotinsky, still in his early thirties, was already known in the Movement as a gifted writer, a brilliant orator and a bold advocate of maximum Jewish rights in the Diaspora and Palestine. He had the qualities of a natural leader: personal magnetism, clarity of purpose and indomitable spirit. In Alexandria he represented one of the leading newspapers in Moscow where, under the pen name of Altalena, his articles on the war in the Near East attracted wide attention.

The other man to whom the refugees looked up was Captain Joseph Trumpeldor, who was himself one of the exiles. Trumpeldor's life was an epic of high aspiration and heroic deeds. He, too, was in

his early thirties when the World War interrupted his labor on the fields of Dagania, but he had already gone through the Russo-Japanese War a decade earlier. In that war he fought for the czar and had the dubious honor of being the only Jew to hold the rank of officer in the Russian army. Four times he was decorated, and in the siege of Port Arthur he lost his left arm. Then came the pogroms of 1905 and the disillusioned hero determined to devote himself to the reestablishment of his people in Palestine. He saw Zionism not only as the redemption of the Jewish people, but as a lever for the social regeneration of all mankind. And despite his physical handicap he stood out as a leader in the grainfields of Galilee as well as on the field of battle.

§ 2

The response of the British military authorities in Cairo to the offer of a Jewish unit in the British army was not enthusiastic. In that war, as in the one that began a quarter century later, the Zionists were to find that it is not enough to be willing, ready and able in order to be accepted as a fighting ally. In their case the obstacles were not only technical, which it is the business of the military to overcome, but there were political and psychological obstacles from which the run-of-the-mill army officer shrinks. There were, of course, non-British units in the British army, but they consisted of "natives" recruited in British colonial possessions. As "natives," the Jews lacked important qualifications. They were too intelligent, too well-informed, and they seemed to think they were the Englishman's equal. In addition, they entertained political objectives calculated to make any military commander uneasy.

Nevertheless, the efforts of the Palestinian exiles were not altogether fruitless. That ill-starred venture in Gallipoli, which was expected to give the British navy possession of the Dardanelles, was about to be launched, and the Zionists were presented with a counter-offer: to form a body of muleteers to convey food and ammunition to the soldiers who manned the trenches in Gallipoli. The offer was disappointing: the Zionists wanted to fight in Palestine, not serve as carriers in Gallipoli. But after much discussion and under the urging of Trumpeldor, the offer was accepted and the Zion Mule Corps came into existence.

The Corps had 652 men in active service and was commanded by Colonel John Henry Patterson, a gallant soldier and a warm friend

of the Jewish people: he was an Irish Protestant and a zealous student of the Bible. Trumpeldor was second in command, and the Corps had other Jewish officers besides. It served from April 1915 to March 1916, when the Gallipoli undertaking was abandoned. Four months later the Corps was disbanded. The service it performed, though auxiliary in character, was not without peril. "They toiled quietly with their mules under heavy fire," said General Ian Hamilton, commander in chief of the Expedition, "showing thus an even higher form of courage than is required of soldiers in the front, because they were not infected with the excitement of the fighting surroundings that enthuses the latter." The Corps sustained sixty-one casualties, and a number of its members were decorated for valor.

§ 3

The subordinate role which British staff headquarters in Cairo permitted the Zionists to play in Gallipoli left Jabotinsky unsatisfied. The War, he was convinced, would bring about the long overdue dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, and the great opportunity which Herzl had sought and never found was now at hand. And nothing, he believed, would give Zionist claims more strength than a military contribution to Turkey's defeat. So he left Alexandria on a mission of persuasion in the capitals of the Allied Powers, and after being rebuffed in Rome and Paris, he went on to London. In the fall of 1916 Trumpeldor also arrived there, and with him were a hundred men who had served in the now disbanded Zion Mule Corps. The British capital, already the scene of intense diplomatic activity for and against Zionism, now became the center of the effort to raise a Jewish military force to take part in the liberation of Palestine, and the two activities were of course closely related.

In London the authorities began by being no less cool to the plan than their counterparts in Rome and Paris. But gradually the opposition began to yield. An important factor in the rise of a more friendly attitude was the change of ministry which occurred in December 1916, when Asquith and Grey were replaced by Lloyd George and Balfour. In addition, Trumpeldor and Jabotinsky received valuable support from a number of influential non-Jews, among them Leopold Amery, who years later became Colonial Secretary; Sir Ronald Graham of the *Manchester Guardian*, Henry Wickham Steed of the *London Times* and Jan Smuts, who soon afterwards became Prime Minister of South

Africa. "It's the finest idea I have heard in my life," said Smuts, "that the Jews should themselves fight for the Land of Israel."

Another staunch advocate of the plan was Colonel Patterson, the commander of the Zion Mule Corps, who could speak with authority on the martial caliber of the Jews. The Zion Mule Corps, indeed, proved to have considerable persuasive value: it was a good turn which deserved another. And the former members of the Corps who came to London with Trumfeldor were of practical value after the first Jewish unit was authorized. They had enlisted in the British army and made up a separate company of a London regiment, but were transferred to the Jewish unit where they served as military instructors. From the leaders of the Movement in London the effort also received encouragement and help, especially from Weizmann, although the World Zionist Administration in Copenhagen, in line with its policy of strict neutrality, frowned upon a Zionist military adventure with either group of belligerents.

But the effort was vigorously opposed by Jews of the extreme right and left. The latter, radical Socialists, organized a committee of their own to oppose it, and there were clashes between them and the Zionists at meetings called to recruit volunteers. After the Russian revolution of March 1917, when the Kerensky regime agreed that Russian citizens resident in Britain could be drafted into the British Army, they urged the Jews who were in that status to return to Russia. The opponents of the right were, if possible, even more antagonistic. They were the exalted anti-Zionists who saw in a separate Jewish military force an affirmation of the alarming doctrine that the Jews were a people and not merely a religious community.

Early in 1917, Lord Derby, the Secretary of War, was won over to the plan, but it was not until June of that year that the British Official *Gazette* announced its authorization.

§ 4

The Jewish units have come down in Zionist history as the Jewish Legion, although officially they were battalions of the Royal Fusiliers, with the Shield of David on the sleeves of their uniforms. The high-placed enemies of Zionism, unable to prevent their formation, were nevertheless able to block their organization into a separate regiment. The first two battalions of the Legion arrived in time to take part in the final phase of Allenby's campaign in Palestine, but the

War was over before the battalions still in training in Egypt, Canada and England could join them. The Legion therefore had no opportunity to make a major military contribution, but its symbolic significance was enormous. For the first time since the revolt of Bar Kochba against the Romans in the year 132, Jewish military formations were fighting in and for the ancient motherland.

The second phase of Allenby's campaign in Palestine, after being delayed by the diversion of some of his forces to France where the Germans were making their supreme bid for victory, began September 19, 1918 with a sweeping attack on the coastal plain. It ended October 31 with the rout of the Turkish and German forces in Palestine and the surrender of Turkey to the Allies. In the Jordan Valley a weakened British right wing, commanded by Major General Edward Chaytor, was deployed to make the enemy believe that the main attack would be directed against Transjordan. To this wing, which at the right moment did break across the Jordan and played a much more important part than that of a mere decoy in the far-flung battle, were attached two of the three battalions of the Jewish Legion that got to Palestine—the 38th and the 39th Royal Fusiliers.

The 38th Battalion was recruited among the Jews of Whitechapel and commanded by Colonel Patterson. Jabotinsky was one of its lieutenants, and among its volunteers was Jacob Epstein, the famous sculptor. Before it embarked for Palestine an imposing demonstration in its honor took place in London, at which the Battalion marched with fixed bayonets from the City to Whitechapel. It arrived in Egypt in February 1918.

Two months later the 39th Battalion, consisting of American volunteers, also arrived in Egypt. In the United States the opportunity to fight for the liberation of Palestine had fired the imagination of thousands of young Jews. Enlistment was complicated by the fact that after April 1917, when America entered the War, all citizens were subject to the general draft and only aliens could enlist in the Legion. But the recruiting campaign was spurred by prominent American Zionists, including Nachman Syrkin, Jacob de Haas and Reuben Brainin, and they were effectively aided by a few exiles from Palestine who had made their way to America, among them David Ben Gurion and Isaac ben Zvi, the leaders of the Second Aliyah, and Pinchas Rutenberg, one of the many heroic and picturesque personalities which Russian Jewry contributed to the Zionist Movement. Rutenberg had played an important part in the Russian Revolution of

1905, and later, while studying hydraulic engineering in Italy, had become converted to Zionism. He was destined to play a prominent and dangerous part in the two revolutions of 1917 also, but in 1916, by agreement with Jabotinsky, he went to America, where he applied his quiet but intense energy towards two aims. One of them was to create an over-all organization of American Jewry on a democratic basis and thus deprive the anti-Zionist notables of the right to speak in the name of the American Jewish community. The other was to promote the formation of American units for the Jewish Legion.

The commander of the 39th Battalion was Colonel Eliezer Margolin, who realized a boyhood dream of leading Jewish soldiers for the liberation of his people. He was the son of a BILU pioneer, and in his youth had lived in Rehovot. He had then gone to Australia where he became a successful man of affairs and an officer in the Australian army. Colonel Margolin had fought in Flanders and Gallipoli, and had been four times wounded and twice promoted before he assumed command of the 39th Battalion.

§ 5

The two battalions held an important position in the Jordan Valley near Jericho, and served with distinction in the invasion of Transjordan by Chaytor's command which began on September 22, 1918. Early in the morning of that day, the 38th, reinforced by two companies of the 39th, drove the Turks from the ford of the Jordan at Um-esh-shert, opening the way to Transjordan for the Australian and New Zealand cavalry. The exploit was reported by Allenby in his dispatches, and General Chaytor told the battalion that "by forcing the Jordan ford, you helped in no small measure to win the great victory eventually gained in Damascus."

Another battalion of the Legion, the 40th Royal Fusiliers, finished its training in Egypt too late to take part in the final campaign. The battalion consisted of Palestinian Jews who enlisted as soon as they were able to do so after the liberation of the southern half of the country. The group which conducted the enlistment campaign in Palestine was headed by Moshe Smilansky, farmer and Hebrew belletrist, and the battalion was commanded first by Colonel Frederick D. Samuel, whom the war had converted to Zionism, and later by Colonel M. F. Scott, a devout Christian, who saw in the return of the Jews to Palestine the fulfillment of Bible prophecy.

For a year after the fighting was over the Jewish units stayed on for garrison duty and guarded Palestine from the Sinai desert to Haifa. It was the most tranquil year in the postwar history of the country.

§ 6

The three battalions which saw active service in Palestine numbered some 5,000 men, and on Armistice Day, November 11, 1918, nearly 6,000 additional volunteers, most of them from America, were in training in Canada and England. Altogether those who enlisted in the Legion made up but a tiny fraction of the 1,500,000 Jews who fought in the armies of all the belligerents of the First World War. Among the others, especially among the nearly 700,000 in the armies of Nicholas II, there must have been scores of thousands who would have joined them eagerly.

Among the Legion volunteers there was, as might have been expected, a large proportion of intellectuals and men who belonged to the liberal professions. They were praised by General Allenby for their "consistently good work," and Colonel Patterson said of them: "I have commanded Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotsmen—all good fighters. I commanded the Jewish troops in Gallipoli, Palestine and Egypt, and I can vouch for it that at all times and in every way the Jewish soldier upheld the best traditions of the British Army."

Chapter XX : POSTWAR BATTLES

THE POSITION of Zionism in world affairs at the end of the First World War was thus incomparably higher than it was at its beginning. This nostalgic fantasy inspired by remote memories that seemed unrelated to the actual world, a Utopian dream which few statesmen had taken seriously, had become a factor in the reconstruction program of the victorious Allies. And the savage outbreaks against the Jews that swept over eastern and central Europe as soon as the War was over underscored its urgent necessity. Shortly after the armistice the Poles embarked on a "patriotic" and expansionist rampage in the course of which they indulged in bloody "excesses," as they were politely called, against the Jews in Lemberg, Pinsk, Vilna, Lida and scores of other places. In Rumania all classes of the population—boyars, peasants, bourgeois, artisans and students—found the Jews a convenient scapegoat for their various afflictions, and in Austria and Germany national humiliation combined with economic distress to produce a violent upsurge of anti-Semitism. The worst disaster befell the Jews of the Ukraine which, after the Bolshevik revolution, became the scene of prolonged and chaotic civil war. More than a thousand pogroms, it has been estimated, were committed by counter-revolutionary armies and brigand gangs. The Jewish self-defense groups gave a good account of themselves against the roving bands but could do little against the well-armed soldiery, and the dead alone among the victims mounted into the hundreds of thousands. In this storm of hate and terror Zionism alone, standing apparently on the threshold of fulfillment, offered a haven and a hope.

But Zionism, as events were soon to prove, did not stand on the threshold of fulfillment. The political triumph it achieved with the Balfour Declaration and the promise it held out in the encircling gloom assured its ascendancy in the heart of the Jewish masses, but these masses were powerless to furnish the huge sums that were needed to realize the opportunity the Declaration offered. The hardest blow the

Movement sustained was the loss of that sector of world Jewry which had been its mainstay in the years before the War. Prewar Russian Jewry with its nearly six million souls was now split up between Communist Russia and resurrected Poland. In Russia, Zionism was equated with counter-revolution and its adherents were hunted and punished as state criminals. A single lunge of the juggernaut, and the large and proud communities of White Russia and the Ukraine which, in spite of repression and persecution, had been in the vanguard of Jewish cultural and national progress, were reduced to impotence and dissolution. In the new Poland, to which hundreds of thousands of Galician Jews were now added, Zionism was not proscribed; there, as in Austria and Lithuania, it became the dominant political force in Jewish life. But the Poles, bursting with chauvinism and rejecting the Jews as an alien element, subjected them to a systematic campaign of economic extrusion which reduced them to pauperism. Polish Jewry continued to play a leading role in the Movement; it contributed spirit, initiative and idealism; it supplied 40 per cent of the immigrants who came to Palestine in the two decades between the First and Second World Wars, and from Poland came most of the *Chalutzim*, the young and daring pioneers, who as soon as the War was over began streaming into Palestine to drain its marshes and clear its rocky wastes. But the Jewries of Poland and the other lands of eastern and central Europe were too impoverished to make a substantial contribution to the capital without which the speedy development of the National Home could not be accomplished.

§ 2

Nor did the more fortunate Jews of America rise to the historic occasion. The War, as we have seen, produced an impressive growth of Zionist sentiment and organized strength in American Jewry, but the wealthiest group still held aloof from the Movement, and the generosity of the rest was at the mercy of economic recessions and crises, not to speak of the slumps and lassitudes to which all enthusiasms are subject. Generosity is of course a more or less active impulse among men, and certainly not least active among Jews, but dependence upon it for the colossal task of state-building proved uncertain and precarious.

Brandeis continued to be the effective leader of the Movement in America even after June 1916, when he became an Associate

Justice of the Supreme Court. There were Zionists who regretted his elevation: they would have preferred to see him devote all his gifts and energies to the cause. But he felt he must not desert the liberal forces in American life and besides, his new position, he believed, would enlarge his opportunities to be of service to the Zionist cause. He was scrupulously observant of the tradition that required members of the High Court to avoid involvement in controversial issues, and he no longer appeared at public Zionist gatherings. He became the honorary president of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, but the change in title did not change his relationship to the Committee's expanding activities. He maintained continuous contact with all phases of its work, and his views and directives controlled policy and action. In 1917 he became the honorary president of the Zionist Organization of America, the body that took the place of the Federation of American Zionists and the Provisional Committee.

The Zionists of America, not excepting the top-level leadership, took that vague and ambiguous charter, the Balfour Declaration, as an open sesame to a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Their faith resembled that of the idealist Woodrow Wilson, who persuaded himself that the formal approval of his Fourteen Points by the Allied statesmen had cleared the road to a united and warless world. Political Zionism seemed to have achieved its purpose, the only problems remaining being those involved in state-building, with the economic task paramount.

Accordingly, at the convention of the Zionist Organization of America which followed the Declaration and took place in Pittsburgh in June 1918, a statement of basic principles designed to secure social justice in the Jewish Commonwealth was solemnly and unanimously adopted. This statement, which was drafted by Brandeis himself and reflects his social philosophy, came to be known as the Pittsburgh Program and consists of five clauses as follows:

1. We declare for political and civic equality irrespective of race, sex or faith of all the inhabitants of the land.
2. To insure in the Jewish National Home in Palestine equality of opportunity, we favor a policy which, with due regard to existing rights, shall tend to establish the ownership and control by the whole people of the land, of all natural resources and of all public utilities.

3. All land owned or controlled by the whole people should be leased on such conditions as will insure the fullest opportunity for development and continuity of possession.
4. The cooperative principle should be applied so far as is feasible in the organization of all agricultural, industrial, commercial and financial undertakings.
5. The system of free public instruction which is to be established should embrace all grades and departments of education.

The Pittsburgh Program appealed strongly to the Jewish zeal for social justice, it acted as a spur to the further growth of the Movement in America, but the attempts to secure recognition of its principles in the Palestine Mandate, of which different drafts were being prepared, were not successful. Nor was the Program without its critics. Like Herzl's *Judenstaat* it failed to champion the Hebrew language and culture, nor did it indicate what place the Jewish religious tradition should have in the Third Commonwealth.

§ 3

But most American Jews, notwithstanding their instinctive sympathy for Zionism, were still absent from the rolls of the Zionist organizations, and its foes were able to challenge the claim that Zionism had the backing of the American Jewish community. Already in the early days of the war it became clear that great world changes were impending, that the fate of many nations, large and small, was involved in the outcome, that the aspirations of the Jewish people were also in the balance, and that the powerful community in America could exert an enormous influence in determining the Jewish future. In what direction should its influence be exerted? Who should be the spokesmen of the community? Since 1906 the distinguished and self-perpetuating American Jewish Committee, composed of notables and magnates, had claimed to speak and act for American Jewry, and having won important victories in the defense of Jewish rights in various parts of the world, including the United States, the Committee had practically made good its claim. But the Committee was distinguished also for its hostility to Zionism, nor could it be expected to understand the other vital aspiration of the east European Jewries whose future was primarily involved: their demand not only for civil

equality as individuals but for autonomous rights as distinct national and cultural groups.

At no time were American Zionists reconciled to the hegemony of the self-appointed notables, but now the issues and prospects to which the war gave birth swept them into a bold move to create a democratic authority to speak for American Jewry. This effort became the Jewish Congress movement and it was in a real sense a belated attempt to answer the summons to "capture the communities," which Herzl had issued at the Second Zionist Congress in 1898. The idea of a Congress to represent not only American Jewry but all the Jewish communities of the world had been urged in America for years, with the lawyer and playwright Abraham Shomer its principal advocate. It had failed to enlist Zionist support, not only because it threatened the prestige of the Zionist Congress, but because American Zionism before the war lacked the strength and motive to challenge the power of the American Jewish Committee.

The Congress movement had its start not long after the outbreak of the war with a group of enthusiasts, many of them Poale Zion, who made up in zeal what they lacked in influence. Gradually the leaders of some of the large Jewish fraternal orders were drawn in, but it was not until the organized Zionists, led by Brandeis, endorsed the movement at their convention in Boston in 1915 that the American Jewish Committee took note of the "rebellion."

In December 1918, after more than three years of jockeying and parleying between the two sides, the American Jewish Congress, embracing both the "democrats" and the "oligarchs" and consisting of delegates chosen by popular vote, convened in Philadelphia. The American Jewish Committee had come in after the other side agreed that the Congress would not become a permanent organization and that its agenda would be limited to the issues raised by the War. During those three years, however, something else had happened which made it easier for the American Jewish Committee to join in a common enterprise with the Zionists. The Balfour Declaration had been issued and approved by the principal Allies and the head of the American government, and the Committee had the courage and realism to reverse itself and endorse the Declaration.

In Philadelphia the Congress fulfilled all the expectations of the Zionists. It voted approval of the Balfour Declaration and of Great Britain as the Mandatory for Palestine, and it endorsed the demand of east European Jewry for national and cultural rights. In fact, the

resolution on group rights which the Congress adopted was drawn by Louis Marshall, the president of the American Jewish Committee, who was converted to the justice and necessity of such rights for the Jewish minorities of eastern Europe. Finally, the Congress chose a delegation to represent the American Jewish community at the Peace Conference, which had just begun its sessions in Versailles. It consisted of Julian W. Mack, president of the Zionist Organization of America who was also president of the Congress, as chairman; Bernard G. Richards as secretary; and eight others, among them Louis Marshall, Stephen Wise, Joseph Barondess, Jacob de Haas and Nachman Syrkin.

§ 4

Thus the entire American Jewish community took its stand behind the Zionist program, and in Paris the delegation representing the Congress joined with similar bodies representing the Jewries of Europe, whose aims were identical with its own, to form a "Committee of Jewish Delegations at the Peace Conference." The Committee devoted itself chiefly to the struggle for minority rights, leaving Zionist interests to the representatives of the World Zionist Organization, although to a large extent the same men were engaged in both efforts.

The struggle of the Committee of Jewish Delegations for minority rights was crowned with success, despite the lack of support it had from the representatives of British Jewry and the outright antagonism of those of French Jewry. And it goes without saying that the rights won for the Jewish minority were extended to all other minorities. The Peace Conference incorporated the rights into the treaties that dealt with the countries created or altered by the war, and provided further that those rights "shall be recognized as fundamental law . . . and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations." It may at once be stated, however, that in reborn Poland and aggrandized Rumania, the two countries with some 4,500,000 of the 6,000,000 Jews for whom minority rights were legislated, those rights, as well as other and more elementary human rights, were cynically violated. It was not long before it became apparent that of the two aims which the Jews cherished, the preservation of Jewish life in the Diaspora and national restoration in Palestine, only the second was to prove capable of defying the demonic forces which the First World War had unleashed.

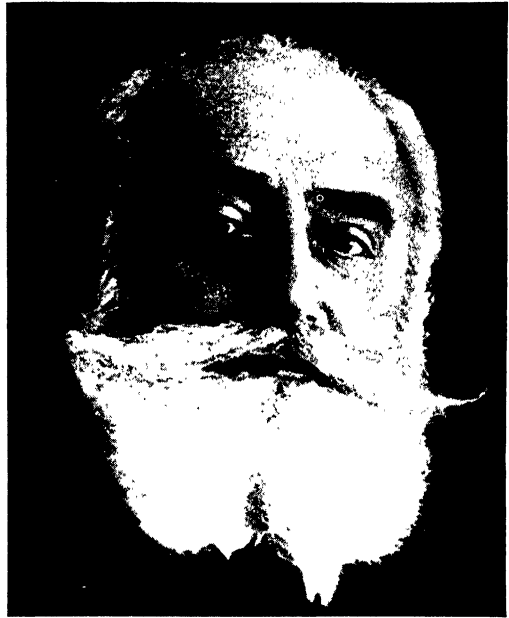
The successful issue of the Congress movement in America and at

the Peace Conference, drawing in as it did into the orbit of Zionist aims not only the large fraternal orders but the influential notables, raised high the hopes of American Zionists. Having taken the first step of endorsing those aims, would not the newcomers take the second and support them with their ample means? But there is a long lag between service of the lips and service of the hands, and besides, two years later, American Zionism itself was destined to go through a severe internal crisis, which weakened its power to speed the up-building of the National Home.

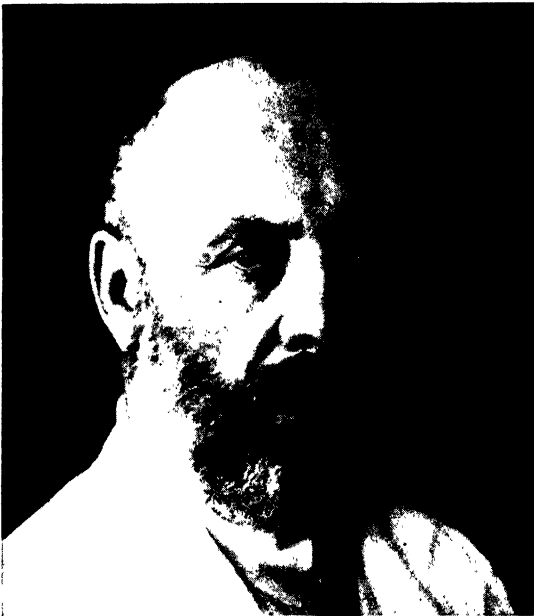
§ 5

But lack of capital was not the only obstacle that retarded the fulfillment of Zionist hopes, and among the others Arab antagonism could be taken for granted. The strong current of nationalism to which the War gave rise reached the upper circles in the Arab countries also, and not content with liberation from Turkish rule and the establishment of a number of free Arab states, they dreamed of the resurgence of a vast Arab empire from which Palestine, of course, was not to be excluded. The Zionist leaders expected opposition from the Arabs, and did their utmost, unavailing though it was, to conciliate them. What they did not expect, however, was opposition from the British, in particular from the British authorities in Palestine, and paradoxical as it appears, British opposition was another major cause, and perhaps the principal cause, for the failure of the Balfour Declaration to realize its promise.

The first to experience British hostility was the 38th Battalion of the Jewish Legion which arrived in Egypt in February 1918, four months after the issuance of the Declaration. The feelings with which the staff officers at Cairo received the Jewish soldiers were a mixture of irritation and contempt. Their sympathies were strongly pro-Arab. They counted on Arab help in the battle for Palestine and in general they considered it important not to alienate the good will of the population among whom they operated. The Jewish soldiers, the officers feared, would provoke their Arab allies, and those of them who had heard of the Balfour Declaration were sure it was a dangerous absurdity. With most of the military in Cairo, and later in Jerusalem, it was a short step from anti-Zionism to anti-Semitism, and the Arabs were quick to sense that their British rulers had little regard for the politicians in London and none at all for the Balfour Declaration.



MAX NORDAU



MENAHEM TSISSCHKIN



NAHUM SOKOLOW



VLADIMIR JABOTINSKY

Shortly after the Armistice a group of Arab notables demanded the complete stoppage of Jewish immigration, and to appease them, the military administrators ignored or flouted Jewish rights and sensibilities and treated the three battalions of the Legion, who were still garrisoned in Palestine, with studied neglect. It was these battalions, however, who in the spring of 1919, when the British units were rushed to Egypt to quell anti-British disturbances that had broken out in that country, prevented similar outbreaks in Palestine.

§ 6

The military administration that governed Palestine continued to July 1920, and not only the Jewish battalions and the Yishuv but the world Zionist leaders themselves were made to feel its hostile temper. In April 1918, with the northern half of the country still in the hands of the Turks, an officially authorized Zionist Commission, headed by Weizmann and including representatives of British, French and Italian Jewry, as well as a body of technical experts, arrived in Palestine. The Bolshevik upheaval in Russia prevented the representatives of Russian Jewry from joining the Commission in time, and American Jewry could not be represented because the United States was not at war with Turkey. The formal function of the Commission was to advise the military administration "in all matters relating to Jews, or which may effect the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish People." Major W. Ormsby-Gore, a staunch friend of Zionism, was attached to the Commission to represent the British government, and before it sailed Weizmann was received in audience by His Majesty, King George V.

The Commission's credentials could not have been more impressive, but in Palestine it came upon a wall of hostility, buttressed by ignorance and prejudice. Even among the higher army officers there were many who had never heard of the Balfour Declaration, and carefully chosen extracts from the famous forgery, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which portrays Zionism as a Jewish conspiracy to destroy the Christian nations, had found its way from czarist Russia to many of the British officers in Palestine. By the time the Commission arrived the military had given the Yishuv ample opportunity to recover from the high hopes the Balfour Declaration had inspired. The obstacles which the British placed in the way of the formation of the Palestine battalion of the Legion would alone have been enough

to disillusion the Yishuv. The army officers, with the notable exception of Brigadier General Sir Wyndham Deedes, were definitely anti-Zionist, and the presence of a fairly large number of Arab functionaries in the administration did nothing to improve their attitude. Many of these Arab employes were political agents, and their real function was to stir up hostility against the Jews.

But hope springs eternal, and when the Commission arrived there was a new wave of optimism. It lasted but a short time: the antagonism of the authorities remained unabated. But the Commission did not confine itself to the hopeless task of converting the military administrators. It absorbed the functions of the Palestine Office which the Zionist Organization had established in 1908, and it labored to rehabilitate the Yishuv, which four years of war had diminished and impoverished, its population reduced to little more than 50,000 and many of its leaders still in exile. Until September 1921, when the Commission was succeeded by the Executive chosen by the first post-war Zionist Congress, it operated as the agency of the world Zionist Movement in Palestine. There were many hungry to feed and sick to heal. Fortunately the Hadassah Medical Unit had arrived and was already at work. The Commission distributed the relief funds that were raised in America for the Yishuv, and it endeavored to reactivate its communal institutions. It was not, however, until after the military was replaced by a civil government that the Yishuv was able to convene the *Asephat Hanivcharim*, or Elected Assembly, which in turn chose *Vaad Leumi*, or National Council, as its official representative. In the course of those years there were many changes in the Commission's personnel. On Weizmann's return to England in September 1918, Jabotinsky became its head, and in the fall of 1919, Ussischkin became its president, and a number of American and Russian Zionists served on it from time to time.

A major objective of the Commission was to establish an understanding with the Arabs, and in June 1918 Weizmann journeyed to the Transjordanian city of Amman and conferred with the Emir Feisal, the most distinguished of the sons of Husein, the Sherif of Mecca, who was to be the ruler of the Arab state which Britain had promised to sponsor. Feisal had been chosen by the renowned Lawrence of Arabia to lead the revolt against Turkey, and next to his father he was the most important personage in the Arab world. Turkish forces were still deployed along the Jordan, and the roundabout journey to Amman by way of Akaba was an ordeal, but Feisal was a

charming host, and Weizmann had a pleasant and apparently successful visit. The fabulous Lawrence was also there, and the Emir propounded the idea that the future of both peoples—Arabs and Jews—lay in the Middle East. But events were to prove that Feisal's friendship was neither genuine nor stable, a mere adjunct to the grandiose ambitions which he nourished, and which were doomed to frustration.

The following month, on July 24, 1918, Weizmann presided over an event of more enduring significance. On Mount Scopus opposite Jerusalem the cornerstone of the Hebrew University was laid before an impressive gathering, which included the heads of the different religious communities in Palestine and high army officers, with the commander in chief among them. It was, as Weizmann put it, "an act of faith," for in Europe the war was at a crisis, with the Germans again approaching Paris, and the rumbling of cannon north of Jerusalem was audible during the exercises. And here too the antagonism of the military was not absent: the Foreign Office in London had to intervene before the ceremony could be held.

§ 7

The disposition of Palestine was only a tiny part of the prodigious task—the remaking of a world—with which the victorious Allies were confronted. The Balfour Declaration had indicated all too vaguely what the general disposition of that little land should be, but the Peace Conference, which began its sessions at Versailles in December 1918, would first have to confirm the Declaration and then make the necessary provisions for putting it into effect. The future of the Jewish National Home was clearly linked with the two great innovations in international affairs which were expected to insure world peace, and which became Woodrow Wilson's dominant goal and passion: the League of Nations to supervise international relations, and the Mandate System, itself under the control of the League, to promote the welfare of the backward regions and their progress towards self-government. The immediate political objectives of Zionism, therefore, were first, to win the approval of the Balfour Declaration by the Peace Conference; second, to secure the appointment of Great Britain as the Mandatory for Palestine; and third, to safeguard the interests of the Jewish National Home in the textual structure of the Mandate.

None of these objectives was attained without a long and hard struggle. The end of the war was the signal for a recrudescence of the

keen rivalry between Britain and France for control in the Near East, with agents of both Powers active among the Arabs. The two Powers, it is true, issued a joint declaration to the Arabs promising them freedom and independence, but its purpose was to allay the unrest which menaced both of them. The French still insisted on the zones of influence as defined in the defunct Sykes-Picot Agreement, or they demanded a "Greater Syria"—which should include Palestine—under French tutelage. The British, on the other hand, nursed the idea of an all-inclusive federation of Arab states under British protection, while the Sherif of Mecca approved of a great Arab state, but disapproved of protection, either French or British. The Vatican, too, in spite of the kind words Benedict XV had spoken to Nahum Sokolow, had political aims in Palestine with which Zionism was held to conflict, and the American Protestant missionaries in the Near East, whose educational and other institutions gave them great influence, saw eye to eye with the Arabs and were also hostile to Zionist aspirations. Nor had the Balfour Declaration brought a truce to the opposition of the Jewish anti-Zionists, among whom the ultra-Orthodox Agudat Israel began to play a prominent part. Conflicting as their separate aims were, all of these interests converged upon the Peace Conference with the common purpose of subverting the Balfour Declaration.

In early February 1919, the Zionist leaders submitted a statement of their demands to the Peace Conference. It called for the recognition of the "historic title of the Jewish people to Palestine," and urged that the government of the country be "entrusted to Great Britain as Mandatory of the League of Nations." It dealt with the boundaries of Palestine, which were to take in Transjordan as far east as the Hejaz railroad, and even spoke of an ultimate "autonomous Commonwealth," with the adjective "Jewish" cautiously omitted. A council or agency, representing the Jews of Palestine and of the world, was to cooperate with the Mandatory in the administration of the country, and have priority rights to economic concessions. The demands fell short of those urged by the Yishuv and by Zionists like Max Nordau who clung to the legacy of Theodor Herzl, and they were severely criticized at a meeting of the Greater Actions Committee, the first since the outbreak of war, which took place later that month in London. But the leaders, mindful of the hostile forces that stood arrayed against them, felt they could go no further.

On February 27, 1919 the powerful Council of Ten, on which sat the leading representatives of Britain, France, the United States

and Japan, listened to a Zionist deputation present the claims of the Jewish people to Palestine. It included Weizmann, Sokolow, Ussischkin, who addressed the Council in Hebrew, and André Spire, the leader of the French Zionists, all of whom spoke eloquently in support of the Zionist demands, and Sylvain Lévi, another French Jew, a professor of Sanskrit, who, strange to relate, delivered a long oration against them! The professor, it was said, had been briefed by the Quai d'Orsay. The ubiquity of the opposition was staggering. The good professor was, among other things, afraid of the "explosive" Russian Jews who would come to Palestine. The situation was saved when a question by Robert Lansing permitted Weizmann to reply, and it was in the course of this reply that he contrived an epigram which was destined to have invidious repercussions. Zionism, he said, looked forward to a time when Palestine should be "as Jewish as England is English."

The appearance of the ranking Zionist spokesmen before the august Council of Ten inspired pride and renewed hope; it dramatized the new status in world affairs to which the Movement had raised the Jewish people. But it also inspired the enemies of Zionism to fresh exertions. A month later the American Delegation to the Peace Conference was presented with a memorial signed by 299 American Jews, described as "prominent," who denounced Zionism on the ground that it would burden them with the problem of "dual allegiance." And even earlier the Paris *Matin* published a hostile interview with the glamorous Emir Feisal, which Weizmann in his autobiography calls "rather surprising." He had ample reason to be surprised for only eight weeks earlier he and Feisal had concluded a written agreement for mutual assistance between the "Arab State and Palestine." But the interview was only another instance of the shifts and twists of Arab diplomacy, and a few days afterwards the Emir performed another volte-face. Felix Frankfurter, assisted by Lawrence of Arabia, led him to see new light, and on March 3, 1919 he wrote Frankfurter a letter, which has held a prominent place in Zionist history. It was a rather long letter, and suffused with sweetness and light. The Arabs and Jews are "cousins in race"; the Arabs "look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist Movement"; the Zionist demands are "moderate and proper," and the Arabs will do their best "to help them through"; they "will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home."

No doubt, the letter was an important diplomatic victory for Zionism; it was often cited to confute those who held Zionism to be

violative of Arab rights and those, in particular, who opposed it in the name of Wilson's doctrine of self-determination. But diplomacy is one thing and reality another. The letter did not reflect Arab sentiment, not even Feisal's own sentiment. Only a year later, as we shall see, with Feisal enthroned in Damascus as king of "United Syria," Arab mobs in Jerusalem attacked the Jews, shouting "Long live King Feisal!" and "Down with the Jews!"

§ 8

Only a day before the Arab chieftain in Paris gave such hearty approval to the return of his "cousins" to Palestine, President Wilson, who had left the Conference and was back in America, received a delegation headed by Julian Mack, and issued a statement on Palestine which was considered not less important than Feisal's letter. "I have before this," said the head of the nation whose might had been the decisive factor in Germany's defeat, "expressed my personal approval of the declaration of the British Government regarding the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine. I am, moreover, persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

But later the same month Wilson, who had returned to Versailles, supported a plan which was vigorously urged by the anti-Zionist missionary circles, and a Commission consisting of Henry C. King, the president of Oberlin College, and Charles Crane, a wealthy Chicago manufacturer, was dispatched to the Near East to ascertain the wishes of the people with regard to their political future. Wilson was not unmindful of the danger the Commission represented to Zionist claims, but the French and British were so hopelessly at odds on the Near East that only in that way, he believed, could the deadlock be broken.

The King-Crane Commission made a lightning tour of Palestine and Syria, and in August 1919 came back with a report advocating the union of both countries under American tutelage, and the abandonment of "the project for making Palestine distinctly a Jewish Commonwealth." The report was not made public for three years, nor did it influence the final action of the Allies on Palestine, but the anti-Zionist bias of the Commission, which paralleled the attitude of the

military administration, coupled with their prestige as emissaries of the American president, confirmed the Arabs in their conviction that the Balfour Declaration was not to be taken seriously and needed only a determined act on their part to secure its revocation. It added fuel to the fires that smoldered among them and were preparing to burst into flame.

§ 9

In June 1919, Brandeis, accompanied by his Zionist mentor Jacob de Haas, left for Palestine, and on the way over he stopped in London, where he and Weizmann met for the first time, and in Paris, where he conferred, among others, with Wilson and Balfour. His stay in Palestine was short, but he visited the cities and more than half the Jewish colonies. He was fascinated by the beauty of the land. "It is a wonderful country," he wrote . . . "The age-long longing—the love is all explicable now. . . The way is long, the path difficult, but the struggle is worth while. It is indeed a Holy Land." The hostile attitude of the military was disquieting, and when Brandeis stopped in London on the return journey his efforts led to the dispatch on August 4, 1919 of a message from Balfour to the military commander in Jerusalem, impressing upon him that the Jewish National Home policy was a *chose jugée*, and urging him to discourage Arab agitation against it. But not even this directive produced a change of heart.

The following month Lloyd George and Clemenceau came finally to an agreement which put an end to Feisal's dream of a United Syria and enflamed the nationalism of the Arabs to a new pitch. The tension in Palestine continued to mount, and the military government did nothing to lessen it. Only some 400 men were now left of the 5,000 who made up the Jewish battalions, and a feeling of insecurity descended on the Yishuv. The warnings of impending Arab outbreaks, which the Zionist Commission addressed to the authorities, fell on deaf ears, and the Jews proceeded to set up a defense force of their own, at the head of which stood Pinchas Rutenberg and Vladimir Jabotinsky.

But the first Arab onslaught occurred in the extreme north in the neighborhood of Metullah, a district which found itself in a political and military vacuum. The British garrison had been withdrawn from it; the French claimed it for Syria but left it virtually

undefended. The Jewish colonists of Kfar Giladi and Tel Hai, determined that the district should belong to Palestine, resolved to maintain their posts, in spite of the large bands of armed Bedouins who were moving in at the instigation of the Arab National Committee in Damascus. The Committee's objective was a "United Syria," free from French and British tutelage alike. The leader in Tel Hai was Joseph Trumpeldor. He had gone to Russia after the first revolution of 1917 to raise a Jewish army for the conquest of Palestine. When his plan was foiled by the Bolsheviks, he launched the Hechalutz, an organization for training groups of pioneers for the National Home, and in 1919 had returned with the first group to Palestine.

For months the handful of defenders at Tel Hai, besieged by the Arabs, repelled all their assaults. The Arabs sheiks then resorted to subterfuge. On March 1, 1920, under pretext of a peaceful mission, they were permitted to pass the gate, and then opened fire on the defenders. Trumpeldor was mortally wounded and five of his comrades, two of them women, were killed. "Never mind," were Trumpeldor's last words, "it is good to die for our country." Tel Hai and Kfar Giladi had to be abandoned, but were shortly afterwards re-occupied, and it is fair to say that the final inclusion of the disputed area within the boundaries of Palestine was in no small measure due to the heroic stand of Trumpeldor and his comrades.

News of the attack in the far north heightened the tension throughout the country, and the excitement among the Arabs rose even higher when on March 7, 1920, the Arab National Committee, in defiance to the Anglo-French agreement, proclaimed Feisal king of Syria and Palestine. The Arabs of Jaffa and Jerusalem staged menacing demonstrations for their "king" and against the Jews, but again the authorities paid no heed to the warnings of the Jewish leaders. On April 2, thousands of Arabs from other localities flocked to Jerusalem for the Nebi-Musa (The Prophet Moses) festival, and for three days, beginning April 4, they rioted against the Jewish residents in the Old City. Six Jews and six Arabs lost their lives. The rallying cry of the Arabs was: "The government is with us!" and it was no empty boast. The British forces directed their efforts against the Jewish self-defense groups, preventing them from reaching the Old City, and when the rioting was over a military court sentenced twenty of their members, including their leader Jabotinsky, to long prison terms. The conduct of the authorities in this outbreak established a pattern which was destined to repeat itself.

§ 10

But the Arab leaders and their British coadjutors in Jerusalem miscalculated the effect which their "strong action" would have on the political future of Palestine. No government can permit its servants to dictate its policies, nor can it hope to command respect if it yields to violence. In the town of San Remo on the Italian Riviera, the Supreme Council of European Powers was slated to meet and make final disposition of the former provinces of the Turkish Empire, and the real aim of the outbreak in Jerusalem was to prevent a decision on Palestine in conformity with the Balfour Declaration. The outbreak, however, boomeranged; its effect was to hasten the decision, which, it was felt, would end the dangerous state of uncertainty. On April 24, 1920 the Supreme Council voted to declare Palestine a mandated territory, to award the Mandate to Great Britain, and to require the Mandatory to administer its trust under the terms of the Balfour Declaration. The decision was incorporated into the peace treaty with Turkey, the Treaty of Sèvres, and thus the Jewish National Home became a formal part of the new world order.

The San Remo Decision was hailed across the world with even more jubilation than the Balfour Declaration, and this rejoicing over an event that might have been taken for granted is a measure of the anxiety and bitterness which the obstructionism of the military government and the mounting truculence of the Arabs inspired. In the United States the Zionist Organization held an Extraordinary Convention to celebrate the Decision. The Yishuv experienced a sense of relief, although there were many who refused to indulge in exaggerated hopes; bitter experience had engendered a cautious attitude. For, important as the action at San Remo was, the Yishuv felt that to replace the military regime with a friendly civil administration was even more important.

But steps to bring this change about had also been taken at San Remo. Herbert Samuel had stopped there on his way from Jerusalem, where his advice had been sought by the military government in matters of finance and administration. Samuel was an experienced statesman; he had served with distinction in many important posts in addition to that of Secretary for Home Affairs in the cabinet headed by Asquith. He was keenly interested in the National Home policy, and had been active in the negotiations between the Zionist leaders and the government. His brother, Sir Stuart Samuel, was a leader of

the Mizrachi in England, and his son Edwin had been a lieutenant in the 40th Battalion of the Jewish Legion. In San Remo Samuel agreed to become the head of the first civil government of Palestine.

With the title of High Commissioner he arrived there on July 1, 1920. It was a happy and hopeful day for the Yishuv and for world Jewry. The Arabs, it was believed, would now accept the inevitable, and in place of the obstructive and unimaginative army officers, there would be a new Administration, headed by a Jew and a pro-Zionist, whom some in their enthusiasm called another Nehemiah come from high stations in the Exile to lay the foundations of a new Jewish Commonwealth.

Chapter XXI : LOSSES AND GAINS

SO THE two Arab attempts in the spring of 1920 to terrorize Zionism out of existence were followed promptly by the gains represented by the San Remo Decision and the appointment of Herbert Samuel to head the first civil government of Palestine. In July of the same crowded year came another significant event when the most important international Zionist meeting since the Eleventh Congress in Vienna seven years earlier assembled in London. Its functions were to knit together the severed parts of the world Zionist Movement, to give legal status to the organs which had been set up under the exigencies of war, and above all to devise policies and instruments for the new era into which the Movement had entered. It was a large and representative gathering, with Russian Zionism, already banned by Bolshevism, represented by distinguished émigrés, and a delegation of forty from America headed by Brandeis. Max Nordau, back from Spain where he spent the war years as an exile, was elected honorary chairman, but the choice was only a gesture to an era that was over and gone. Nordau's influence was a thing of the past, and the other great lieutenant of Herzl, David Wolffsohn, had died a month after the outbreak of the War.

Before the Conference adjourned an interim Zionist Administration was chosen to hold office till the next Congress. Weizmann and Sokolow, the two men whom the Russian Zionist leader Boris Goldberg hailed as "the angels of the redemption," were elected respectively president of the World Organization and chairman of the Executive. Among others chosen for the Executive were Ussischkin, who was directing the work of the Zionist Commission in Palestine; Nehemiah de Lieme of the Hague, and Julius Simon of New York. But the last two did not stay long in the new administration. When they, together with Robert Szold of New York, examined the operations of the Zionist Commission in Palestine and criticized them severely, their findings were rejected by their colleagues and they resigned.

But the Conference in London was occupied chiefly with the problems of colonization and immigration. It declared for a land policy in accord with the principles of the Pittsburgh Program and designated the *Keren Kayemet* as the instrument to carry it into effect. Its colonization policy had for its objective the creation of a numerous and self-reliant Jewish peasantry, and immigration was to be controlled by a central office in Palestine operating through agencies to be established in all the countries of emigration.

There was agreement on all these matters; nevertheless there was a profound cleavage in the Conference which made itself felt throughout the proceedings and came sharply into focus before they were over. It was a broad and deep rift between the Americans and the Europeans, symbolized by the respective leaders of the two contingents, Brandeis and Weizmann.

Much has been said to explain what it was that set the two men at odds, and the formula that has been often invoked is that famous unbridgeable gulf between east and west. Whatever their ultimate source, there were, no doubt, important differences in spirit and approach between the Zionists of eastern Europe and those of the west—differences which, as we saw, made some “easterners” refuse to give even Herzl a clean bill of Zionist health. Brandeis saw the latest political triumphs of the Movement as sufficient reason for a sharp break with the Zionist past. Political work as well as propaganda and education should give place to large-scale economic enterprise under expert control, in which non-Zionists should be invited to share as equal members of the World Organization. Weizmann, closer to the sources of political power and favor whence came those triumphs, was not convinced that the San Remo Decision marked the end of political Zionism, and as the disciple of Achad Ha’am, he saw the educational and propaganda work of the Movement as one of its principal *raison d’être*. And as for the non-Zionists, while Weizmann began by agreeing that men like Sir Alfred Mond and Lord Reading should be accepted into the control of Zionist economic enterprise in Palestine, he changed his attitude before the Conference was over; economic control has a way of reaching out into other fields also. To insure efficiency in the conduct of Zionist undertakings, it was proposed that all power be vested in a cabinet of three men, and Weizmann expressed agreement on condition that Brandeis be one of them. Brandeis could not accept: his position on the Supreme Court and in American life, he declared, made it impossible.

In any appraisal of the rift between Brandeis and most of the American delegates on the one hand, and Weizmann and most of the Europeans on the other—a rift that led Jabotinsky to call the Conference the most tragic failure in Zionist history—the differences with regard to Zionist policy were no doubt fundamental. But to these differences must be added others of a personal nature: policies and methods are not to be divorced from the temperament and ambitions of men. The dominant role which Weizmann had played during and since the First World War made it humanly impossible for him to relinquish the leadership to another. So Brandeis and Weizmann failed to come *en rapport*.

The issue on which all differences finally converged concerned a proposal to establish a new financial instrument, which was laid before the Conference. This was the *Keren Hayesod*, or Foundation Fund, for which the sum of £25,000,000 was to be demanded from the Jewish people for a five-year development plan, each donor to tax himself 10 per cent or the biblical tithe of his assets and income. The entire program for building the National Home—rural and urban colonization, industry, immigration, education, health, etc.—was to be financed by this fund. The *Keren Hayesod*, in other words, was to include investments as well as gifts, and this “commingling of funds” clashed head-on with the logic and experience of Brandeis. The majority of the American Delegation refused to support the proposal, but the Conference voted to adopt it although the Europeans were well aware its success depended primarily on American Jewry.

No representative of American Zionism remained in the new administration, and the future relation of the Movement in America to the World Organization became a grave and anxious question.

§ 2

A year later there was a dramatic sequel to the London Conference at which the question was answered. It came at the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America which was held that year in Cleveland, and it wrested from Brandeis and his followers the leadership of American Zionism which they had held for seven years.

There had been growing discontent with the Brandeis regime even before the London Conference, with a strong flurry of opposition at the 1919 Convention in Chicago. His position on the Supreme Court compelled him to become an absentee leader, and he maintained

contact with the officers and workers in the Movement through intermediaries not all of whom enjoyed their confidence. His principal go-between was Jacob de Haas, whose sterling qualities and zeal did not go hand in hand with a cordial and winning manner. Besides, directives issued by proxy from an ivory tower had a dictatorial flavor which those who cherished the democratic traditions of the Movement were quick to resent. To many of them, moreover, Zionism was more than an economic program for even a state-building enterprise; it was a way of life enjoined by a millennial tradition, to which they felt that Brandeis and his entourage, with all their devotion to the cause, were strangers.

But the rejection by the American leadership of the decisions of the London Conference involved more than a question of philosophy or method. It struck at the authority and integrity of the world Movement. It was an act of nullification which could only lead to another secession, this time not ideological, like the one that sprang from the Uganda issue, but geographical. Concretely the issue revolved around the *Keren Hayesod*. Shall the Jews of America be called upon to support the new instrument which the world Movement adopted for its colossal task in Palestine, or not?

In the spring of 1921 Weizmann, as president of the World Organization, arrived in the United States accompanied by Albert Einstein, whose scientific achievements had already made him a legendary figure. From the leaders of American Zionism Weizmann's reception was less than lukewarm; Julian Mack, who was president of the American organization, brought him a memorandum which offered cooperation, but on conditions that Weizmann found unacceptable. The multitudes, on the other hand, hailed him as the statesman and architect of the Jewish national restoration. And other leaders of the world Movement came to America to support him, among them Shmaryah Levin and Ussischkin. The rupture in American Zionism became wider, and both sides prepared for the hour of decision which would strike at the approaching annual Convention. The chief role in clarifying and organizing the opposition fell to Louis Lipsky, who resigned his post in the administration, and to the youthful and brilliant Emanuel Neumann. In the meantime Weizmann authorized the establishment of the *Keren Hayesod* in America. Neumann became its director, and the distinguished lawyer Samuel Untermyer its president.

The intense agitation that preceded the Convention, which met

in Cleveland early in June 1921, left no doubt about the outcome. The first parliamentary test of strength occurred in the voting for a convention chairman; Henry J. Dannenbaum of Texas, the candidate of the opposition, won a decisive victory over Mack. There followed three days of passionate debate during which the unrenowned spokesmen of the opposition—Lipsky, Neumann, Morris Rothenberg, Peter Schweitzer, Bernard Rosenblatt, and others—found themselves pitted against men of eminence like Julian Mack, Stephen Wise and Felix Frankfurter. The opposition won; by a vote of 153 to 71 the Brandeis-Mack leadership was repudiated. Thereupon Mack announced his resignation as president of the Organization, as well as that of the majority of the Executive Committee, and he read also a letter of resignation from Brandeis as honorary president. The Brandeis era in American Zionism was over.

§ 3

By that time Herbert Samuel had been High Commissioner in Palestine for nearly a year. His first acts had been dramatic and heartening. Several days after his arrival he read a statement from His Britannic Majesty to an assembly of officials and Arab and Jewish notables, informing them that the policy in Palestine aimed "to secure the gradual establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people." He emphasized the safeguards to protect Arab rights, and it was, of course, only proper that he should do so. On the Sabbath of Consolation which fell not long afterwards, he attended services in a synagogue of the Old City and read the prescribed portion from Isaiah beginning with the words: "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith your God." The Yishuv and the entire Jewish world were deeply moved, and they were further reassured by his appointment of Sir Wyndham Deedes, whose sympathy for Zionism was well-known, as Chief Secretary to the government. Norman Bentwich, scholar, soldier and Zionist, who had been Senior Judicial Officer under the military administration, continued with the new administration as the Legal Secretary, and in 1922 he became Attorney General. And Hebrew was recognized as one of the official languages of the country.

Nevertheless it soon became apparent that the new broom did not intend to sweep clean. Samuel retained many officials of the Military administration who were hostile to Zionism and their mere pres-

ence was enough to encourage Arab intransigence. Conspicuous among them was Sir Ronald Storrs, the Governor of Jerusalem. Sir Ronald, who organized a pro-Jerusalem Society, was distressed over the aggressive modernism of the Zionists, which threatened to efface the dilapidated quaintness of the city and the Holy Land generally. He had been governor of Jerusalem when the Arabs carried out their assault during the Passover week, and the Yishuv considered his failure to take the precautions which had been urged upon him as largely responsible for the outbreak. Another retaineé was Ernest T. Richmond, a hardened anti-Zionist who was put in charge of the strategic Political Department of the Secretariat. And one of the first acts of the High Commissioner was to proclaim an amnesty which opened the gates of the Acre prison to Jabotinsky and to the others who had been arrested while defending the Jews during the assault, but the same amnesty liberated the convicted Arabs also. Jabotinsky protested in vain against this equal treatment of the assailants and their victims.

It happened that one of those who benefited from this lofty impartiality was a member of the prominent Husseini family who, after having played a conspicuous part in fomenting the outbreak, had fled the country and been sentenced in absentia to fifteen years imprisonment. This fugitive from justice, Amin El Husseini, now returned to Jerusalem, and early in 1921 he found himself the official head of the Moslem community of Palestine! And it was the High Commissioner himself to whom he owed his elevation. The office of Mufti of Jerusalem had become vacant, and of the three whose names were submitted to the Government as candidates for the exalted post, Sir Herbert appointed Amin, although his name was last on the list. The High Commissioner was obviously prepared to bend far over backwards to win the good will of the Arabs, but this particular act was destined to have calamitous results for the peace of Palestine. The following year the new Mufti became president of the Supreme Moslem Council, a position which gave him control over charitable receipts amounting to more than £100,000 annually, supervision of the Moslem religious courts, and the power to name the preachers in all the mosques of the country. The Mufti, or the Grand Mufti as he preferred to be called, remained an implacable enemy of Zionism, and armed with all these powers he became the head and front of Arab intransigence and violence against the Yishuv.

About the same time—early in 1921—another blow was struck

at Zionism which, from a long-range view, was perhaps the hardest of all. Transjordan, the broad and fertile plateau east of the Jordan, with an area three times as large as the region west of the river and a population of less than 300,000, was declared out of bounds for the Jewish National Home. The vagueness and ambiguities of the Balfour Declaration were beginning to bear fruit—for British imperial plans. What happened was that after Feisal was driven from his throne in Damascus by the French, his brother Abdullah appeared in Transjordan, leading a band of guerrillas with whom he proposed to do nothing less than drive the French out of Syria. Thereupon Winston Churchill, who was Colonial Secretary, allayed Abdullah's avenging ardor by making his brother Feisal the ruler of Iraq, and himself the Emir of Transjordan. In addition, he endowed Abdullah with a handsome British subvention. Historically, Transjordan is an integral part of Palestine, and it was taken for granted by the Zionist leaders, and by British statesmen also, that it was part and parcel of the Palestine of the Balfour Declaration. The amputation of Transjordan deprived the Jews of an area which offered the best opportunities for colonization and was least complicated by an Arab problem.

§ 4

But the enthronement of Feisal in Iraq and the installation of his brother across the Jordan excited the political appetites of the Arab leaders in Palestine, and a deputation of Arab notables called on Churchill during his stay in Jerusalem and demanded among other things that the Balfour Declaration be annulled and Jewish immigration halted. Churchill's attempts to reassure them, after rejecting their demands, were futile, and shortly afterwards, in May 1921, the Arabs again resorted to violence. The attack came without warning, although it was known that agitators had been busy among them. It was touched off by a May Day celebration in Jaffa and Tel Aviv, and after three days of bloody clashes in Jaffa, it spread to some of the colonies in Judea and Samaria, including Petach Tikvah, Kfar Saba, Hadera and Rehovot. In Jaffa and Tel Aviv the Arab mobs were subdued by the small remnant of the Jewish legion, commanded by Eliezer Margolin, who rushed his men to the scene without the permission of his superiors. The casualties on both sides were about equal, the most distinguished victim being the brilliant but somber Hebrew novelist and essayist, Joseph Chaim Brenner.

An inquiry directed by Sir Thomas Haycraft, the Chief Justice of Palestine, found that the Arab police were "in many cases indifferent, and in some cases leaders and participators in violence"; nevertheless the report implied that the root of the trouble was the National Home policy. The first step taken by the High Commissioner amazed and shocked the Yishuv: he ordered the suspension of Jewish immigration. Two months later the ban was lifted, but the regulations under which Jews could enter their National Home were now more stringent. To the Arabs the inference was plain: violence was a method that paid dividends.

An objective appraisal of British policy in Palestine must take into account the peculiar difficulties with which the British were faced, not only as between the Jews and Arabs in that land, but as between the Jewish world and the Moslem world in general. They began with the resolve to antagonize neither side, they tried to feed the tiger of Arab intransigence and keep the lamb—the Jewish National Home—whole. Thus in the first year of Samuel's administration, a tract of 100,000 acres of irrigable state land in the Beisan valley below the Sea of Galilee was, to the chagrin of the Jews, made over to Bedouin nomads, in whose possession it continued to lie fallow. If the Balfour Declaration meant anything it meant, the Zionists felt, that such lands should be made available to Jewish colonization.

Apparently, Samuel was persuaded that a policy of concession would eventually placate the majority of the Arabs and result in Arab-Jewish cooperation. But the tiger's appetite grew with the repasts to which he was treated. Nothing less than the renunciation of the National Home policy and the complete stoppage of Jewish immigration was ever demanded by the Arabs.

§ 5

It was under the shadow of the lamentable events in Palestine and the ominous rupture in the American Movement that the Twelfth Zionist Congress, the first since the one held in Vienna eight years before, met in September 1921 in Prague. But the picture was not uniformly somber, the brightest part of it being the Third Aliyah which was now well under way. From September 1920 to April 1921 some 10,000 had entered the Homeland; by 1922 the New Yishuv, which at the end of the First World War numbered 25,000 souls, grew by nearly 100 per cent. But the Third Aliyah was even more heartening

by reason of its quality, for it contained a large proportion of *Chalutzim*, youthful pioneers of both sexes imbued with idealism and courage, who were draining the malarious marshes and building the roads, eager to perform the most menial and perilous tasks for the upbuilding of the Homeland. The holdings of the *Keren Kayemet* had been substantially increased by the bold purchase of an area of 62,000 dunams in the strategic Valley of Jezreel, and in October 1920 the *Asephat Hanivcharim*, the Elected Assembly of the Yishuv, had finally met and chosen a *Vaad Leumi*, or National Council, which obtained official recognition as representing the Jewish Community. A Rabbinical Council, headed by the chief rabbis of the Sephardic and Ashkenazic groups, completed the internal, and in many aspects, autonomous organization of the Yishuv. And the Congress itself gave cause for satisfaction, reflecting as it did the imposing growth of the worldwide Movement: the delegates represented 770,000 shekel-payers, nearly six times as many as were represented at the previous Congress.

For two weeks the Twelfth Congress wrestled with the formidable economic, political and financial problems that faced the Movement in the wake of the Balfour Declaration and the San Remo Decision. It approved the *Keren Hayesod* and the other decisions adopted by the London Conference of the year before, and appeared confident that the Jews of the world, of America in particular, would come forward with the sums required for the large-scale development program which it adopted. The budget of \$7,500,000 for the ensuing year, which the Congress voted, and which proved to be much too optimistic, was regarded by many delegates as evidence of a lack of faith in the Jewish people.

The delegation from America included, of course, no representatives of the Brandeis-Mack group. Nevertheless, to a considerable degree Brandeis dominated the Congress in absentia. The breach in the American Movement was a major theme in the speeches of nearly all participants in the *Generaldebatte*, the long and diffuse debate which many Americans, including Brandeis, had found strange and confusing. But the *Generaldebatte* performed a useful function: it enabled the various parties to air their views and grievances and cleared the ground for action on the *Absolutorium*, as the vote of confidence was called. The general debate at this Congress was longer than usual; the spokesmen of all the parties and the leading figures of all the territorial delegations had their say. Hirsch Perez Chayes,

the brilliant scholar and chief rabbi of Vienna, who had been in America in an effort to bring the factions together, predicted that Brandeis and his followers would return, a prophecy which was not fulfilled, however, until nine years later.

The Congress denounced Arab violence, but proclaimed in the same resolution "our determination to live with the Arab people on terms of concord and mutual respect." It adopted constitutional changes, raising the number of shekel-payers for each delegate from 200 to 2,500, and the membership of the Executive, the body which in Herzl's day was known as the Smaller or Inner Actions Committee, from seven to not more than fifteen. A larger body corresponding to the original Greater Actions Committee and now known as the General Council, was chosen to meet between Congresses and review the affairs of the Movement.

The Congress elected Weizmann president of the World Organization and Sokolow president of an Executive of thirteen members. The Movement now had two headquarters, one in London, the other in Jerusalem, and of the Executive seven were assigned to the first and the rest to the second. The London branch of the Executive was charged with looking after Zionist political interests in the British capital and promoting the Movement with its federations throughout the world. The Palestine branch now supplanted the Zionist Commission. Upon it lay the onerous burden of meeting the heavy demands of the numerous activities involved in building the National Home, and the even more difficult task of maintaining cooperative relations with the officials of the Mandatory Administration.

§ 6

The summer of 1922 brought two significant events in the checkered history of Zionism. In June came the Churchill White Paper; it represented the first stage in the long process of retreat which attenuated and finally nullified Britain's commitments to the Jewish people. In the following month came the ratification of the Palestine Mandate by the Council of the League of Nations. Ratification of the Mandate was a consummation for which the Zionist leaders were exceedingly anxious. It was the third and final act in the political establishment of Zionism, the first two having been the Balfour Declaration and the San Remo Decision. It gave final confirmation to the National Home

policy which, it was hoped, would put an end to Arab unrest and agitation.

Indeed, the Arab leaders bent all their efforts to prevent the acceptance of the Mandate by the League, and they received aid and comfort in many influential quarters. In the summer of 1921 an Arab delegation headed by Musa Kazim Pasha arrived in London after stopping in Cairo, Rome and Paris. In Rome it found eager sympathy in the Vatican, where the award of the Holy Land to a Protestant power was regarded with distaste, and in Italian government circles, where Britain's espousal of Zionism was put down as a device to consolidate her imperial interests in the Near East. The same attitude prevailed in Paris, where it was aggravated by a still unresolved dispute over the boundary between Syria and Palestine.

But, strange to relate, the Arab delegation found even more encouragement in London. It came to them chiefly from the House of Lords and from the two prominent newspaper magnates Lord Northcliffe and Lord Beaverbrook, but neither was it absent in the House of Commons, where Sir William Joynson-Hicks led a sizable group of pro-Arab members. Various motives combined to produce a veritable anti-Zionist hue and cry: the desire to overthrow the Lloyd George government with which the National Home policy was identified; fear of arousing the hostility of the far-flung Moslem world in Asia; opposition to "providing the Jews with a National Home at the expense of the British taxpayer." And with it ran an undercurrent of anti-Semitism which now and then came to the surface. In June 1922 the House of Lords by a vote of 60 to 29 called for the repeal of the Balfour Declaration! In the House of Commons Zionism fared better; Joynson-Hicks was defeated by 292 to 35.

But the debates in Parliament and the clamor of the Northcliffe and Beaverbrook press made the ratification of the Mandate all the more urgent. The text of the document had been drawn and redrawn by the Foreign Office with the assistance of the American Zionist, the brilliant lawyer Benjamin V. Cohen, and Leonard Stein, the political secretary of the Zionist Organization. It was finally in shape and ready for submission to the League Council, which was to meet in London in July.

It was at this delicate juncture that the Zionist Executive was presented by the Foreign Office with something in the nature of an ultimatum: to give written approval to a new statement on British

policy by Colonial Secretary Winston Churchill, or suffer further delay in the ratification of the Mandate, or worse.

This statement, the Churchill White Paper, was a measure on which the High Commissioner set great store and which he is believed to have drafted himself. It was counted upon to take the sting out of the Arab opposition. The statement formalized the removal of Transjordan from the sphere of Jewish colonization. It denied that British policy aimed to "make Palestine as Jewish as England is English," pointing out that the Balfour Declaration did not envisage all of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people, but that the Jews were merely to have a National Home in Palestine. Jewish immigration would not be allowed to exceed the "economic absorptive capacity" of the country, and self-governing institutions would gradually be established and would reflect the numerical strength of the different sections of the population. There was one passage in the White Paper that gave the Jews a modicum of comfort. "It is essential," the statement declared, "that it [the Jewish people] should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance." And some found hope in the stipulation about "absorptive capacity." It was up to the Jews, they argued—to Jewish energy, resourcefulness and capital—to raise this capacity higher and higher.

The Zionist Executive saw itself without choice. It accepted the White Paper, and even Jabotinsky, the maximalist, acquiesced in it. The Arab delegation, however, rejected it, and the following year an attempt by the High Commissioner to create a legislative council with limited powers was defeated when the Arabs boycotted the election. The same policy of non-cooperation prevented him also from setting up an appointed advisory council, and the Arabs rejected an offer by the government of an Arab Agency corresponding to the Jewish Agency provided for in the Mandate. The primary purpose of the Churchill White Paper—appeasement of the Arabs—had failed.

§ 7

On July 24, 1922 the Council of the League of Nations finally ratified the Palestine Mandate. The decision had to be unanimous, and obstacles were raised by France and Italy. There was danger also that the opposition of the Vatican would be upheld by the representatives of Spain and Brazil. The United States, not a member of the League, had to be guaranteed that the rights in Palestine granted to

nationals of League members would be extended equally to American citizens, a guarantee which was later—in December 1924—embodied in a special treaty between Britain and the United States. There was a touch of the drama and pathos of Jewish history when influential Spaniards, descendants of the Marranos, the forced Jewish converts of the Middle Ages, helped to obtain the assent of their government to the Mandate.

The preamble of the Mandate and six of its articles made it clear that its primary purpose was the implementation of the Balfour Declaration or the establishment of the Jewish National Home. The preamble recognized “the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine” and “the grounds for reconstituting their National Home in that country.” Article Two made the Mandatory “responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home,” with safeguards for “the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants.” Article Four recognized the Zionist Organization as an appropriate Jewish Agency “for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine” in matters affecting the Jewish National Home, and Article Eleven provided that the Administration might arrange with the Jewish Agency “to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country.” Article Six obligated the Palestine Administration, without prejudicing the rights of other sections of the population, to “facilitate Jewish immigration” and “close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes,” and two other articles require the Administration, “to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews” and to recognize Hebrew as one of the official languages of the country.

If documents could establish the National Home, this Mandate, granted under the authority of the august League of Nations, and its implementation subject to the supervision of the League, was the fulfillment of the millennial Jewish hope. Here at last was the international Charter that Herzl had dreamed of.

Chapter XXII : IN SEARCH OF ALLIES

IT MAY BE interesting and not entirely unprofitable to speculate on the problems which Herzl would have faced if, after his fabulous audience with the Sultan in 1901 he had won the Charter which he sought. It is at least probable that before the World War and the nationalist appetites it stirred up, the Arabs would have presented a less serious problem—perhaps no real problem at all—and that the policy of the suzerain would not have been harassed and finally upset by imperial jitters. It is certain, however, that Zionism would still have possessed its principal reservoir of material and moral strength—the Jews of Russia, and that those of Poland and Galicia would not have been in the state of exhaustion to which the ravages of war and the inflamed anti-Semitism of the Poles reduced them.

As it was, a chronic lack of material means joined hands with Arab hostility and British vacillation to keep the Zionist enterprise in a state of perpetual crisis. The undertaking required a large and steady flow of capital and, even as in Herzl's day, the rich Jews were not the Zionists but the anti-Zionists, most of whom, now that Zionism had become politically *salonfaehig*, preferred to call themselves non-Zionists. It was natural, therefore, that the gaze of the Zionist leaders should turn wistfully towards these non-Zionists, that they should look for a way of luring them and their money into the work of reclaiming Palestine.

The way, moreover, seemed to be clearly indicated. It was right there in Article Four of the Mandate, which recognized the Zionist Organization as "an appropriate Jewish Agency," but required it to "take steps . . . to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home." The way, then, was to invite the wealthy non-Zionists to join the Agency and share in its authority and responsibility. So the extension of the Jewish Agency to include the non-Zionists became a major aim, and Weizmann in particular set his heart upon it. And those whom he was most anxious to bring in were the wealthy and influential non-Zionists of

America, men like the banker Felix M. Warburg, the merchant Julius Rosenwald and the eminent lawyer Louis Marshall. They were the men whose authority in American Jewry was so great that their identification with the upbuilding of the National Home would, it was confidently believed, attract the support of many other non-Zionists and solve the financial woes that plagued the Movement.

But the extension of the Jewish Agency became not only a major aim, but also a major issue. For while there was general agreement that as many Jews as possible, whether or not members of the Zionist Organization, should share in the work of upbuilding and be represented in the Agency, there were many who opposed Weizmann's plan to give equal representation to the non-Zionists, most of whom were only yesterday anti-Zionists. True enough, Zionism was now primarily a problem of economic rehabilitation, but always and fundamentally it was a national rebirth, for which the non-Zionists had scant sympathy. Their presence as equal partners in the enterprise might lead to the surrender or dilution of basic national values. So the opponents urged a different procedure for enlarging the Agency, the convocation of a democratically elected World Jewish Congress which would choose representatives to join those of the Zionist Organization in the Agency. The national instincts of a democratic Jewish body they were willing to trust, the American Jewish Congress being cited in evidence. To this proposal the advocates of Weizmann's plan had a disconcerting reply: not only would it entail a long delay, but it would not bring in the important American non-Zionists, without whom the extension of the Agency had no meaning: they were known to be signally lukewarm to the democratic process.

Until the summer of 1929, when the enlarged Jewish Agency was finally established, the Agency issue agitated the Movement, holding first place in its deliberative councils.

§ 2

At the Thirteenth Zionist Congress, which met in August 1923 in Carlsbad, it was the axis around which the debates revolved. Of the 330 delegates who made up this Congress and who were chosen by 570,000 shekel-payers, half represented the territorial organizations and they stood with Weizmann on the Agency issue. In the party delegations he had many opponents, but they were unable to present a united front. The spokesmen of the opposition were men of

force and prominence: Isaac Gruenbaum of Warsaw, who was a deputy in the Polish Parliament; Robert Stricker, an engineer of Vienna; Israel Suprasky of Palestine; Max Soloweitchik of Kovno; Ussischkin, and others. The spokesmen of the American Zionists, staunch supporters of Weizmann, were Louis Lipsky who now headed the Organization in the United States, the New York attorneys Morris Rothenberg and Bernard Rosenblatt, and the influential Yiddish journalist Jacob Fishman. The twenty-four-year-old Chaim Arlosoroff supported Weizmann in the name of the *Hitachdut* (Union), a party of moderate Socialists with a considerable following in eastern and central Europe and in the Yishuv.

The Congress was in no buoyant mood; the fortunes of Zionism were in decline. The pioneers of the Third Aliyah were continuing to arrive, but unemployment was rising and many Jews were leaving the country; in 1923 there were 7,420 arrivals and 3,465 departures. The *Keren Hayesod* had been set up in America and in the larger European countries, but its revenues fell far below the expectations of the previous Congress, in spite of the cooperation it won from a few distinguished non-Zionists, like Samuel Untermyer in America and Oscar Wassermann, a director of the Deutsche Bank in Germany. The previous October the coalition cabinet of Lloyd George, which had issued the Balfour Declaration, went out of office, giving place to a conservative government under Andrew Bonar Law, and the general feeling was that the change did not improve the political prospects of Zionism. It inspired new hopes in the Arab leaders, who received encouragement also from the triumphant march on Rome of Benito Mussolini and his black-shirted Fascists.

The situation was admittedly bleak, but Weizmann urged the extension of the Agency as the best hope for a speedy remedy. With the exception of Ussischkin, the Executive supported him; Jabotinsky, who opposed his policy, had resigned from that body on that and other issues, after a meeting of the Actions Committee held in Berlin in February. Weizmann could also claim the support of the Movement at large. Earlier that summer the representatives of the three largest territorial branches of the World Organization, the American, the German and the Polish, had endorsed his Agency policy, the first two by overwhelming majorities, the third by a vote of 66 to 51. The solution, so urgent, was also so simple; the non-Zionist millions were only waiting to be garnered. And the Congress, too, authorized him to continue his negotiations with the non-Zionists.

The most vigorous opposition came from a group of delegates headed by Isaac Gruenbaum of Warsaw. They called themselves the "Democratic Group," and their appearance recalled the "Democratic Fraction" with which Weizmann opposed Herzl at the Fifth Congress in 1901: now he was himself being challenged in the name of democracy. But the Congress reelected him and Sokolow to their posts, and as head of the Palestine branch of the Executive it named a newcomer in Zionism, Colonel Frederick H. Kisch, a distinguished soldier who had already served as head of its Political Department. He now took the place of Ussischkin, who withdrew his support from Weizmann, disapproving of his Agency policy and finding his attitude towards the Mandatory weak and submissive. Ussischkin became the head of the *Keren Kayemet* and directed the expanding activities of that Fund until his death in 1943.

§ 3

The Agency issue continued to agitate the Movement, rousing extravagant hopes in those who saw in the non-Zionists a lavish source of income for the work in Palestine, and somber fears in those who saw this work in danger of being deflected from its primary goal. In January 1924, Weizmann attended in New York a conference of American non-Zionists who, under the chairmanship of Louis Marshall, considered the question of joining the Agency. Two committees were appointed, one to prepare the terms of such an association, the other to create a large investment corporation for the economic development of Palestine. The second committee decided to pool whatever resources it might command with the Palestine Economic Corporation which had been established by the Brandeis group and of which Bernard Flexner was the president. The other committee reported to a second conference in March 1925, which agreed that the non-Zionists should enter the Agency on the basis of equal representation with the Zionists in all its organs. Eloquent words were spoken about Palestine, the sacred feelings it awoke in the heart of every Jew, the trials and achievements of the Yishuv, the valor of the pioneers and the privations they suffered, the duty of American Jews, Zionists or not, to help rebuild Palestine for the honor of the Jewish name. Non-Zionists, it appeared, could talk almost like Zionists.

In the meantime the economic depression in Palestine was lifting. It reached its lowest depth in September 1923, but soon after-

wards a new immigration wave—the Fourth Aliyah—began moving into the country. It consisted of middle-class elements equipped with capital and business experience, who touched off something like a boom in the still tiny Yishuv. They came from eastern Europe, most of them from Poland, victims of an official and ruthless anti-Semitism, which sought to legislate them out of existence. There was also a fair sprinkling of refugees from Bolshevik Russia.

Indeed, by 1924 little Palestine was one of the principal lands of Jewish immigration. In that year the discriminatory Johnson Act reduced the admission of Jews into the United States to one-tenth of its prewar volume, and the number of Jewish immigrants into Palestine, most of them belonging to the Fourth Aliyah, jumped to nearly 13,000. In 1925 it rose to the imposing total of 34,000. Most of the newcomers congregated in Tel Aviv, investing their capital principally in ground and houses, and soon that city became more populous than the Arab city of Jaffa, of which it began as a tiny suburb fifteen years earlier. Not all Zionists were happy with the boom which the Fourth Aliyah brought into Palestine. The rise was too rapid and artificial; the evil of speculation, which accompanies every boom, raised its head, and sooner or later, it was feared, would come the reaction. In the opinion of many Zionists, moreover, the Fourth Aliyah was contributing little to the ultimate objective: a productive Jewish society with its roots in the soil, its principal shield and rampart a sturdy and self-reliant peasantry.

In the next two or three years, however, the economic picture in Palestine was bright, and the political prospects also improved. In January 1924 the first Labor Government came to power in England. It was headed by Ramsay MacDonald, whose sympathy for Zionism was on the record, and it included Josiah Wedgwood, a devoted and intrepid knight-errant of the Zionist cause, who advocated a plan under which Palestine would become a self-governing member of the British Commonwealth, as the "Seventh Dominion." MacDonald's Government, as it happened, went out of office before the year was over, but in the succeeding Cabinet headed by Stanley Baldwin was Leopold Amery, whose help in connection with the Balfour Declaration and the Jewish Legion was well remembered. The composition of British cabinets became a matter of great moment to Zionists; they scrutinized the records of the ministers, especially the Colonial and Foreign Secretaries, and rejoiced over any token of sympathy, and it often happened that they rejoiced prematurely.

In the meantime, the course of attracting the rich non-Zionists into the Agency was not running smooth. It came upon a particularly sharp snag when the prospective partners in the United States launched a campaign for fifteen million dollars to establish Jews in agricultural settlements, not in Palestine but in the Ukraine, especially in Crimea. There was no reason to suspect the sincerity of the Russian government when, in 1924, it sought to alleviate the plight of its large number of "declassed" Jews by allotting land for such settlements, but there is no doubt that the Jewish Communists in Russia seized upon the project as an opportunity to undermine Zionism, and the alacrity with which non-Zionists in America contributed their millions for it made some Zionists wonder if the same motive did not play some part in their case also.

And while Weizmann went on with his efforts to bring them into the Agency, two new parties formed in the Movement to oppose him. One of them, calling itself "Radical Zionists," consisted largely of the Democratic Group that had made itself heard at the Thirteenth Congress, its leaders being Gruenbaum, Stricker and Soloweitchik. The other was the Revisionist Party, organized and led by Jabotinsky. In addition to opposing Weizmann's Agency plans, both parties demanded greater firmness vis-à-vis the Mandatory. The first, largely because of its mixed leadership, was not destined to have a long life. Revisionism, on the other hand, has persisted throughout the subsequent history of Zionism. It has been the militant and activist wing of the Movement in Palestine and over the world, often accused of indulging in empty heroics, bitterly opposed by the Labor groups, who sometimes denounced it as fascistic, but unyielding in its stand for an undiluted and maximum Zionism. Among its demands were the return of Transjordan to Palestine, the appointment to government posts of men who would promote the National Home as the primary purpose of the Mandate and the restoration of the Jewish Legion as a distinct part of the British garrison in Palestine.

§ 4

There were non-Zionists who had a genuine love for Palestine as the land of the past glories of their race, and while political Zionism with its goal of a Jewish State disturbed and repelled them, they were inclined to favor the brand known as spiritual or cultural Zionism, which envisaged Palestine as a center of Jewish intellectual activity,

and in which the political motif was soft and subdued. On April 1, 1925 a brilliant event was staged on Mount Scopus opposite the Holy City in which they could rejoice without qualms. It was the formal inauguration of the Hebrew University, attended by official representatives of famous institutions of learning in all parts of the world. The principal address was delivered by Lord Balfour, the seventy-seven-year-old statesman and philosopher having made the journey to Palestine for the occasion. The audience of 7,000, assembled in a natural amphitheater, listened also to Herbert Samuel, Weizmann and the Hebrew poet laureate Chaim Nachman Bialik. Like the National Home itself, the University was still in embryo, having only a library and three research units—one in Jewish studies, the others in science, but Lord Balfour and the other speakers, after invoking the great past, gave free rein to their vision of the future. It was a stirring occasion, and there were simultaneous celebrations in Jewish communities throughout the world.

Balfour made use of the opportunity to visit Tel Aviv and some of the Jewish farm settlements, where he received enthusiastic welcomes, but it was another story when he got to Damascus. An inflamed Arab mob tried to break into his hotel, and the French authorities had to hurry him away to his ship in the port of Beirut.

§ 5

The following June Herbert Samuel ended his five-year term as High Commissioner. The great hopes his appointment inspired had not materialized. The area available to the National Home was drastically reduced; the state lands had not, as the Mandate directed, been opened to Jewish colonization; and Samuel's general policy aimed at placating the Arabs rather than promoting Jewish immigration and settlement. But neither had the Movement, as Samuel often told its leaders, fulfilled the assurances they had given him of a large flow of Jewish capital and enterprise into the country, which would have made a pro-Zionist policy on his part more practicable. At any rate, the five years of his Administration saw progress in providing the country generally with the utilities and services, such as transportation and communication facilities, public health and afforestation, which facilitated further development. A beginning, also, had been made in providing the country with electric light and power; the concession which was granted to Pinchas Rutenberg on the Yarkon River north of Jaffa was already in

operation, and the larger one he obtained on the upper Jordan was also making progress.

§ 6

With the situation in Palestine on the mend, the mood of the Fourteenth Congress, which met in Vienna in August 1925, was more hopeful, although the sessions were punctuated by sharp clashes among the parties to which the two new ones, the Radical Zionists and Revisionists, were now added. The principal debates revolved around the virtues and failings of the middle-class Fourth Aliyah, the attitude of the Zionist leadership towards the Mandatory and the right and wrong way of enlarging the Agency. As in previous Congresses, the largest grouping—more than half the total number of delegates—consisted of the General Zionists, with the religious and Labor wings sharing the balance almost equally, and the new parties having only tiny delegations.

It was the second Zionist Congress to be held in the city of Theodor Herzl, but in the grim years since 1913 the old anti-Semitism of Vienna had become ferocious. The mob, led by the *Hakenkreuzler*, those rabid knights of the swastika, turned on the Congress in the name of unsullied Teutonism, and would have swept it out of the city which prided itself so much on its good nature and kindness (*Gemütlichkeit*), if the authorities had not thrown a heavy cordon of police, mounted and on foot, around the building where it met. This Congress, with the mob raging around it, was a symbol of the Jewish masses of eastern and central Europe who were seeking an escape from the primitive passions that were gathering to destroy them. The beer-hall *putsch* in Munich had already taken place, and *Mein Kampf*, the bible of Nazism which took the place of the Christian Bible for every good Teuton, was already in circulation.

But the delegates paid little heed to the snarling anti-Semites. The members of the Executive reported on their work and problems: Weizmann and Sokolow on the general state of the Movement, the treasurer Georg Halpern on finances, Herman Pick on immigration, Joseph Sprinzak on labor. There was plenty of opposition, but as in previous congresses it had no common ground and no candidates for the posts held by the men whom it opposed. Weizmann had his way, most of his opponents had no choice but to support him; he even declined to accept office when he found too many delegates

abstaining from voting confidence in him. Jabotinsky scored a personal triumph, his eloquence commanded the attention even of his foes, but the Congress as a whole looked on him as a Don Quixote tilting at the windmills of British might.

Again Weizmann was authorized to go forward with his Agency plan. Among the leading opponents were Isaac Gruenbaum and Stephen Wise, the latter speaking for a small minority of the American delegation, both of whom pointed to the espousal by the non-Zionists of Jewish colonization in Russia as evidence of their unfitness to be vested with authority in Palestine. So the Congress voted a number of safeguards to protect the fundamentals of Zionist policy against the possible encroachments of the longed-for allies: Jewish immigration must be steadily increased, land acquired by the Agency must remain the property of the Jewish people, the labor employed in its colonies must be Jewish, the language and culture it sponsors must be Hebrew, and its head must be the president of the World Zionist Organization.

§ 7

It took another four years before the enlarged Agency, around which so many hopes and fears gathered and clashed, was formally constituted, and it took less time for the hopes as well as the fears to fade: the fears proved unreal because the hopes were unreal. And during those four years and the years that followed the Yishuv grew bigger and stronger, toiling, suffering and struggling, standing firm against ordeals and obstacles, and finding its main support in the Zionist faith, active or passive, of the multitudes across the world, a faith which the non-Zionists were never able to make their own.

The fortunes of the Yishuv fluctuated between periods of prosperity and adversity, of peace with the Arab majority and sanguinary strife. The years from 1925 to 1928, when the Palestine Administration was headed by Field Marshal Lord Plumer, who succeeded Samuel as High Commissioner, were years of peace. Plumer had held an important command in the War, and he was governor of Malta before assuming the post in Palestine. He was a blunt and bluff soldier, and he knew how to deal with Arab threats. Plumer was the only British official of whom it may be said that he really grasped the Palestine nettle. His character is illustrated by the reply he gave an Arab delegation who came to protest against permitting a Jewish procession to convey the flag of the Jewish Legion to the celebrated Hurva Syna-

HENRIETTA
SZOLD



Photograph by Lotte Jacobi



Photograph by Harris & Ewing



DAVID BEN GURION



CHAIM WEIZMANN

gogue in the Old City of Jerusalem. They would not be responsible for public order if the procession were allowed, they told the High Commissioner. To which Plumer replied: "You are not asked to be responsible; I shall be responsible." And the procession bore the flag to the synagogue without incident.

The peaceful state of the country induced the High Commissioner to reduce the police force; the anti-Zionists in England, who harped on the cost to the British taxpayer of providing the Jews with a National Home, were no doubt pleased. But the reduction which Plumer could afford was to have dire consequences under his successor. This soldier also proved to be a liberal statesman and financier. He improved the lot of the Arab tenant farmers, and set up regulations to protect industrial workers. He floated a governmental loan of £4,500,000, and introduced a Palestine currency to replace the Egyptian which was still in use. And to relieve unemployment he launched in 1927 a program of public works, including road-building and draining of marshes.

The program was welcomed by the Jews especially, for by that time the artificial nature of the prosperity introduced by the Fourth Aliyah had become manifest, and the Yishuv was in the throes of an economic crisis even more serious than that of 1923. The decline began in the winter of 1925 and by the beginning of 1927 there were 7,500 registered unemployed. It was with great difficulty that a mass exodus from the Yishuv was averted; as it was, the 5,000 Jews who left Palestine in 1927 were nearly twice the number that arrived. The Zionist Executive instituted a dole for the unemployed and, like the Administration, launched special projects to create employment. But the great majority of the *Chalutzim* bore their privations and clung to the land they had come to redeem.

§ 8

The hard times through which the Yishuv was passing cast its gloom on the 300 delegates to the Fifteenth Zionist Congress which met in Basel from August 30 to September 11, 1927. The party alignments were about the same as in the previous Congress, and the issues too were much the same, with the still unenlarged Agency in the forefront. The two years since the previous Congress had been spent in further negotiations with the prospective American partners, most of whom were busy raising funds for Jewish colonization in Russia; and still further delay arose from an agreement between

Weizmann and Marshall to send a commission to Palestine to carry out "a detailed survey of the economic resources and possibilities" of the country on which the enlarged Agency would base its program. The members of this Joint Palestine Survey Commission, as it was named, were four outstanding non-Zionists—the British industrialist and statesman Lord Melchett, formerly Sir Alfred Mond; the Berlin banker Oscar Wassermann, the New York banker Felix Warburg, and the distinguished economist and social worker Lee K. Frankel. The Commission was assisted by a group of eminent experts, Jewish and non-Jewish.

The Commission was still busy investigating when the Congress in Basel wrestled with the economic crisis in Palestine, and the spokesmen of the different parties—Meyer Berlin and Heshel Farbstein for the Mizrachi, Berl Katznelson, Zalman Rubashov, and Chaim Arlosoroff for the Labor wing, Isaac Gruenbaum and Max Soloweitchik for the Radical Zionists, Vladimir Jabotinsky and Richard Lichtheim for the Revisionists—were leveling charges and counter-charges against each other and against the Weizmann-Sokolow leadership. But the leadership had its champions also: Meyer Ebener of Bucovina, Philip Guedalla of England, Leon Reich of East Galicia, Joshua Thon of West Galicia and many others.

The Congress elected an Executive consisting of General Zionists only. For the London branch it chose M. D. Eder, who had been an important member of the Zionist Commission of 1918, Louis Lipsky and Felix Rosenblueth; and for the Palestine branch Frederick Kisch, Henrietta Szold and the London barrister and journalist Harry Sacher, who was expected to introduce reforms in the operations of that body and became the pet target of the opposition.

§ 9

Two years later the enlarged Jewish Agency came finally into existence, and the controversy which agitated the Movement for nearly a decade came to an end. The Agency was constituted at a distinguished assembly which met in Zurich immediately after the Sixteenth Zionist Congress ended its sessions in the same city.

The significant event during those two years was the conquest of the economic depression in the Yishuv. By the end of 1928 the large influx of 1925 had been absorbed, and in 1929 there were more than 5,000 new arrivals. The general mood of the Sixteenth Congress was optimistic, not only because of the economic upswing

in Palestine, but because the British Labor Party had returned to power with a government again headed by Ramsay MacDonald. In Zionist circles, and in Labor Zionist circles especially, it was taken for granted that Zionism could expect nothing but good things from a Labor government.

Recent incidents in Jerusalem connected with the *Kothel Maaravi*, the remnant of the Western Wall of the ancient Temple, generally known as the Wailing Wall, did inspire a feeling of uneasiness in the Congress. The Wailing Wall was Moslem property, but it was held in profound veneration by Jews, and the pious had always gone there to pray unmolested, and conducted religious services in the narrow court that adjoined it. On Atonement Eve of 1928 a screen, which had been set up in accordance with Orthodox usage between the men and women worshippers, was forcibly removed by the police, after a complaint by the Arabs that the Jews were exceeding their rights at the Wall. The Yishuv and the rest of the Jewish world were shocked by this callous affront to Jewish religious sentiment, but the incident was followed by other acts of provocation and defiance by the Arabs, and by an intense propaganda campaign inspired by the Mufti to inflame the religious passions of his followers. The Congress in Zurich voted a solemn protest against the infringements of the long-standing rights which the Jews exercised at the Wailing Wall, and decided to send a special delegation to lay the matter before the Government in London. But few of the delegates realized what dire events were to ensue from the controversy which the Arab leaders provoked over the Wailing Wall.

For the rest, the principal debate at the Zurich Congress still revolved around the proposed partnership of Zionists and non-Zionists in the Agency. Weizmann's plan was again attacked not only by Jabotinsky and the leaders of the Radical Zionists but by Stephen Wise, Solomon Kaplansky of the Poale Zion and others, but most of the General Zionists and Labor delegates supported it. Among its leading defenders were Shmaryah Levin, Kurt Blumenfeld of Germany, Morris Meyer of England and Isaac Naiditch of France. By a vote of 231 to 30 the plan was adopted, and the ground was cleared for the assembly where the enlarged Agency was launched. But before the Congress closed it chose an Executive which reverted to the principle of coalition, its Palestine branch consisting of Kisch, Ruppin and Henrietta Szold representing the General Zionists, Meyer Berlin the Mizrahi, and Joseph Sprinzak representing Labor. Amid the economic, social, political and organization problems that came

before the Congress, the delegates listened to two men whose message was wholly spiritual. They were the philosopher Martin Buber, who warned against the excesses of nationalism, and the religious teacher Isaiah Wolfsberg, who dealt with the problems of education.

§ 10

The constituent assembly of the enlarged Jewish Agency was so impressive that even some of the opponents were converted by it. Among those who participated as non-Zionists were Louis Marshall, Herbert Samuel, Albert Einstein, Lord Melchett, Leon Blum and Oscar Wassermann. The sessions, which lasted four days, were harmonious and festive. A new era of achievement in the upbuilding of the National Home stood on the threshold or so it seemed to those who witnessed the solemn proceedings.

In the summer of the previous year the Joint Palestine Survey Commission had issued its report, a massive document, dealing with the resources and problems of the country and proposing policies and measures for its rehabilitation. In response, the Zionist Council, or Greater Actions Committee, had reaffirmed the five safeguards voted by the Fourteenth Congress in 1925 and, since the report disapproved of the *kvutzot*, or collective settlements, had added a sixth to preserve the right of settlements to choose their own social forms. But after further negotiations and conferences in America and other countries all differences had been composed, and the meeting in Zurich had only to give formal approval to the constitution of the Agency, which was already drafted.

This constitution provided for an elaborate structure, modeled upon the organization setup of Zionism, with a Council of 212 members corresponding to the Congress, an Administrative Committee of 40 corresponding to the General Council and an Executive of eight, each of these organs to consist of an equal number of Zionists and non-Zionists. But there was, of course, a momentous difference between the Zionist and non-Zionist halves of the edifice. The first represented a world-wide movement devoted exclusively to the Agency's program, the second represented local bodies that had been established for other objectives.

But the constitution adopted at Zurich need not detain us, for it was not long before it became a dead letter. The non-Zionist partners made a brilliant debut in Zurich, but their participation in the Agency gradually dwindled to the vanishing point, and the death of their

two leaders, Louis Marshall and Lord Melchett, both men of force and convictions, which occurred shortly afterwards, accelerated the process. The non-Zionists began by appointing to the Agency's Executive a few of the high-ranking administrators they employed in their philanthropic institutions, officials who represented non-Zionism better than their employers would have done, for the servant always clings to his master's views with more tenacity than the master himself. In time, however, these officials also disappeared from the scene.

Nevertheless, although the Agency became practically identical with the Zionist Executive, it was necessary to retain it formally as a separate body. And as for the provision that 50 per cent of its membership must consist of non-Zionists, it was satisfied without difficulty, for the Constitution defined a non-Zionist as "a person associated with the Agency otherwise than in the capacity of a member and representative of the Zionist Organization," a definition which made it possible for a fervent Zionist to qualify as a non-Zionist! Nor was that definition a mere legalistic contrivance, for a vacuum does not lend itself to positive definition.

Zionism was too stern an affirmation, too distinctive a credo, for a mere negation to be able to join with it in enduring union.

Chapter XXIII : BATTLERS AND BUILDERS

THE IMPOSING demonstration of solidarity in Zurich echoed across the Jewish world, and millions of humble Zionists, organized and unorganized, hailed the advent of their exalted partners as a guarantee of the speedy upbuilding of the National Home. But in Palestine that month of August 1929 found the Yishuv in a state of alarm, for the enemies of Zionism also attached great significance to the reinforced Jewish Agency. They saw Palestine inundated by a deluge of Jewish gold, and there were clear signs that they intended to deal the Yishuv a mortal blow before the deluge began.

But apart from the enlarged Agency the decade since the end of the War had produced enough evidence to convince the Arab leaders that the Jewish National Home was a growing reality. For in spite of all the obstacles that strewed its path—economic depressions, chronic financial distress, official obstructionism and hostile neighbors—the Jewish community in Palestine had made enormous progress. Jewish immigration was under strict government control; there were fixed schedules in which the two principal categories were immigrants who possessed a minimum capital and those who had definite prospects of employment; and the half-yearly number in the second category was always a subject of sharp dispute between the Zionist Executive and the Government. Nevertheless, the population of the Yishuv in 1929 had risen to 162,000, having trebled since the end of the War, and its proportion in the total population had gone up from 10 to 18 per cent. In all phases of its life, economic, social and cultural, it already constituted a national entity—a state in miniature. And more impressive even than its material progress was the spirit that animated this community. Zionists and non-Zionists who visited Palestine returned to report that the National Home was actually taking shape, and they spoke with awed admiration of the idealism and daring of the youthful pioneers.

In 1919 there had been less than fifty Jewish agricultural settle-

ments in Palestine, sustaining a population of 12,000. Ten years later the number of settlements had risen to 120 with a population of 40,000. And in urban and industrial development the advance was even more striking. At the outbreak of the First World War the population of Tel Aviv was 2,000; in 1929 it was 40,000, and new Jewish suburbs were rising near Haifa and around the old city of Jerusalem. The Palestine Electric Corporation was already operating the Rutenberg concession on the upper Jordan, and among the larger industrial plants were the Nesher Cement Works, the Shemen Oil Works, and the Rothschild Flour Mills, all situated near Haifa. The Anglo-Palestine Bank, the Palestine Economic Corporation which the Brandeis group had established, the Economic Board for Palestine set up by a British group headed by Lord Melchett, and other financial institutions furnished industrial and commercial credits.

The General Federation of Jewish Labor, better known as the Histadrut, had been founded in 1920, and by 1929 had already established its unique cooperative enterprises like *Solel Boneh* (Road-maker-Builder) which was being awarded contracts for some of the largest construction projects. Through the Histadrut the workers were becoming a dominant force in the Yishuv. In 1929 they founded the Palestine Labor party known as Mapai.*

Progress in education and public health was equally marked. By 1929 the small group of schools which the Zionist Organization had taken over in 1914 after the bitter language struggle with the *Hilfsverein* had grown to a total of 220 with some 20,000 pupils, and the Hebrew University, which began in 1925 as a research institution, had established an undergraduate department. A *Vaad Habriut* (Health Council) was coordinating the work of the Hadassah Medical Organization and the *Kupat Cholim*, the Sick Fund of the Histadrut, with their networks of hospitals and other health services, and there had been dramatic progress in the eradication of malaria and trachoma and the reduction of infant and adult mortality.

Finally, the over-all organization of the Yishuv, the *Knesset Israel* as it was called, made it a compact and fairly autonomous unit, in spite of the defection of the followers of the *Agudat Israel*. It had its Elected Assembly, its National Council (*Vaad Leumi*), which served as the Assembly's executive arm, and its Rabbinical Council, and it had power to tax its constituents for its own maintenance as well as for health and education.

* The name is made up of the initials of *Miflegat Poale Eretz Israel*, "Party of the Workers of the Land of Israel."

Such in broad outline was the shape of the National Home at the end of the first postwar decade. Among the Arab leaders sharp discord, edged with personal and family rivalries, had arisen as to the method to be employed in blocking its further growth, the extreme Husseinis headed by the Mufti being opposed by the more moderate Nashashibis. But now the Mufti saw an opportunity to bolster his waning prestige and strike a death blow at the Yishuv. Threats and protests, Arab congresses and missions to London and other capitals had failed. The Mandate was not revoked. The Arabs having rejected the offer of a share in the Government, the country was being administered by British officials like a crown colony, but despite their hostility, the National Home continued to expand. The Mufti's party resolved to bring it completely and finally to an end.

Nothing less than a popular uprising, they felt, would produce the result. But to incite their people the racial and political issues were not sufficient: the Arab masses were politically inert, and too many Arabs were benefiting from Jewish enterprise. A surer way was to kindle their religious passions, and the controversy that was raging around the Wailing Wall was exactly suited to that purpose.

§ 2

In August 1929, with the controversy mounting in passion, the leaders of the Yishuv were away in Zurich attending the Sixteenth Congress and the first meeting of the Agency. Sir John Robert Chancellor, who in December 1928 had succeeded Lord Plumer as High Commissioner, was also away on leave, and the Acting High Commissioner was Harry Luke, an official who was not noted for sympathy with Zionism. Among the Arab peasants and townspeople rumors were systematically planted that the Jews were preparing to take possession of the entire Haram esh Sharif area with its famous mosque, the Dome of the Rock, and that they were going to attack other Moslem shrines also. At the same time the Arabs began construction work on and near the Wailing Wall for no other reason, apparently, than to flaunt their ownership of the property and provoke the Jews.

On August 15, which was the Ninth of Ab, the day when Jews mourn for the destruction of the Temple, a fairly large number of Jewish young people, having obtained government permission, held a peaceful demonstration before the Wailing Wall, and the following day the Arabs staged a violent counter-demonstration. There were

more incidents in the next few days, and the tension continued to mount until on August 23 an armed Arab mob descended on the New City of Jerusalem and broke into an orgy of killing and looting.

In the week that followed the fury spread to widely separated parts of the country; it was apparently controlled from a single source. The most shocking atrocities were perpetrated in Hebron where more than a hundred Jews were killed or wounded, many of them students of a Talmudic academy who were slain at their studies, and in Safed, the city of Cabalists and pietists in the north, where the Arabs killed or wounded forty-five men, women and children. In Hebron and Safed the Jews were not prepared to offer effective resistance, but elsewhere the aggressors were checked chiefly by the Haganah, the Jewish Self-Defense. The Government forces in the country were both insufficient and ineffectively employed, and it took almost a week for reinforcements to arrive from Egypt. The Administration, the Jews charged, had made light of their warnings and failed to act with vigor when the violence started. There were nearly 500 Jewish casualties of whom 133 were fatal, and enormous destruction of Jewish property. The number of Arabs reported killed was 116, and 232 were reported wounded.

§ 3

The Arab uprising failed of its purpose; the Yishuv was not wiped out. But the violence brought a political aftermath which came narrowly close to bestowing upon the Arab leaders the next best gift—an end to the further development of the National Home. This aftermath ran for eighteen months and it passed through four stages. The first was an investigation of the disturbances by a commission appointed by the Colonial Secretary, Lord Passfield, and headed by Sir Walter Shaw, a former colonial jurist. The second was still another investigation, this time by an economic expert, Sir John Hope Simpson, who undertook to report on immigration, land policy and the general outlook for economic development in Palestine. The third and most startling episode was the publication of a White Paper by the Colonial Secretary, “interpreting” British policy in Palestine in a manner which, in effect, nullified the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. Finally, to lay the storm which the White Paper unloosed, Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald addressed a letter to Weizmann in which he interpreted Passfield’s “interpretation” and to a large extent restored the situation.

The Shaw Commission spent more than two months in Palestine listening to witnesses and attorneys for the Jews, the Arabs and the Administration. By its terms of reference it was only to "enquire into the immediate causes" of the disturbances, but it exceeded its instructions, and its report, which appeared in March 1930, dealt with the basic government policy, the Jewish National Home. As far as the bloodshed was concerned, it absolved the Mufti, the Arab Executive and the Administration of any guilt. It went on to urge a restatement of policy which would emphasize the Mandatory's obligation to "safeguard the rights of the non-Jewish communities in Palestine," intimating at the same time that the country was not capable of absorbing more immigrants, and that the acquisition of land by the Jews had resulted in dispossessing a large number of Arab peasants.

It was not too hard to infer from the report that the men, women and children who were done to death in Hebron and Safed had only themselves to blame. So the Arabs rejoiced and the Jews were astonished and dismayed. Only one of the five-man Commission, Harry Snell, refused to go along with the findings of his colleagues. However, in June 1930 the Permanent Mandates Commission, in a report to the League of Nations, held that the negligence of the Palestine administration was to a high degree responsible for the disorders.

The report of the Shaw Commission was only the beginning; it was followed by the investigation and report of the economic expert Sir John Hope Simpson. Even before Sir John submitted his report the Government in London announced the suspension of labor immigration into Palestine as well as general acceptance of the conclusions of the Shaw Commission. Sir John was to furnish the economic grounds for a new policy, but apparently Lord Passfield, who was none other than Sidney Webb, the distinguished Labor economist, foresaw what the expert's findings would be even before he started on his mission. Lord Passfield was not disappointed. Sir John's report was a general condemnation of practically everything the Jews were doing in Palestine. Their industry was unsound; the policy of the Jewish National Fund, which required that its farm settlements should employ only Jewish labor, was reprehensible; the social objectives of the Histadrut were undesirable. His principal solicitude was for the "evicted Arab peasants," and he recommended that immigration as well as the acquisition of land by Jews should be drastically restricted.

Everything was now ready for the restatement of policy, and it

came in October 1930 in the form of a White Paper which was published on the same day as the Simpson report. It was only an "interpretation," not a repudiation, but it aimed apparently to interpret Zionism to death. The Passfield White Paper even based itself on the Balfour Declaration, where it found that the Mandatory's obligation to the non-Jewish communities of Palestine was not less binding than its obligation to the National Home. It discovered, in fact, that "the Jewish National Home is not meant to be the principal feature of the Mandate." And with respect to the two activities on which the progress of the National Home depended, immigration and land-purchase, it indicated clearly that no more agricultural land could be acquired by Jews, and that labor immigration would be severely curtailed.

But Lord Passfield, like many another who at various times set out to dispose in cavalier fashion of Zionist aspirations, was ignorant of the passions that impelled the Movement. Six years later he publicly recanted his attitude, but at the time he and his chief, Ramsay MacDonald, were amazed at the reaction which the White Paper provoked. On the day of its publication Weizmann, who based his entire policy on the good faith of England, informed the Government of his resignation as president of the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency. Soon afterwards Lord Melchett resigned as chairman of the Council of the Agency and Felix Warburg as chairman of the Administrative Committee: Passfield's assault on the National Home had apparently erased the distinction between Zionists and non-Zionists. Weizmann declared that the White Paper would "crystallize" the Yishuv to its present stage of development; Lord Melchett, who used plainer language, called it a "grotesque travesty of the purpose of the Mandate." Protests poured in from Jewish bodies throughout the world. In Palestine even the group headed by Judah Magnes, which called itself *Brith Shalom* (Covenant of Peace) and pursued a policy of prayerful moderation in the hope of inducing the Arabs to agree to a bi-national state, also rejected the White Paper. Nor was the indignation confined to Jews. There were public protests from Stanley Baldwin, Austen Chamberlain and Leopold Amery. Jan Smuts called upon MacDonald to repudiate the Paper, and distinguished jurists declared it a violation of the Mandate. On November 17 there was a full dress debate in Parliament in the course of which the Government was attacked by Baldwin, Lloyd George, Amery, Samuel, Harry Snell and Joseph Kenworthy.

It was impossible to ignore the flood of protests, and almost

immediately the Prime Minister and his Colonial Secretary came out with assurances that no change of policy was intended, that the White Paper had been misunderstood, that the Mandate would be enforced. And in February 1931, after a series of meetings between a special Cabinet committee and Zionist leaders, MacDonald wrote Weizmann a letter in which he took most of the sting out of the White Paper. Unlike the Paper, its tone was friendly. It paid tribute to the cooperative attitude of the Jewish Agency and acknowledged that what the Jews had done in Palestine had benefited "the country as a whole." The letter went on to admit one of the fundamental Zionist claims—that the Mandate represented an obligation not alone towards the Yishuv but towards the Jewish people as a whole. MacDonald acknowledged the right of Jewish labor to an adequate share in public works, spoke rather vaguely about making state lands "available for close settlement by Jews," and not so vaguely about the "displaced" Arab peasants. The letter, finally, contained assurances, which were not very definite, on the overriding questions of land and immigration: it conveyed the impression that in both these spheres the Jews might expect further progress. The absorptive capacity of Palestine would be determined by economic, not political, considerations, and the labor demands of new Jewish undertakings would not be disregarded.

So the British continued to carry water on both shoulders, the Arab and the Jewish. But the performance left both peoples dissatisfied, nor did it enhance British prestige in Palestine. The Zionists accepted the MacDonald letter, but without enthusiasm. The Arab leaders called it the "black letter": it nullified the victory they had won in the White Paper. But the eruption of 1929 and its political aftermath convinced them that violence had its uses; it was an argument that seemed to impress the ministers in London when other arguments failed. Towards the end of the thirties that argument, as we shall see, was destined to produce another White Paper for which the one issued by Passfield was only a rehearsal.

§ 4

The Seventeenth Zionist Congress, which met in Basel in the first half of July 1931, lay in the shadow of the gory events of 1929 in Palestine and their political repercussions in London. It was a stormy assembly, swept by passions that recalled the Congress of 1903 when the Uganda issue tore the Movement apart. The striking

fact about the composition of the Seventeenth Congress was that the Revisionist Party, which had made its debut in 1925 in Vienna with 5 delegates, now had 52; its growth was a natural consequence of the defeats which the Passfield Paper and the reports of Shaw and Simpson inflicted on the policy of non-resistance to the Mandatory which Weizmann was accused of pursuing. Revisionism became the extreme right of the Congress. Its platform, with the chief plank calling for a Jewish State on both sides of the Jordan, was simple and alluring, and its spirit was a bold nationalism undiluted by Socialism or any other "irrelevancies." On the opposite side of the Congress sat the large Labor delegation, the sworn enemy of Revisionism, and the clashes between the two were bitter and epic. Labor Zionism had a galaxy of tried champions—David Ben Gurion, Berl Locker, Shlomo Kaplansky, and others—but the man who had moved to the front among them was the youthful, aggressive and brilliant Chaim Arlosoroff. Among the Revisionists the undisputed leader was Jabotinsky, formidable alike with tongue and pen, a knight in shining armor to his followers, but to his foes a sinister and reckless adventurer.

Weizmann's leadership was the target of a merciless attack, and it came not only from the Revisionists but from the Mizrachi, the Radical Zionists and some of the General Zionists. An interview which he had given a news agency, in which he professed not to understand the demand for a Jewish State or a Jewish majority in Palestine, exacerbated the situation. The MacDonalld letter was accepted by the Congress, but only as a basis for further negotiations, its shortcomings being duly noted. And although the demands of the Revisionists were rejected, the events of the past two years and his rejection of a Jewish majority in Palestine as a Zionist aim had so undermined Weizmann's leadership that his continuance in office became impossible. Nahum Sokolow succeeded him as president of the World Organization, and the Congress chose a coalition Executive, which did not, however, include the Revisionists. In it were Selig Brodetsky and Berl Locker for its London section, and Chaim Arlosoroff, Heshel Farbstein and Emanuel Neumann for the Palestine section.

§ 5

There was still another shadow that hung over the Congress of 1931—the economic collapse which America had suffered in the fall of 1929 and which crept like a miasma across the world. In

America it wreaked havoc among the wealthier Jews of east European origin who were the mainstay of the *Keren Hayesod*. The non-Zionists, their roots deeper in the economic soil of America, suffered less from the depression, but they had not rallied to the Fund as those who wanted them in the Agency had hoped. The meeting of the Council of the Agency, which followed the sessions of the Seventeenth Congress, was a pale affair compared with the inauguration assembly in Zurich two years before.

But providentially the Yishuv was spared the ravages of the worldwide economic slump, and in 1929 it even began to recover from the hard times of the two previous years. Towards the end of 1931, there was already a shortage of labor in the country, in industry as well as agriculture, and in 1932 there were nearly 10,000 immigrants, or twice the number in each of the three previous years. In 1933 immigration entered a new era of expansion. Germany had fallen to the Nazis, and in the six years that followed scores of thousands of German and Austrian Jews who managed to escape the ravaging monster found a haven in Palestine. They brought capital, enterprise and skills into the country and among them were many who, in the turgid German patriotism in which they once gloried, had looked upon Zionism as a dangerous aberration.

It goes without saying that the progress of the Yishuv owed little to the favor of the Government. The number of Jewish workers admitted into Palestine was kept by the Government as small as possible. The provision in Article Six of the Mandate requiring the Administration to facilitate the close settlement of Jews on the land, "including state lands," remained a dead letter; no state lands were found available for Jewish settlement. Instead, a deep and, as events proved, gratuitous solicitude for Arab peasants alleged to have been uprooted by Jewish colonization exercised the government.

In July 1931, Lewis French, another British colonization expert, was commissioned to conduct an investigation in Palestine and submit proposals for agricultural developments in general, and for rehabilitating the "displaced Arabs" in particular. His report, which was published two years later, was altogether a negative and dreary affair, as negative and dreary as reports of experts very often are. The Government, he found, could do nothing to implement Article Six of the Mandate; the exploitation of certain large state tracts would not be "economical." As for the "displaced Arabs" he found that twelve years had produced 665 of them instead of the many thousands that had been claimed. But more pertinent was the fact that in every

case the Jewish land purchasers had given former Arab tenants ample compensation.

A sum of £250,000 was set aside by the Government in 1934 for "displaced Arabs," but only 43 of them were found entitled to its benefits. On the other hand, Jewish enterprise in Palestine had resulted in "placing" a much larger number of Arabs. Thousands of them were employed in Jewish agriculture and industry, and among them were many who had made their way clandestinely into Palestine from Syria and Transjordan at a time when trained *Chalutzim* were being kept out of the country by Government restrictions.

§ 6

From August 21 to September 4, 1933 the Eighteenth Congress held its sessions in Prague. It was, in the opinion of observers, the most hectic and embittered Congress in Zionist history, for while the Yishuv in Palestine was growing and gathering fresh strength, the Movement was passing through a period of penury and unbridled partisan passions. The penury was reflected in the budget which the Congress adopted of less than a million dollars, the lowest on record; the partisan passions found vent in furious clashes between the Revisionists and Labor delegates. Scant attention was paid to the reports and addresses of a number of distinguished veterans of the Movement, among them Leib Jaffe on the *Keren Hayesod*, Emanuel Neumann on urban colonization and Isaac Wilkansky on agriculture. Two months earlier a shocking crime had been committed on the beach of Tel Aviv which exasperated the antagonism between the Right and Left. Chaim Arlosoroff, the gifted and gallant young Labor leader who directed the Zionist Political Department in Jerusalem, had been shot and mortally wounded. The assassins escaped, but the victim's followers laid the crime at the door of their political foes. Two members of the Revisionist party had been apprehended and tried for murder and one of them was convicted, but his appeal to a higher court was later sustained and he was freed.

Between the two extremes who glared at each other in the Congress sat the Mizrahi and the General Zionists, the latter already divided into a Group A, which leaned towards the Left, and a smaller Group B, which leaned towards the Right. Nor did the Revisionists present a solid front. The large majority, determined to put an end to what they called the policy of servility and surrender vis-à-vis the

Mandatory, flouted the discipline which the Movement expected from all its members, and favored a course of independent political action, even if it meant secession from the World Organization. In contrast to these divisions among the General Zionists and the Revisionists, the different Labor groups had, in the summer of 1932, accomplished an *Ichud*, or Union, which assured them a dominant position in the councils of the World Organization, just as through the *Histadrut* they had already attained such a position in the Yishuv.

But the Congress of 1933 was called upon to take note of an event that was fraught with much greater menace than the strife of the parties. In January of that year Paul von Hindenburg, the senile president of the German Republic, had summoned the Nazis to power, and the campaign of terror against the 650,000 Jews of Germany was already in full cry. The vilest and most sinister force that human depravity had ever spawned was getting poised to strike at all mankind and in particular at the Jewish people, but not even the hardheaded realists foresaw the havoc it was destined to wreak. Could the party stalwarts at the Congress have foreseen it, there would in all likelihood have been less bitterness and dissension. The delegates voted a solemn protest against the terror in Germany and called upon the Mandatory "to open the gates of Palestine for as large an immigration of German Jews as possible and to facilitate their settlement." It was the first of what was to be a long series of appeals on behalf of the victims of the Nazi manhunt against the Jews—appeals which were destined to fall on deaf ears and stony hearts.

So the stormy and tormented Eighteenth Congress was closed by Nahum Sokolow, the reelected president of the Organization, after an Executive of eight had been chosen to administer the affairs of the Movement in London and Jerusalem during the ensuing two years. Only two parties entered into the new Executive, Labor and Group A of the General Zionists, and among the Labor representatives were David Ben Gurion, Moshe Shertok (Sharett) and Eliezer Kaplan.

§ 7

The two years between that Congress and the next witnessed the biggest strides that had yet been made by the National Home, with 42,000 new arrivals in 1934 and 62,000 in 1935. It was the Fifth Aliyah, and it included a large proportion of immigrants with capital and industrial skills. About half of this unprecedented influx came

from Poland, but some 50,000 were fugitives from the mounting terror in Germany. With the enactment of the Nuremberg Laws in September 1935, the precious Emancipation, in whose name Zionism had been so bitterly contested, was completely wiped out. The Jews were subjected to forced labor and deprived of their livelihood, and the ghetto and yellow patch were restored.

Fortunately, those who found asylum in Palestine were able to salvage a large portion of their property by means of a transfer arrangement concluded in 1933 between the Anglo-Palestine Company and the Reichsbank, under which German exports to Palestine were paid for out of the assets left in Germany by the refugees, who in turn received payment from the Palestinian importers. This arrangement, called *Ha-avarah* (the Transfer), compelled the Yishuv to receive German goods for the funds which the refugees were not permitted to take away with them, and it was the target of severe criticism on the ground that Zionist institutions should have no truck with Nazi Germany, but its defenders pointed out that there was no other way to salvage the property of the refugees. Up to 1939 *Ha-avarah* added some £ 8,000,000 to the Yishuv's economy.

On every economic front the Yishuv strode forward, building construction having first place in its industry and orange-growing in its agriculture, and this at a time when nearly all other countries were still in the trough of the world depression. Since 1931 Palestine had had a new High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, a man of bigger caliber than his predecessor. He displayed a better understanding of the nature and needs of the National Home, and he even admired the idealism and promise of the new type of human society which the collective settlements represented.

§ 8

The Revisionists were absent from the Nineteenth Congress which met in Lucerne between August 20 and September 3, 1935, and the sessions were comparatively tranquil. In April of that year they had seceded from the World Organization and, led by Jabotinsky, had become the New Zionist Organization. A small minority under Meir Grossman stayed and called themselves the Jewish State party. The only acrimonious debate at the Congress revolved around the German transfer arrangement, which many delegates of the Right found repugnant. The majority, however, felt that the duty of ransom compelled honest men to deal with bandits, but to prevent

abuses the control of the arrangement was vested in the Executive in Palestine. The long-standing grievances against the Mandatory were again aired by the Congress: the immigration restrictions in the face of the mounting persecutions on the one hand, and the demand for labor in the Yishuv on the other; the failure of the Mandatory to make state lands available for Jewish colonization; the disproportionately small number of Jews employed in public works and in Government service; the inadequate Government grants for Jewish education and health institutions, grants that bore no relation to the revenue the Government derived from the Yishuv.

The Nineteenth Congress reelected Weizmann President of the World Organization and made Sokolow the Honorary President. It chose a coalition Executive in which all the parties, except the tiny State party, were represented, and the budget it adopted was more than twice that of the previous Congress. Of its 463 delegates, 210 belonged to the Labor wing and the 80 delegates representing Group A of the General Zionists usually voted with them, enabling them to exercise easy control. And in spite of the Revisionist secession, the Congress represented nearly a million shekel-payers.

With all the shadows that flecked the scene, the Zionist outlook in the fall of 1935, both in Palestine and in the Movement across the world, was definitely hopeful. For the Jews of Germany, Poland, Rumania and other persecution centers, Palestine was now more than a distant promise; the tiny land was absorbing a larger number of the harassed and driven than any other country in the world.

Chapter XXIV : REVOLT AND SURRENDER

NOT ONLY did the Arab uprising of 1929 fail to erase the National Home, but from that year till 1936, when the Arabs launched a full-scale revolt that lasted almost three years, the population of the Yishuv more than doubled, and rural and urban colonization made their longest strides. The population increased by some 200,000; its proportion to the total rose from 18 to nearly 30 per cent. Tel Aviv was now a city of 100,000 inhabitants. Haifa's new port was opened in 1933; a pipeline from Iraq was bringing crude oil to its refineries, and new Jewish suburbs were gathering around it and climbing up Mount Carmel. Outside the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem a New City had risen up, with modern residential quarters and handsome public buildings housing the *Keren Hayesod*, the *Keren Kayemet* and the Zionist Executive. Blocks of new agricultural settlements—collective, cooperative and individual—were springing up, the *Keren Kayemet* providing the land for most of them and the *Keren Hayesod* the initial capital. Eloquent of the economic upswing was the fact that by 1936 the Government treasury, which had a deficit in 1931, had accumulated a surplus of more than £ 6,000,000.

Now, this labor of reclamation represented a threat not only to the political aspirations of the Arab leaders of Palestine. The Jews brought in something which the rulers of the entire Arab world feared: a restless and dynamic spirit that threatened to upset the social system from which the Arab upper stratum derived its wealth and power. It was a very ancient system, feudal in character and resting on an impoverished and debt-ridden peasantry. What effect would the higher living standards and the devices of Western civilization introduced by the Jews have on the wretched fellaheen? Thousands of Palestine Arabs were already employed in Jewish undertakings, and thousands were infiltrating from neighboring Arab lands. The age-old stagnation was beginning to stir, and the beneficiaries of the status quo were alarmed.

At no time did the British make clear to the Arabs what even a cursory reading of the Mandate revealed—that the primary aim of that instrument was the Jewish National Home. At no time were the Arab leaders impressed with the finality of that aim, representing as it did the official resolve of the nations of the world. At no time were they told that strong as their case might be, the case of the people who gave Palestine its place in history and who remained a homeless people since the land was wrested from them, was stronger—and rendered still stronger by the tragedy of the harried Jewish multitudes against whom the gates of all other lands were shut. They were, on the contrary, given many reasons to believe that the National Home policy was not irreversible, and perhaps the strongest of those reasons was the continuous presence of a preponderant number of anti-Zionist functionaries in the Palestine administration. This vacillating and ambiguous policy may have been natural to the British; it may have stemmed from their habit of being tentative and encouraged by their success in the art of “muddling through.” But the Palestine nettle could not be handled tentatively. It was necessary either to grasp it or leave it.

§ 2

In October 1933 there were riotous Arab demonstrations in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa and Nablus, in which more than a score of lives were lost in clashes with the police. But Sir Arthur Wauchope, the High Commissioner, nourished a plan which he hoped would allay Arab discontent and lead to Arab-Jewish cooperation. In line with Article Two of the Mandate, which obligated the Administration to promote “the development of self-governing institutions,” a Municipal Corporations Ordinance was issued in January 1934, under which local councils were established in a series of cities and towns, the councils consisting of Jews and Arabs in cities where the population was mixed. In the High Commissioner’s plan, however, the local councils were only the first step. In December 1935 came the second on which the High Commissioner and the Colonial Office in London built larger hopes. It was a proposal to establish a legislative council for the whole country, to consist of twenty-eight members of whom fourteen—eleven Moslems and three Christians—would be Arabs, seven Jews, five government officials, and two representatives of foreign commercial interests. The High Commissioner, besides reserving the veto power, would continue to exercise control over immigration,

and the Council was precluded from taking any action that might challenge the validity of the Mandate.

The last provisions were, of course, intended as a counterweight to the Arab majority and designed to secure acceptance of the proposal by the Jews, but in September 1935 the Zionist Congress meeting in Lucerne, already aware of the legislative council the Mandatory was planning to institute, declared its opposition to it. Any effective legislative council with the Jews still in a minority would imperil the National Home, and even an innocuous council would provide the Arabs with a constitutional and permanent platform for agitating against the Jews and the Mandate. In November the Arabs submitted a memorandum to the High Commissioner containing *their* views on the proposed council. Since 1930 internal Arab politics had been in a chaotic state; factional rivalries were rampant, there were now six Arab parties instead of one and the Arab Executive was in a state of impotence. The memorandum to the High Commissioner, however, was endorsed by all but one of the parties. It called for the immediate stoppage of Jewish immigration, the prohibition of land purchase by Jews and the establishment of a representative government for the entire country.

With all that, the Arabs were not disinclined to accept Wauchope's legislative council, and their attitude towards it improved as the opposition of the Jews mounted. In February and March 1936 the proposal was the subject of debate in both houses of Parliament, with Lord Samuel leading the opposition in the House of Lords and Josiah Wedgwood in the House of Commons. It was clear that the majority in both Houses disapproved of the plan; it would, they feared, exacerbate Arab-Jewish relations rather than improve them. On the invitation of the Colonial Secretary the Arabs were preparing to send a delegation to London, when the country was plunged into a new and unprecedented wave of violence, which soon became a full-fledged Arab revolt against the Yishuv and the Mandatory.

§ 3

With varying ferocity and an intermission of some nine months for the benefit of a Royal Commission of Inquiry, the revolt continued until the outbreak of the Second World War. It had close links, material and psychological, with the demoralization which the seizure of Germany by the Nazis had produced in world affairs, and which was considerably aggravated by the onslaught on Abyssinia by Mussolini

in September 1935. Nazism and Fascism, eager to undermine Britain's imperial interests, found Palestine a tempting target, not only because Britain's position in it was so vulnerable but because it was a gateway to the highly strategic Near East. Fascism and Nazism combined to give aid and comfort to the Arab rebels in Palestine, just as they combined to insure the victory of the Fascist rebels in Spain. But even more alarming than the aggressions of totalitarianism during those years was the lack of moral fiber in the democracies: they thought they could overcome their perils by renouncing their solemn obligations in order to appease the aggressor.

The success of the Italian onslaught on Abyssinia, which England and France vainly tried to halt, dealt a serious blow to the prestige of both Powers among the Arabs. In the beginning of 1936 Egypt and Syria were in a ferment. All Egyptian parties united to demand the removal of every vestige of political dependence, and in Syria a general strike was proclaimed to force the termination of the French Mandate. In Palestine the Arab leaders felt that their big moment had arrived; the legislative council now looked like a bagatelle. In Egypt and Syria the Arabs apparently won their demands, and in Palestine the leaders considered the time ripe to erase the National Home and the Mandate with a single stroke.

The revolt began April 19, 1936 with mob attacks on Jews in Jaffa, which soon spread over the country. Bands of armed Arabs, with reinforcements from across the borders, came down from the hills, destroying Jewish life and property in colonies and towns. Standing crops were set on fire and trees uprooted. Homes, synagogues and even schools became targets for bullets and bombs. Telephone wires were cut and the roads and railroads became unsafe. Nor was the violence directed against the Jews alone. As the bands grew in number and size, they attacked units of the British garrison, nor did they show mercy to those of their own people who hesitated to join them or to pay the tribute they levied. The estimated fatal casualties for the three years of violence include 2,287 Arabs, 450 Jews and 140 Britons.

In the face of this redoubtable challenge the conduct of the Administration was remarkable for its half-heartedness and hesitations. As early as May 1936 military reinforcements were sent to Palestine, and in September an entire division arrived, raising the garrison to 20,000 men. But the full weight of these forces was not employed to put down the rebellion, the High Commissioner clinging to the hope that a policy of leniency would incline the Arab leaders

to accept minor concessions and call off the revolt. But the restraint and half measures of the Administration only emboldened the rebels. They gathered more and more strength and improved their tactics, and when finally the Government was compelled to adopt a vigorous policy of suppression the task of subduing them was much more difficult.

The incident that spurred the British to adopt a more drastic course occurred in Nazareth in September 1937, when the District Commissioner for Galilee was assassinated together with his police escort. It was open defiance of the Government and the lives lost were British. Arab leaders were apprehended and deported, and a determined attempt was made to drive the guerrilla bands out of the northern hills. But the Mufti, whom the Government now deposed as head of the Supreme Moslem Council, escaped into Lebanon whence he continued to direct the uprising. Reinforcements continued to flow to the rebels from the neighboring countries, and arms and money from German and Italian agents. In the field the rebels were led by the bold Fawzi Kaukji, a Syrian, and in the summer and fall of 1938 their successes reached a new high. The British were compelled to yield the control of many towns and villages, including the greater part of the Old City of Jerusalem. The acute international crisis in Europe prevented reinforcements from being sent to Palestine. It also deterred the British from resorting to extreme measures out of fear that the entire Moslem world would be thrown into the arms of the Axis in the war that appeared imminent.

The crisis was temporarily relieved in September 1938 by the ignominious Munich Pact, that betrayal of Czechoslovakia, which Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain hailed as a guarantee of "peace for our time." The reinforcements that arrived after the Pact enabled the British to reoccupy the Old City and improve the situation in the towns, but the rebels still lorded it over the rural districts.

§ 4

The defense of the Yishuv during those critical years devolved principally on the Jews themselves. Grudgingly at first, but more willingly later, several thousand of them were admitted into the police force, and in addition, the Yishuv's own Haganah, numbering some 25,000 volunteers, protected Jewish life and labor in the cities and colonies. Units of this force patrolled the highways, stood guard over fields and groves, and escorted laborers to and from their work.

However, the Yishuv was faced not only with a grave defense problem but with a difficult moral problem. The Arab guerrillas operated without scruple, burning crops and groves, shooting down farmers in the fields, blasting vehicles on the roads, killing men, women and children indiscriminately. The question the Jews had to answer was: Should they retaliate in kind? Their answer was No. They followed, instead, the way of *havlagah*, or self-restraint, refusing to make the innocent suffer with the guilty, and it was only towards the end of the years of terror that a small minority departed from the policy of non-retaliation. *Havlagah* was one of the great moral manifestations of our times and has been compared to the non-resistance which is associated with the name of Mahatma Gandhi.

A unique contribution to the discomfiture of the rebel bands was made by Jewish motorcycle squads who were trained in commando tactics by Captain Charles Orde Wingate, a remarkable Briton who was an ardent Zionist. Wingate was a bold and resourceful military leader and a passionate student of the Bible. He was of those of whom the Psalmist sang: "High praises of God are in their throat, and a two-edged sword in their hands." In his profound understanding of Zionism and his resolute stand against Arab terror, Wingate was a conspicuous exception among the British officers in Palestine. The "Special Night Squads" he trained and led proved particularly effective against the Arab guerrillas who made a specialty of cutting the oil pipeline that ran from Mosul to Haifa. Later, as a Brigadier in the Second World War, Wingate, drawing largely on his experience in Palestine, organized guerrilla warfare against the Japanese in Burma and was killed in an airplane crash in the Burma jungle.

The ordeal by fire of those years of terror was borne by the Yishuv with fortitude and remarkable success. Of the many settlements that were attacked not one fell or was abandoned, not even of those that lay in the most isolated parts of the country. But not only did the Yishuv preserve all its outposts, it added some fifty new ones during those years, and its population grew by nearly 100,000, of whom some 80,000 were immigrants. The gains achieved by the Yishuv are symbolized by the fact that while 200,000 trees were uprooted by the rebels, 1,000,000 new ones were planted.

A bold and ingenious technique was developed for setting up new outposts, most of them on sites deliberately chosen because they were exposed to maximum danger. The settlers with their armed guards arrived in lorries bringing with them all they needed, prepared and prefabricated, and in a matter of hours a new settlement sprang up

as if by magic. Around it ran a wooden stockade reinforced with stones and concrete, and strung with barbed wire. In the center rose a tower with a revolving searchlight commanding a broad area on every side. Before long and usually at night the new post might be attacked, but the assailants were always thrown back and seldom repeated the attempt. Thus sprang up Hanita in the north, Negba in the south, Tirat Zvi in the Beisan valley and scores of other centers of labor and defense.

§ 5

In April 1936, only a few days after the rioting in Jaffa which touched off the long Arab insurrection, a strike by the entire Arab community was in progress in Palestine. It was directed by a newly created Arab Higher Committee headed by the Mufti, and it aimed to compel the Government to stop Jewish immigration, prohibit the sale of Arab land to Jews and set up a representative legislative body which would, of course, have a large Arab majority. The demands were rejected; to accept them would have meant abrogating the Mandate under pressure of violence. Besides, the action would certainly be repudiated by the League of Nations, where, as it was, the British representatives were not having an easy time of it whenever their annual reports on Palestine were under consideration. The High Commissioner countered by promising an investigation of Arab grievances by a Royal Commission if the violence came to an end, and threatening drastic military action if it did not. In the end the Arab Higher Committee yielded. Military reinforcements were coming into the country, and the neighboring Arab rulers allowed the Committee to save face by urging it to accept the offer. Besides, the strike was going none too well. It was bringing the Arabs enormous losses, and in the fall they were preparing to gather and market the crucial orange crop, strike or no strike. On October 12 the strike was declared ended.

A month later the Royal Commission arrived in Palestine and launched the most memorable of the many investigations to which the land and the Mandate were subjected. Lord Peel, who headed the Commission, was a former Secretary of State for India, and its other members were also men of experience and standing. The Commission's charge was not to question the validity of the Mandate, but to examine the claims and grievances of the interested parties and recommend improvements in the methods of implementing it. But the Commission did not limit itself to its charge. It spent two months listening to Jewish,

Arab and Government representatives, and in July 1937 its report, a sizable document, was published.

The Commission, emphasizing the benefits which accrued to the Arabs as a result of Jewish enterprise, found no valid grounds for their major grievances. The primary purpose of the Mandate, it declared, was to promote the establishment of the Jewish National Home, and it deprecated the extent to which "the policy of conciliation" had been pursued. It touched upon one of the most serious obstacles to the successful implementation of the Mandate when it recommended "the careful selection of British officers intended for service in Palestine, and a course of special training" for them. It went on to declare, however, that all its recommendations were "the best palliatives we can devise for the disease from which Palestine is suffering, but they are only palliatives," and to express its firm conviction that "the only hope for a cure was in a surgical operation." The Mandate in other words was "unworkable," Arab and Jewish interests being essentially irreconcilable.

Three alternatives came before the Commission: a bi-national state as advocated by the *Brith Shalom* group and the radical Socialist party Hashomer Hatzair (The Young Watchman), division of the country into Jewish and Arab cantons under one central government, and partition or establishment of separate Arab and Jewish sovereign states. The Commission favored the last and it recommended further that certain areas, among them Jerusalem and Bethlehem, should be retained by the Mandatory. It went on to delineate the approximate boundaries of the three divisions that would result from the "surgical operation." The Jewish state was to take in all of the country north of Beisan, and the coastal zone running north from a point midway between Gaza and Jaffa. It was a bold and radical solution, and it remained to be seen how the parties concerned—the Jews, the Arabs, the British and the League of Nations—would react to it.

The British government reacted promptly and favorably. In fact, along with the Royal Commission's report a White Paper was issued which accepted the Commission's conclusion that the Mandate was unworkable and declared partition to be "the best and most hopeful solution." And in anticipation, the Government lost no time in announcing steps to curtail Jewish immigration and prevent the purchase of land by Jews in areas which the Commission envisaged as falling within the proposed Arab state. In Parliament, however, partition encountered formidable opposition.

The Arabs reacted almost as promptly—and unfavorably. A

fortnight after the publication of the report and White Paper, the Arab Higher Committee rejected the partition proposal and insisted on its original demands, which aimed to liquidate the Jewish National Home, and in September the rejection was upheld by a defiant pan-Arab Congress which met in Syria. The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, and later the Council of the League, blew hot and cold. They consented to the preparation of a concrete partition plan, but reserved the right to reject it. In general, Britain derived small comfort from the League. The Mandates Commission declared that if the Mandate was now unworkable, it was due to the flabby policy which had been pursued by the Mandatory.

§ 6

Partition was the major issue that confronted the Twentieth Zionist Congress, which met in Zurich from August 3 to August 17, 1937. A million shekel-payers had sent nearly 500 delegates, of whom 320, representing Labor and Group A of the General Zionists, favored partition, while the rest, representing Mizrachi, Group B of the General Zionists, the Jewish State party and Hashomer Hatzair, were against it. The leader of the opposition was Ussischkin, who was, nevertheless, chosen president of the Congress. The scholarly and urbane Nahum Sokolow had died in May of the previous year and a number of other shining figures were now dead: Leo Motzkin, Shmaryah Levin, Chaim Nachman Bialik and Victor Jacobson. The latter had directed the bureau which the World Organization maintained in Geneva, the seat of the League of Nations, and his place was taken by Nahum Goldmann.

The debate on partition was long and vehement. There were no differences among the delegates with regard to partition as proposed in the report of the Royal Commission: they all rejected it. But those who favored partition in principle, led by Weizmann, believed that a more acceptable division of territory might be secured, and contended that a sovereign state, even if only in part of Palestine, would provide a haven for the mounting number of Central and East European Jews who were being clamped in the Nazi vise: the lengthening shadow of the monster spawned by Germany hung over the Congress as it hung over the entire world. Ussischkin and his followers maintained that acceptance of partition meant defeatism and surrender. The international tension, they argued, compelled the British government to seek a solution that would not alienate the friendship

of the Arab world; but international situations were subject to change and governments also came and went, but the Jewish right to Palestine—the whole of Palestine—was inalienable and eternal.

After a week of debate the Congress, by a vote of 300 to 158, adopted a resolution which was a victory for partition. The resolution began by rejecting the scheme put forward by the Royal Commission, but it went on to empower the Executive "to enter into negotiations with a view to ascertaining the precise terms of His Majesty's Government for the proposed establishment of a Jewish State." The Congress denied that the Mandate was unworkable and condemned the curtailment of Jewish immigration and the new principle on which it was based—the principle of political instead of economic absorptive capacity. On that principle immigration could not only be curtailed but permanently suspended. The Congress concluded its sessions by reelecting the former Executive.

Following the precedent established in 1929, the Congress was followed by a meeting of the Council of the Jewish Agency, where partition again held the center of the stage. The east European members of the Council were for it: they wanted a place of refuge for their people from Nazi terror. The two leading Americans were against it. Judah Magnes insisted on an Arab-Jewish bi-national state: his lofty idealism would not let him forego the opportunity to vindicate the Psalmist who found that it was "good and pleasant for brethren to dwell together in unity." Felix Warburg was against partition because he opposed any sort of Jewish state: the Jews of America might be embarrassed by it, the anti-Semites might accuse them of double loyalty. In the end, however, the Council of the Jewish Agency endorsed the resolution which had been adopted by the Congress.

§ 7

Fourteen months later, in November 1938, it became clear that the Zionist Congress and the League of Nations might have spared themselves their debates and resolutions. The British government reversed its attitude and gave up the idea of partition. The change of heart, prompted by the overriding necessity of cultivating Arab good will in the international crisis, was not revealed at once; it was done after another commission had made another investigation and brought back a report—which was generally anticipated—that partition involved insuperable difficulties. By that time there

was a new High Commissioner in Palestine, Wauchope having been replaced in March 1938 by Sir Harold MacMichael, a former governor of Tanganyika. And in London the Colonial Office also had a new head. He was Malcolm MacDonald, a son of Ramsay; he replaced Ormsby-Gore, an old friend of the Zionist cause, who thought partition would promote its aims and at the same time save for Britain the friendship of the Arab world. The former governor of Tanganyika was eminently unqualified for the post he assumed in Palestine. He was accustomed to handle "natives," and found it hard to learn that the Jews in Palestine were not "natives."

The chairman of the partition—read "anti-partition"—commission was Sir John Woodhead. He arrived in Palestine in April 1938, and the investigation, lasting three months, was accompanied by the obligato of Arab terror in Palestine and the distant thunder of the oncoming war in Europe. Its report was not published until November 1938, a month after the Munich Pact. The Commission rejected the Peel plan and examined two substitute partition plans, each one providing progressively smaller areas for a Jewish state. But it deployed a formidable array of problems—geographic, defense, economic, fiscal and ethnic—which made any and all plans costly and precarious. The Commission, in fact, found no boundaries that would "afford a reasonable prospect of the eventual establishment of self-supporting Arab and Jewish states."

The report, when published, was accompanied by another White Paper in which the Colonial Office found that the "difficulties involved in the proposal to create independent Arab and Jewish states inside Palestine are so great that this solution of the problem is impracticable." But the Colonial Office, the Paper declared, would seek another solution at an Arab-Jewish Conference to be held in London, a solution to which both sides should agree, and if that proved impossible, then the government would impose a solution of its own. But the Arabs who were to be invited to confront the Jews would represent not those of Palestine alone, but of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Transjordan and Iraq also. Was it the Government's intention to overawe the Jews with the multitude and might of their opponents? Or was this Arab mobilization intended to exhibit the magnitude of the support which Britain would forfeit by adhering to the National Home policy? In Zionist quarters it was felt that the Government had both aims in view, and the question was asked if the real purpose of the Conference was not to provide background and justification for scuttling the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.

§8

The events which followed, culminating in the MacDonald White Paper of May 1939, answered the question, and the answer was in the affirmative. The London Conference—if it can be called a conference—got under way in February, the delay having been caused by bitter strife between the Husseini and Nashashibi clans over the choice of delegates to represent the Arabs of Palestine, and by the insistence of the Husseinis that the Mufti and other leaders of theirs who had been exiled for complicity in the terror should be released and admitted as delegates. Although the Mufti was excluded, four of those whom the Government regarded as responsible for the campaign of assassination and violence were admitted. But the simultaneous presence in London of the two groups of representatives, Arab and Jewish, could hardly be called a conference, for the first refused to confer with the second, and, incidentally, the Husseinis refused to sit down with the Nashashibis. The British delegation, consisting of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax and Colonial Secretary Malcolm MacDonald, had to act as go-betweens, conveying the views of one group to another. But it was clear long before the end of the desultory proceedings, which lasted over five weeks, that the intransigence of the Palestine Arabs, buttressed by the mass support of the Arab states, made an agreed solution impossible. They never deviated from their original demands: immediate prohibition of Jewish immigration and of transfer of land to Jews, formal abrogation of the Mandate and establishment of a representative government.

The London Conference ended its inglorious career in the middle of March 1939. The same month Nazi Germany swooped down on what was left of Czechoslovakia after the Munich betrayal, and its mechanized hordes overran Bohemia and Moravia. The dove of "peace for our time" was in full flight and fast disappearing, and in May came the new and final White Paper on Palestine. There could be no mistake as to its meaning: it laid the Jewish National Home as a sacrifice on the altar of Arab appeasement.

The MacDonald White Paper was not, of course, an unconditional surrender to all the Arab demands, but a surrender none the less. The Mandate would not be abrogated at once, but within a period of ten years Palestine would become a sovereign state. The country would still have a large Arab majority—the provisions with regard to immigration made sure of that. In these provisions Mac-

Donald expressly repudiated the principle of economic absorptive capacity which his father set up in his famous letter to Weizmann in 1931. Jewish immigration would continue for five years and would then come to a complete and final end, unless the Arabs desired it to go on: there were some who wondered if the proviso was not a piece of deliberate irony on the part of the British minister. During the five years a maximum of 75,000 immigrants would be allowed, 10,000 a year in the regular schedules and an additional 25,000 for the five years of fugitives from anti-Semitic terror, whom the High Commissioner might see fit to admit. The extent of the relief which this concession afforded the victims of Nazi terror may be gauged by the fact that they were now mounting into the millions.

As for the purchase of land by Jews, which the High Commissioner demanded should be prohibited, the White Paper promised to impose "justifiable and necessary" restrictions, and in February 1940 the promise was duly carried out. Regulations were issued establishing prohibited, restricted and unrestricted zones, under which it became practically impossible for Jews to purchase land in 95 per cent of the country, and the regulations were made retroactive to May 1939 when the Paper was issued.

The Arab Higher Committee professed to be dissatisfied with the White Paper: the surrender was not complete and unconditional. But the victory was apparent, and by the outbreak of the Second World War four months later the leaders were able to end the armed insurrection, and this in spite of the difficulty of de-activating their guerrillas, "whose interest in banditry," as one writer puts it, "was at least as great as their attachment to the national cause."*

§ 9

The meaning of this climactic White Paper—its repudiation of an international undertaking, the wall of racial discrimination which it set up against Jews in their own National Home, the blow it inflicted upon an ancient people in their darkest hour—did not escape British public opinion, nor did it pass unchallenged in Parliament. In the House of Commons Winston Churchill and Leopold Amery, both members of the party in power and both former Colonial Secretaries, took the lead in denouncing what Churchill called "a plain breach of a solemn obligation" and "another Munich." Herbert Morrison,

* Paul L. Hanna, *British Policy in Palestine*, American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D. C., 1942; p. 142.

speaking for the Labor Opposition, stigmatized the Paper as "a cynical breach of pledges given the Jews and the world, including America," and he went on to make a declaration which, unfortunately, in light of the conduct of the postwar Labor Cabinet, acquired a hollow ring. "The Government," Morrison declared, "must not expect that this is going to be automatically binding upon their successors." The House voted to adopt the White Paper, but the normal government majority of over 200 dwindled to 89: more than a hundred members abstained from voting. A sense of shame and remorse was evident, but it took refuge in the grim imperatives of the international crisis.

Nor did the new British policy obtain the sanction of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. The Commission, reporting to the Council of the League, declared unanimously that "the policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with its interpretation which, in agreement with the Mandatory Power and the Council, the Commission had always placed upon the Palestine Mandate." That was in June, and the matter was scheduled to come before a meeting of the Council in September. The hope that the unanimous rejection of the new policy by the Mandates Commission would lead the Government to postpone its enforcement proved an illusion: drastic curtailments in Jewish immigration in accord with the new policy were imposed immediately. And the Council of the League of Nations, alas, never met again for that or any other purpose.

§ 10

The new British policy was excoriated and rejected by the Jewish Agency as soon as it was promulgated: the Jews, the Agency declared, would never permit their National Home to be converted into a ghetto under Arab rule, or the gates of Palestine to be barred against them. But it fell to the Twenty-first Zionist Congress to grapple with the egregious problems that now faced the world Movement. This Congress, the last to be held between the two world wars, met in Geneva August 16-24, 1939, and the imminence of war compelled it to end prematurely. The Congress had 527 accredited delegates representing more than 1,400,000 shekel-payers, the greatest number in the history of the Movement. The Labor delegation was the largest with 216 delegates, followed by Group A of the General Zionists with 143. Mizrachi had 65 and Group B of the General Zionists 28.

There was little for the Congress to do besides recording its unalterable opposition to the new policy of the Mandatory. Had the British statesmen been in the mood to listen, they would have sensed in the words of the speakers the invincible historic and moral sanctions of the purpose which they were moving to throttle. By its new policy, Weizmann declared, the British government was not only repudiating its pledges, but was trying "to bring to a standstill the great historic process of the return of Israel and the rebuilding of Palestine which began long before the country came under British rule." In its formal resolution, adopted after a week of solemn debate, the Congress rejected the White Paper as a violation of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, affirmed that the Jewish people would not tolerate minority status in Palestine or "the subjection of the Jewish National Home to Arab rule," denounced the curtailment of Jewish immigration which shut to Jews their only avenue of escape from Nazi terror, and asserted "the inalienable right of the Jewish people, exercised without interruption throughout the centuries of the Dispersion, to return to Palestine, where the only real and permanent solution of Jewish homelessness is to be found."

The Congress reelected the coalition Executive, and held its closing session in an atmosphere of overshadowing anxiety but solemn resolve. Europe was about to burst into flames and the conflagration was sure to spread. A ruthless power, never equaled for sheer evil and bent, above all, on destroying the Jewish people, was reaching out to overwhelm the democracies, where alone human decency could survive. "Their concern is ours," said Weizmann in his closing address, "their fight is our fight."

In a matter of days Nazi bombers and mechanized hordes were on the loose across the Polish frontier, and Zionism, caught in the world upheaval, entered upon its era of supreme struggle.

Chapter XXV : THE NATIONAL HOME, 1939

WE PAUSE ON the threshold of the new era for a brief survey of the two Zionist fronts: the Yishuv in Palestine and the Movement across the world. By the White Paper statesmen of Britain both fronts were sadly underrated, even as they overrated the support they were to have from the Arab world in the coming conflict. Had they divined the spirit of the Yishuv and the Movement, had they understood the millennial impulse that animated both of them, an impulse which the new anti-Semitic fury now rendered desperate, they might have held back from treating the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate as scraps of paper.

Two decades had elapsed since the end of the First World War when the Jewish people, with the opportunity which the victorious Allies opened to them, set out to rebuild their National Home. It was a heartbreaking task, beset by the prodigious obstacles which have formed the main theme of this narrative. But as we look out upon the structure that has now risen up, a remarkable work lies spread out before us. A virile and sizable Jewish society, throbbing with energy and enterprise, self-reliant and unafraid, had actually come to life! How in the midst of all the afflictions and trials did it happen? In the same way, perhaps, as creation always happens, as it happened in the Beginning when the "spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

§ 2

In 1919 the population of the Yishuv was about 55,000; in 1939 it was estimated at 475,000. The government regulations excluded a great many who clamored for admission; the category of dependents was hedged about with restrictions; since 1930 "capitalists" had to have £1,000 instead of £500; craftsmen and members of the liberal professions were also required to possess capital;

and the number of workers, the key category, requested by the Jewish Agency in its semiannual applications, was nearly always drastically reduced. Nevertheless, despite restrictions and economic depressions, immigrants continued to arrive, and many whom the harsh regulations disqualified made their way into the country without benefit of government.

They were the *maapilim* (those who dared), but the Government called them "illegals," and they accepted that name also with pride. The Government did not, of course, confine itself to the stigma; beginning in 1933, it made periodic estimates of the number of "illegals," most of them workers, who had come in, and deducted it from the authorized labor schedules. But with all its watch and ward it could not keep the *maapilim* out. They filtered in across the northern frontiers and arrived by sea via Egypt and the Greek islands. In 1932 and 1933 their number, as estimated by the Peel Commission, was over 22,000. Large numbers of Arabs from the neighboring lands, attracted by the economic opportunities created by the Yishuv, also made their way illegally into Palestine, but no watch and ward were maintained against them by the Government.

A shining chapter in the story of Jewish immigration into Palestine should be headed Youth Aliyah. It began in 1933, and its aim was to rescue Jewish children from the claws of the Nazis. It was inspired by Henrietta Szold, "the mother of the Yishuv" as she came to be called, and directed by her until her death in 1945. By the beginning of 1947 nearly 21,000 boys and girls had been saved. Over many and perilous channels they were brought into Palestine and placed in schools and settlements. Youth Aliyah began with the rescue of children from Germany, but as the Nazi shadow spread over the continent the effort embraced other countries also and even reached out into the concentration camps.

In 1939 some 75 per cent of the Yishuv was urban and the rest rural, a proportion which compared well with other developed communities. Since 1929 the population of Tel Aviv had risen from 40,000 to 150,000, and during the last Arab uprising, when Jewish shipping was boycotted from the port of neighboring Jaffa, Tel Aviv constructed harbor facilities of its own. The city, all Jewish, was the largest oasis of western life in the entire Near East. The second largest urban community was Jerusalem with some 90,000 Jews, most of them occupying the new and modern suburbs around the Old City. Jerusalem was the administrative center of the Government and of the Zionist institutions, and the seat of the Hebrew University. Not-

withstanding its modern advance, the glow of its past still lay on the Holy City, outside as well as inside the ancient walls. The third place among the urban centers, with a Jewish population of 60,000, was held by Haifa, which had become one of the busiest ports on the Mediterranean. In Haifa as well as Jerusalem Jews were now in the majority, and Haifa, too, had a number of modern Jewish suburbs, of which Hadar Hacarmel (Glory of the Carmel), rising towards the summit of Mount Carmel and affording a matchless view of the harbor and the sea, was the handsomest. In the two decades between the World Wars Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa had proved the capacity of the Jews as city builders.

In 1939 the number of Jewish agricultural settlements in Palestine had risen to over 250, of which more than 50 were planted during the disturbed period since 1936. Some of the settlements that had been founded in the BILU days, like Rehovot and Petach Tikvah, were already compact little towns. More than 8 per cent of the cultivable land was now in Jewish possession, and if it was true, as the Arabs and British complained, that the Jews owned some of the best areas in the country, it was Jewish labor, capital and courage that transformed swamplands and arid wastes into grainfields, orchards and gardens. It was Jewish tenacity that multiplied the water resources of the country, with deep boring that brought the precious fluid to the scorched Negev and other thirsty areas. Several million trees had been planted by the Jewish National Fund, and many of the bare hillsides were green again. On the plains also—along the coast and in the Jordan Valley, not to speak of the Emek—the landscape had been transformed by Jewish labor.

During those decades the agriculture of the Yishuv became steadily more intensive and productive. The size of the average farm decreased from 200 to 100 dunams, and on irrigated land a farm required only 20 dunams; such land yielded three crops of vegetables a year instead of one. Citrus fruit was still the largest single crop and the largest export commodity; in the twenty years the area in Palestine under citrus cultivation increased from 30,000 to 300,000 dunams, and more than half of it was owned by Jews. The key to agricultural progress was systematic training, experimentation and scientific methods. Besides the agricultural school founded by the *Alliance* in 1870, there were now four others, one of them established by the Government with funds bequeathed by Sir Ellis Kadourie, a wealthy Jew of Baghdad, and there was an agricultural experiment station in Rehovot and another in Galilee. The Arabs

learned and benefited, but they learned very slowly, peasants, as is well known, being the most conservative people in the world. Jewish cows gave four to five times as much milk, Jewish hens laid three times as many eggs, and an acre in a Jewish settlement yielded twice as many bushels of wheat.

§ 3

The agricultural progress of the Yishuv was matched and perhaps exceeded by the advance in industry. The two most important industrial undertakings were the hydroelectric system and the extraction of potash and other minerals from the Dead Sea. Both resulted from government concessions, the first granted to Pinchas Rutenberg, the second to Moses Novomeysky, a Russian mining expert. The principal powerhouse of the Palestine Electric Corporation, which took over the Rutenberg concession, was built at the confluence of the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers below the Sea of Galilee, and there were powerhouses at Haifa and Tel Aviv also. From 1930 to 1945 the consumption of electricity in the country increased nearly forty-fold, a fair indication of its general economic expansion. The Novomeysky concession, developed by Palestine Potash Ltd., with a plant at the northern and another at the southern end of the Dead Sea, opened a vast and almost inexhaustible source of chemical wealth. It has been estimated that, besides other minerals like magnesium chloride, there is enough potash in the Dead Sea to supply the world's present consumption for 5,000 years!

In 1939 nearly 40 per cent of the electric current consumed in the country was turning the wheels of industry, the balance being used for irrigation and lighting. Factories and workshops, large and small, were now numbered in the thousands, with scores of thousands of employes and an annual production valued in many millions of pounds, and rising. From 1922 to 1937 the number of industrial enterprises rose from 1,850 to 5,600, the number employed from 4,500 to 30,000, the capital invested from £585,000 to £11,637,000. The immigrants who fled from the anti-Semitic scourge in Europe gave a new spurt to the industrial growth of the Yishuv. They brought not only experience, initiative and skills, but in many cases money and machinery also. Refugees from Lodz, the textile center of Poland, established the industry in Palestine, and those from the west established factories for cutting and polishing diamonds and making optical, scientific and precision instruments.

There were many examples of industrial ingenuity and daring which proved successful despite the dire prognostications of the experts. In the early twenties, for example, S. S. Bloom, a manufacturer of artificial teeth in Philadelphia, transferred his business to Tel Aviv. The experts shook their heads, but Bloom found a market for his product not only in the Middle East, but in Europe, especially England, and the enterprise prospered. A razor-blade factory, established in Rishon Leziyon by refugees from Germany, also became a thriving business after being condemned by the experts. And what would British economists like Sir John Hope Simpson and Lewis French have said if someone had told them that in less than a decade after their dismal forebodings the Yishuv would produce glass, agricultural machinery, automobile bodies, fine chemicals and pharmaceuticals, clothing, shoes and many other products? The experts bowed low to the mumbo jumbo of "economic absorptive capacity," but the Jewish immigrants, as someone put it, "carried absorptive capacity in their baggage"

Nor did the experts realize the economic possibilities which the sea held out to Palestine. An increasing number of Jews were being employed as fishermen, seamen, stevedores, and in the manufacture of lighters, launches and fishing boats. Villages combining fishing with agriculture were rising on the Mediterranean and the shores of Lake Kinneret and Lake Huleh. A major objective in the encouragement of maritime activity was to develop a Jewish merchant marine which would play a part in the growing overseas commerce of the country, including the transportation of immigrants. By 1939 a good start had already been made. A number of small ships owned by Jews and manned by Jewish crews were engaged in coastwise trade, and three larger vessels were plying between Haifa and Constanta, Trieste and other Mediterranean ports.

Palestine imports were still two to three times greater in value than exports. The adverse trade balance was a natural consequence of the necessity of importing a large part of the country's food supply, manufactured articles as well as raw materials for its expanding industry. But the adverse balance was augmented by the inability of the Yishuv to impose tariffs to protect its nascent industry and save itself from becoming a dumping ground for foreign goods. For the Mandatory was not happy with the growing industrial potential of the Yishuv: the habit of regarding colonial possessions as markets for the manufactures of the mother country was too deeply ingrained. It was only later, during the bitter years of the War, that the British

generals in Palestine were grateful that the Yishuv had advanced so far industrially as to be able to supply a great many of the items of which their armies stood sorely in need.

But a remedy for the adverse trade balance, though not to be expected in the near future, was nevertheless discernible on the horizon. It lay in the increase of production in agriculture and industry which was going steadily forward: in more yield from the fields, gardens and groves, the dairies and poultry runs; in a larger output from the factories and workshops, and not only larger but finer, so it would hold more than its own in the world market. The Yishuv was already the industrial and commercial enzyme of the Near East. The annual industrial exhibitions which were held in Tel Aviv became a new Mecca for the neighboring lands.

§ 4

A reliable estimate places the capital invested by Jews in Palestine in the two decades between the world wars at \$500,000,000, over 75 per cent of it private investments and the balance public funds, most of them, by far, Zionist funds. There was growing appreciation of the part played by the national capital provided by the *Keren Hayesod* and *Keren Kayemet*: it financed essential public services like immigration, education and defense; it assumed risks in purchasing, improving and colonizing vital areas into which private capital would never have ventured, and by performing these functions it acted as a primer on the flow of private investments. The capital of the two major Zionist funds was supplemented by the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA), the Central Bureau for the Settlement of German Jews in Palestine, the Hadassah Medical Organization, the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO), and a number of other bodies.

The principal investment enterprise, the Palestine Economic Corporation, while adhering to business principles, was not dominated by the profit motive. Its primary aim was to promote the economy of the Yishuv, an aim which it served by investing in basic industries like the Palestine Electric Corporation and Palestine Potash, Ltd., and by setting up a number of credit institutions which made loans to cooperatives, house owners, artisans and manufacturers. The largest Jewish banking institution in Palestine in 1939 was the Anglo-Palestine Bank, which controlled the General Mortgage Bank and had seven branches throughout the Yishuv. The leading foreign

institution was a branch of Barclay's, one of the foremost banks of England. And a number of Jewish insurance companies had already been established and were thriving.

In the forecasts that were made of Palestine's future economy commerce was given a high place: the situation of the country on the land, water and air routes between three continents made the prognostication a natural one. But in 1942 the Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency found that less than 15 per cent of the Yishuv's breadwinners were engaged in commercial pursuits. The significance of the finding becomes apparent in light of the fact that for the Jews of Poland the analogous figure was 35 per cent, and for those of pre-Nazi Germany it was 49 per cent. Among other things, the restoration of Jewish nationhood meant, for the vast majority of those who cast in their lot with it, a repudiation of the economic pattern of Jewish life in other lands, the pattern that held Jews to the margin of the nations' economies and produced hosts of rootless *Luftmenschen*. It meant a return to the primary and productive occupations, above all a return to the soil. The commercial callings lost their attraction: in the agricultural settlements former merchants and members of the liberal professions were cultivating the soil. There was a transvaluation of social and personal values in the Yishuv in the spirit of the teachings of the prophetic and heroic Aaron David Gordon.

§ 5

Hand in hand with the ideal of productive labor went the ideal of cooperation: in no community of the world did the cooperative movement rise to finer efflorescence than in the Yishuv. In 1935 there were 729 Jewish cooperatives in Palestine with a membership of 185,000; four years later there were 1,028 and the membership had risen to 288,000. They were operating in every economic sphere: agriculture, manufacturing, home-building, contracting, marketing, purchasing, insurance and banking, and the force that stood behind the movement, giving it spirit and purpose, was the Histadrut, the Federation of Labor, whose long-range goal was a cooperative Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

The most important cooperatives were creatures of the Histadrut and affiliated with it. The largest contracting unit in the country was the cooperative *Solel Boneh*, and it was branching out into the manufacture of building materials and other products. The marketing of

the Yishuv's agricultural yield was in the hands of the cooperative *Tnuvah* (Produce): in ten years it increased its annual sales more than tenfold. The greater part—some 80 per cent—of the Yishuv's citrus crop was also marketed cooperatively. The cooperative stores in the settlements bought most of their stocks from *Hamashbir* (The Provider), a wholesale cooperative, which in the six years before 1939 increased its annual business more than sixfold.

Besides the *Solel Boneh* there were numerous other producers' cooperatives in the Yishuv. They manufactured shoes and clothing, building materials, metal goods and wood products. There were cooperative printing shops and cooperative bakeries. The largest service cooperatives were in transportation, carrying freight as well as passengers. The collective settlements, organized in a number of groups under their different party auspices, like the *Kibbutz Artzi* (Territorial Collective) of the Hashomer Hatzair and the *Kibbutz Hameuchad* (United Collective) of the Palestine Labor Party, set up cooperative manufacturing enterprises of their own, utilizing raw material available in the settlements as well as labor made idle by seasonal employment. The progress of the cooperative credit associations was especially striking. There were some 200 of them in 1939 with about 80,000 members and an operating capital running into millions of pounds.

The trend of the cooperative movement in general was not only to promote the immediate interests of its members, but to expand the absorptive potential of the Yishuv as a whole, a trend which induced a number of departures from what was regarded as orthodox practice by cooperative movements in other lands. The most important of these departures was the meager emphasis that was put on consumers' cooperatives in the cities. The small shopkeepers were serving their communities well, and the general interest required that they should not be driven out of business. Like the Socialist movement of which it was in a real sense an extension, the cooperative movement of the Yishuv was controlled by a keen sense of reality and felt no loyalty to orthodox dogmas. The paramount consideration was the national reestablishment of the Jewish people.

§ 6

But food, raiment and shelter, indispensable as they are, are not the criteria by which the quality of a human society is judged. There are others, and of these the most decisive are its concern for

the health of its members, the range and quality of its education and its cultural creativeness, the last two being the crucible and mirror of its national personality.

A few statistical facts will highlight the accomplishments of the Yishuv in the realm of public health during the period under review. In 1923 the mortality rate among the Jews in Palestine was 14.7 per 1,000; in 1939 it was 7.6. In 1923 the infant mortality was 125 for every thousand births; in 1939 it was 54. Even more dramatic was the progress made in eradicating the two endemic diseases, malaria and trachoma. In Tiberias, for example, the incidence of trachoma among school children dropped from 35 per cent to 6 per cent. Malaria was no longer the Enemy Number One of Jewish colonization which Brandeis found it to be in 1919. A later reporter* tells of coming upon a place in the Emek which the Arabs called the "Valley of Death" because of the ravages malaria had inflicted on Arab villages in its vicinity and on a colony which German Templars tried to plant there eighty years before: the Templars perished and the Arab survivors fled. But the *chalutzim* of the Third Aliyah drained the swamps in the "Valley of Death," and Jewish farmers were plowing and reaping, raising bountiful crops and sturdy offspring. It goes without saying that the Arabs also benefited from the successful hygienic labors of the Jews. Between 1923 and 1939 the Moslem mortality rate dropped from 28.7 per 1,000 to 17.4, and the infant mortality rate from 199 to 122.

General supervision of the Yishuv's health agencies was exercised by the *Vaad Habriut* (Health Council) appointed by the *Vaad Leumi*, the principal health agencies represented being the *Kupat Cholim* of the Histadrut and the Hadassah Medical Organization. The first was the largest health project in the Yishuv, with hospitals, clinics, child welfare centers and convalescent homes in cities and villages. It employed hundreds of physicians, besides nurses, dentists and pharmacists, and the members and their dependents whom it served had risen to nearly 200,000. The health institutions of the Hadassah Medical Organization were distinguished for their efficiency and high standards. They too embraced hospitals, clinics and infant stations, and a special feeding and health service for school children, including playgrounds. Perhaps the finest hospital in the entire Near East was the Hadassah-Rothschild-University Hospital, to which was attached the Henrietta Szold Nurses Training School.

* Abraham Revusky in *Jews in Palestine* (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1945).

Still other public health agencies in the Yishuv were the Farmers Sick Fund and the *Mogen David Adam* (Red Shield of David), the equivalent of the Red Cross in Christian countries, which maintained a network of first-aid stations. Nor did the Yishuv depend entirely on its public health agencies. The caliber of its private practitioners was high and, as was to be expected, their number increased in larger proportion than the general growth of the Yishuv, the increase being especially marked after 1933 when Nazism began to bear down on the Jews of Germany.

§ 7

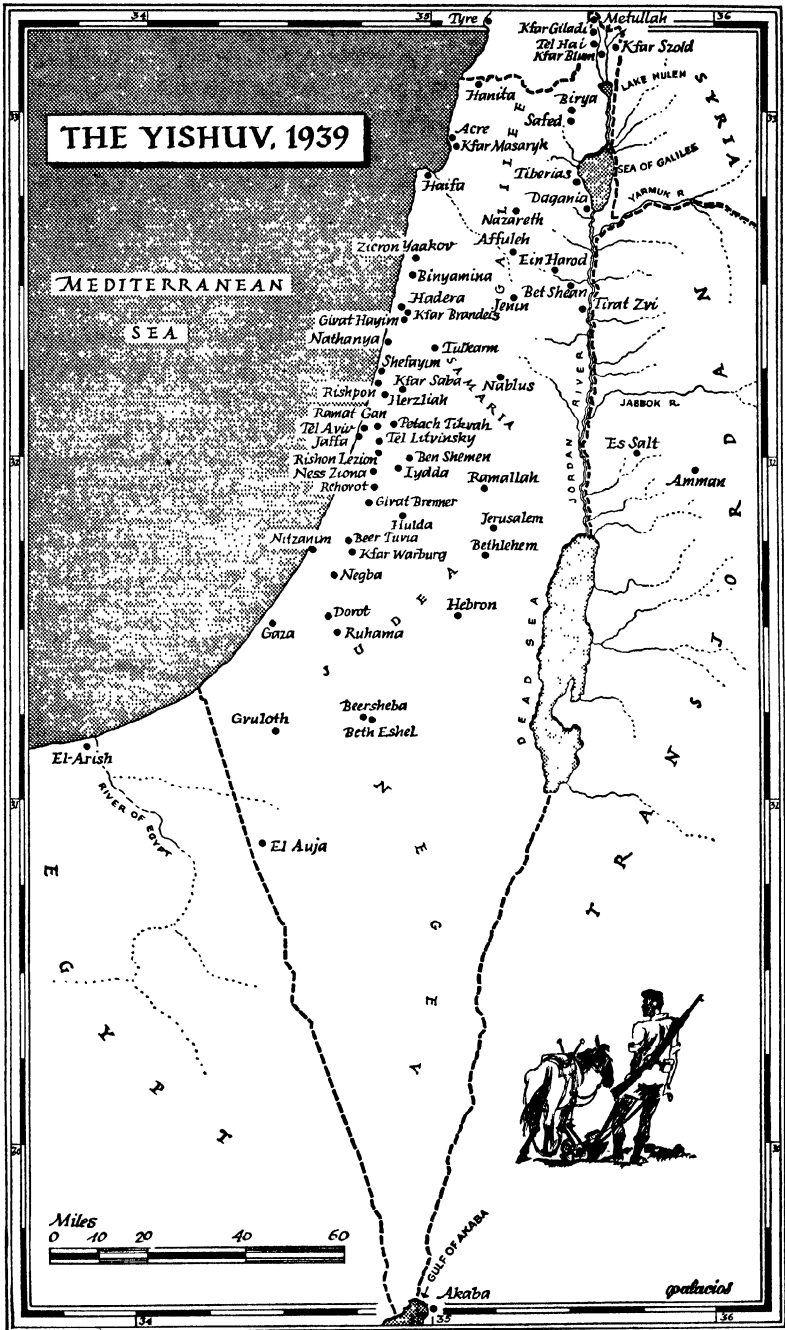
It was only natural that education should be a major concern of the Yishuv: its men and women were the People of the Book restored to the Land of the Book. By 1939 the few schools which fell to the World Zionist Organization in 1913 after the language struggle against the *Hilfsverein* had grown to an impressive educational system comprising hundreds of schools: kindergartens, elementary schools, secondary schools, teachers' seminaries and trade schools. In 1932 the system was taken over by the *Vaad Leumi*, which meant that the Yishuv itself assumed administrative and financial responsibility for it. In a country where education was not compulsory, practically all the Jewish children were in school and about 75 per cent of them were in the schools of the *Vaad Leumi*. Approximately 80 per cent of the financial burden was borne by the Yishuv, the remainder being provided by the *Keren Hayesod* and the Government. The Yishuv considered the government's contribution inadequate, first, because although the Jews were 30 per cent of the population, they paid 70 per cent of the taxes; and second, because the contribution was only 20 per cent of the Government's educational budget while the Jewish school children were nearly 50 per cent of the total.

Nor was the financial problem the only one with which the Jewish schools had to grapple. There was considerable concern in the Yishuv as well as in the Movement over the fact that the schools of the *Vaad Leumi* made up not one but three systems: secular Labor schools, religious Mizrachi schools and middle-of-the-road "general" schools. Sixty per cent of the children who attended the *Vaad Leumi* schools were enrolled in the third group, and the remainder were divided almost equally between the first two. The perpetuation of ideological divisions was deplored, but no feasible solution for the problem was proposed.

But all the schools together forged one bond of union which was of vast importance: they assured the supremacy of Hebrew as the language of the National Home. Even in the schools of the *Alliance*, Hebrew was now the language of instruction, and French, which their founders had been most eager to spread, played a secondary role. The revival of the ancient tongue, to which history offers no parallel, was now beyond the realm of doubt, and it proved one of the strongest links that welded the Jews who came to Palestine, regardless of land of origin or cultural background, into a national group. The ancient tongue, for nearly two millennia restricted to prayer, poetry and learned disquisition, displayed remarkable suppleness. It became a thoroughly modern medium suited to the demands of the home and the school, the platform and stage, the field, factory and market place, its expansion supervised and spurred by a *Vaad Halashon* (Language Council), whose experts found or coined words as the need arose.

The educational structure of the Yishuv included a number of Talmudic academies, among them some of the renowned Yeshivot of eastern Europe which migrated to the National Home, and it included schools for training teachers, mechanics and agriculturists. The summit of the system was represented by the Daniel Sieff Research Institute at Rehovot, which later became the Weizmann Scientific Institute; the Haifa Technical Institute for engineers and architects, to which a Nautical school for training shipbuilders, navigators, and ship's officers was now attached; and the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus overlooking Jerusalem, the apex of the educational pyramid.

The three research institutes with which the University began on its memorable inauguration in 1925 had now expanded into a Faculty of Sciences and a Faculty of Humanities. It had a body of undergraduate and postgraduate students and a corps of professors with many eminent scholars and scientists whom the University provided a spiritual as well as physical refuge from Nazi fury. Its library, which owed its beginnings to the zeal of Joseph Chazanowitch, a physician of Bialystok, now had several hundred thousand volumes, and its Press issued the world's philosophical classics in Hebrew translations, as well as original works of distinction. Nor was the University a mere ivory tower of humane studies and scientific research: its labors in geology, meteorology, soil chemistry and tropical diseases contributed to the agricultural and hygienic progress of the Yishuv. In other lands the University commanded the pride and devotion of Jewish



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academicians and members of the learned professions, who banded together to support it. The institution benefited especially from the American Friends of the Hebrew University, headed for many years by the noted book connoisseur A. S. W. Rosenbach, who was followed by the distinguished neurologist Israel Wechsler.

§ 8

Held together in a national unity that rested firmly on common traditions, common aspirations and common perils, this vivid and restless aggregation of nearly half a million souls presented nevertheless a variegated human canvas. The principal differences sprang from different lands of origin, different social and political leanings and different religious attitudes. Geographic origin produced the division of the entire community into Sephardim and Ashkenazim. The first hailed from North Africa, the Orient and the Balkans, and traced their descent from the Jews who were exiled from Spain in 1492. The Ashkenazim came from the other lands of Europe, from South Africa and America. Each group had its own religious head, with rabbinical courts exercising jurisdiction in personal relations, such as marriage, divorce and inheritance. There were even two political parties based on geographic origin: one consisting of Sephardim, including the Yemenites, the other calling itself Aliyah Chadasha (New Immigrants) and containing the more recent arrivals from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Among the elders, many of whom still spoke the language of their origin, the divisions were marked, but a new generation was growing up in the Yishuv, one in language and national outlook, physically and morally strong and self-reliant, a youth such as the Jewish people had not known since the Maccabees. They recalled the prophecy of Theodor Herzl in the conclusion of his *Judenstaat*: "The Maccabees will rise again!" People called them *sabras*, from the word which means the fruit of the cactus, for like that fruit they were prickly on the outside but pleasant to the taste inside.

For the rest, the political alignments in the Yishuv, as they stood out in the Elected Assembly, were much the same as in the Movement at large. There was greater differentiation, however, in the Labor forces, the largest party being the Mapai, followed by the more radical Hashomer Hatzair and Left Poale Zion, and there was even a diminutive Communist party. The Center was occupied, though not very effectively, by the two groups of General Zionists, and the right was

held by the Mizrachi, the Revisionists and the State party. The Agudat Israel still maintained its uncompromising aloofness, although the settlements planted by its youth contingents resembled in some essential aspects the collective *kibbutzim*, as did also those of the Hapoel Hamizrachi (The Mizrachi Worker). There were times when the defiant anti-Zionist maneuvers of the Agudat Israel, which the Yishuv looked upon as treason, produced extreme irritation; in 1925 Israel de Hahn, its leader in Palestine, was assassinated. In that strange paradox of Jewish anti-Zionism in Palestine the two extremes met: the tiny group of Communists, faithful to the line laid down in Moscow, denounced Zionism as a tool of British imperialism, and rejoiced, or professed to rejoice, in Arab violence.

The multiplicity of parties in the Yishuv was perhaps a tribute to its democracy, but it was generally felt that the tribute was rather too lavish.

§ 9

There was also considerable religious divergence in the Yishuv, as there was in the Movement. The Mizrachi delegates, as we have seen, had to fight hard at the Congresses to secure enforcement of basic Orthodox practice, as in the matter of kosher food and the observance of the Sabbath, in institutions receiving aid from Zionist funds. In cities and villages religious attitudes ran the gamut from the strictest adherence to the ritual code to complete disregard of it. In the National Home, argued the non-observant, Judaism is lived, not practiced. The National Home, replied the observant, will not be Jewish without the immemorial sanctities. But even among the confirmed secularists the traditional forms commanded respect, and they adhered to many of them if for no other reason than to avoid giving offense to the pious.

In addition, both groups found common ground in the Sabbath and festivals. For the entire Yishuv the Seventh Day was the day of rest when all work ceased and traffic was stilled. On Passover, the festival of liberation, Shabuot the festival of Torah, and Sukkot, the harvest festival, large numbers repaired to Jerusalem even as was done by celebrants of those "pilgrimage" festivals in ancient days. Shabuot, which is also the festival of First Fruits, acquired a new and picturesque ritual in a community where first fruits were not merely a memory but a reality. Another fruit holiday falls on the fifteenth day of Shebat: in other lands it is celebrated by partaking of tropical fruit, in the Yishuv it was dedicated to the planting of trees. And on

Chanukah, the Feast of Lights, which commemorates the victory of the Maccabees over the Greeks, the Menorah was borne in procession and lighted on housetops throughout the Yishuv, and a relay of swift runners carried a lighted torch from Modin in the foothills of Judea, where the Maccabean revolt began, to Tel Aviv. The rollicking feast of Purim, which celebrates the deliverance of the Jews of Persia from the wicked designs of Haman, became the occasion of a huge carnival in the streets of the all-Jewish city on the Mediterranean.

In the heart of the Yishuv, with all its problems and anxieties, there was a sense of freedom and the fullness of life. There the Jew felt free to be wholly and unapologetically himself. It was the only Jewish aggregation in the world that felt completely at home: it was free from the social malaise that afflicts minorities, who have to look constantly over their shoulder to check on the mood of the majority. An imponderable possession, that feeling, but very important and very precious.

§ 10

It was only natural that in this atmosphere of freedom and self-fulfillment the mind and spirit should find exuberant expression. The cultural efflorescence of this tiny nation-in-the-making was the most luxuriant in the world. For its size, it published by far more books and periodicals, painted more pictures, listened to more and finer music and had a better theater than any other community in the world. And nowhere else were the gifted men and women—the literary artists, the painters, musicians and dramatists, the scholars, and scientists—relatively so numerous and so highly esteemed.

The larger social and political groupings had each its own daily newspaper—in Hebrew, of course—and there was also a daily in English, the *Palestine Post*, published and edited by the American journalist and Zionist, Gershon Agronsky. *Davar* (Word), organ of the Histadrut, led in circulation; *Hamashkif* (The Spectator) faced it as the organ of Revisionism; and between them stood the oldest of the dailies, the liberal *Haaretz* (The Land). And there were still others: Mizrachi, both groups of General Zionists and the radical Hashomer Hatzair also had their dailies. And there were numerous weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies, organs of political parties and religious groups, of business and the professions, of scholarship and the arts.

A galaxy of poets, novelists and essayists adorned this unique community, some of them stars of the first magnitude. Achad Ha'am

and Bialik had joined its denizens, both of them, and Bialik especially, wielding enormous influence, though both had passed their literary zenith. Among the other poets who commanded the pride and affection of the Yishuv were Saul Tchernichovsky, Jacob Cahan, David Shimonovitz, Uri Zvi Greenberg and Jacob Fichman. Tchernichovsky (1875–1943) was generally placed next to Bialik; his muse, though she sang in pure Hebrew, was strangely enamored of the Hellenic gods and heroes. And there was the poetess Rachel, whose lyrics, simple, tender and poignant, the Yishuv not only read but sang. There was a group of distinguished novelists also, Moshe Smilansky, Asher Barash, Yehuda Burla, Samuel Joseph Agnon and others. Agnon's popularity was probably greatest. His stories are marked by a quaint whimsicality that takes the reader into a world half real and half dream. And the poets and novelists of the Yishuv produced not only original works, but gave their readers glowing translations of the monarchs of world literature: Homer and Sophocles, Cervantes and Shakespeare, Goethe and Schiller.

Dramatic art in the Yishuv was represented by a number of theatrical projects of which Habimah (The Stage) and Ohel (Tent) were the most important. The first had its origin in Russia shortly after the Revolution, and achieved worldwide fame as the exponent of a new type of histrionic art. Habimah produced Shakespeare, Molière, Ibsen and Chekhov, in addition to plays by Hebrew dramatists. Ohel was the workers' troop and identified with the Histadrut.

An even more prominent place in the enthusiasm of the Yishuv was enjoyed by music. Italian and French operas were produced in Hebrew translations, and there were symphony orchestras in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. The musical perceptiveness of the Yishuv drew world-famous directors and virtuosos to visit and perform in Palestine, among them Toscanini, Hubermann, Gabrilowitch and Heifetz. Another art which flourished in the Yishuv was painting. The vivid and contrasting landscapes of Palestine and the picturesqueness of its humanity stimulated native talent to expression and attracted Jewish artists from other lands as well.

§ 11

As far back as the Second Aliyah, which began arriving in 1905, the people of the Yishuv, especially its young men and women, were a singing and dancing people. Perhaps nothing else was so expressive of the Yishuv's spirit as the exuberant songs of its pioneers, the songs

of love and longing for its storied and hallowed places, for Jerusalem the Holy, for the Emek sown and redeemed, for Galilee the land of heroes, for Lake Kinneret—the enchanting Lake of the Harp which made the poetess Rachel in her most famous song wonder if it was real or only a dream. And the dance of the pioneers and Sabras was the joyous and defiant Hora: a ring of dancers with hands on each other's shoulders stamping and circling faster and faster to the rising tempo of their own singing.

Chapter XXVI : THE WORLD MOVEMENT, 1939

IT MUST SEEM strange that all the commissions and experts who scanned and scoured and probed in Palestine failed to apprehend the spirit of the Yishuv and recognize it for what it was—a national entity. In large measure the failure must be ascribed to the well-known purblindness of official scrutinizers, and in still larger measure to the influence exerted upon them by an intimation of what those who send them expect them to find. At any rate, had the ministers in London been aware of the spirit that informed this ingathering of an ancient people in its historic homeland, they would perhaps have hesitated longer before issuing the White Papers that aimed to stultify or stifle it.

But the community in Palestine was only the vanguard of a Movement that had its outposts, large and small, across the entire world: no appraisal of the material and moral strength of the Yishuv would be valid if it failed to take account of the Movement that stood behind it. On the eve of the Second World War, some four decades after the First Zionist Congress, the Movement launched by Theodor Herzl had become the most dynamic force in the collective life of the Jewish people wherever their communities lay and wherever they were not prevented from having a collective life of their own. Its organized strength had grown enormously and it commanded the allegiance of vast numbers who were not listed on the rolls of its organizations and parties but who could be relied upon to assert themselves at crucial moments. Nor did Zionism excite the interest and sympathy of Jews only; in all lands it won the good will of distinguished non-Jews, particularly among writers, men in public service and Protestant clergymen.

Not that the opposition which Herzl encountered was now altogether a thing of the past. In some of the previously hostile circles it had gone into a sort of underground passivity, a more or less resentful resignation to the inevitable. In other quarters, both Jewish and non-Jewish, it bided its time. The Vatican was unreconciled, and so were the Near East Protestant missionaries who had done their utmost to

block the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. And especially in the United States, where the hoary specter of double loyalty still stalked the scene, a nervous and watchful minority, small in number but strong in wealth and influence, was still on the alert against, Heaven forbid! the rise of a Jewish state.

But for the great majority in every community in the world Zionism meant even more than moral and financial support of the Yishuv. The Jewish Revival Movement influenced their own community life in many important directions. Through Zionism many found their way back to the synagogue, where the ritual with its emphasis on national redemption acquired new significance. The Jewish past became an object of deeper interest, and strong efforts were made to extend a knowledge of the Hebrew language. In the larger communities in Europe and America Hebrew books and periodicals made their appearance, finding thousands of readers, Hebrew-speaking circles flourished, and in not a few families, even in America, Hebrew became the language of the home.

Perhaps the greatest influence was exercised by Zionism on the education of the young. In eastern Europe, the Zionists set up school networks of their own under the name of *Tarbut* (Culture), where Hebrew was the language of instruction and the Zionist spirit dominated the curriculum. In Poland, Lithuania, Rumania, Latvia, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia the *Tarbut* schools attracted more pupils than those established by rival groups like the Socialist *Bund* and the middle-class Folkist party, both of whom adhered to Yiddish as the national Jewish language and rejected the Zionist solution. Party dogmas have nine lives; as late as 1939 they still clung to the phantom of minority rights. Another rival group was Agudat Israel, but its opposition to Hebrew was based on religious grounds. Like the pious of Jerusalem during the early struggle of Eliezer ben Yehudah, it denounced the use of the holy tongue for secular purposes. In America, too, the content and method of Jewish education were greatly influenced by Zionism. A whole generation of Zionist teachers in the Jewish religious schools approached their work with a sense of dedication, striving to equip their pupils with a knowledge of Hebrew as a living language and inspire them with love of Zion.

As the Yishuv grew in size and strength, Zionism brought the Jews of the world a new and proud possession, rendered more precious by the anxieties that went with it. Realities have a knack of confounding theories and expectations, and a great many who continued to insist that they were non-Zionists shared the pride and anxieties with

the rest. Zionism and its principal fruit, the remarkable ingathering in Palestine, were felt to be the biggest things that had happened to the Jewish people since their Dispersion, and the events that highlighted the Movement were followed by millions of Jews throughout the world with a deep sense of personal involvement.

§ 2

The most dramatic Zionist event was the biennial world Congress. The Congress was an atelier where the affairs of the Movement were spread out and examined, and policies and instruments forged. It was often called the Parliament of the Jewish state-in-the-making, and watched by friends and foes for evidence of the capacity or incapacity of the Jewish people for self-government. But the Congress was more than a workshop: it was also a solemn ritual and demonstration. It was a manifestation of national vitality and of the unity of the Jewish people despite its diversity and dispersal. And the Congress was a mobilization of the best the Jewish people possessed of intellect, spirit and eloquence. It commanded the attention of the press of the entire world, Jewish and non-Jewish, with special correspondents in attendance for the news agencies and leading newspapers. Poets, scholars and scientists foregathered at it as well as men of affairs and party leaders, and the two categories were not seldom united in the same person, notable examples being Sokolow, Otto Warburg, Jabotinsky, Weizmann, Nordau and Herzl himself. And although the Congress sessions, extending usually over a fortnight, were crowded with business, extramural events were staged for the delegates, including book and art exhibits, theatrical and musical performances and gymnastic displays, all of them, of course, by Jewish artists and athletes.

In the business of the Congress the "Permanent Committee," which combined the functions of a steering and nominations committee, was the most important organ. Next in importance were usually the political and budget committees, and there were others that dealt with the various branches of the work in Palestine: immigration, agricultural colonization, industry and commerce, public health and education. Every party was represented in each of them, and every committee was a miniature Congress. Their meetings were frequent and animated, with much give and take behind the scenes, but their reports usually passed the supreme test of a plenary session vote. And many other meetings crowded the days and nights of the Congress: meetings of party delegations, of territorial delegations, of the directors of the

Keren Kayemet and *Keren Hayesod*, the governors of the Hebrew University, and still others.

Hailing from every corner of the earth and representing a wide variety of world outlooks, the delegates made up a picturesque assembly to the mind as well as the eye. Not all of the four or five hundred of them could attain prominence in the proceedings or be heard from the rostrum, but to their own constituents across the world every one of them was a man or woman of distinction. On their return, the societies they represented usually arranged public meetings where they reported on the accomplishments and failures of the Congress, and found themselves heckled or applauded. In either case they acquired new stature for having been a delegate to a Zionist Congress.

In the institutions and procedures of Zionism the democratic process was scrupulously honored. If over eighteen the shekel-payer, man or woman, was entitled to vote for delegates to the Congress, and after twenty-four to stand for election as a delegate. The shekel was an annual payment, but the number of shekolim sold in a Congress year was far greater than in the intervening year. In Congress years the parties exerted their maximum efforts; the numerical strength of their delegations depended on the number of shekel-payers they mobilized. Over the years the total number fluctuated, but the general trend of the curve was upward: the Twenty-first Congress, which met in 1939, represented nearly a million and a half of them. The fluctuations had much to do with the ebb and flow of Zionist fortunes in Palestine and London: masses of human beings become easily enthused or depressed, and the Jews are no exception.

§ 3

On the eve of the Second World War the two largest Jewish concentrations—of which the War was to leave only one—were in eastern Europe and America. In range and depth, the Zionism that flourished in each of them differed considerably, and the Jewish communities of western Europe might be linked with the American brand, and what was still left of German and Austrian Jewry with the east European. For the Jews of Poland, Lithuania, Rumania and the rest of central and eastern Europe, Zionism was no philanthropic or sentimental hobby; it was neither remote nor impersonal. It functioned continuously, extending its influence into all spheres of social action and affecting the vital interests not only of the group but of hosts of individuals. About 85 per cent of the 350,000 immigrants who entered

Palestine between the wars hailed from eastern and central Europe, and for the many more who were compelled to stay behind, the hope of returning "to the land of our fathers" was a constant and sustaining force. By comparison, the Zionism of western Europe and America was pale and platonic. In those countries, too, there were groups of earnest enthusiasts who identified their personal destinies with the Movement, but for the large majority it represented a vicarious salvation, and it was tinged—some said tainted—with the spirit of philanthropy.

In Russia the Movement was still prohibited as "a tool of British imperialism," and the Hebrew language and literature were also proscribed. For years the Russian Zionists, to escape the savage spite of the *Yevsektzia*, the Jewish Section of the Ministry of Nationalities, had gone underground, but they were tracked down and imprisoned, or exiled to remote regions. In 1930 some 2,000 of them were estimated to be still incarcerated or in exile. Nevertheless, in the period between the Wars several thousand Russian Zionists, among them many who belonged to a secret Hechalutz, managed to make their way to Palestine.

§ 4

Of the 17,000,000 who were estimated as the total Jewish population of the world in 1939, approximately 10,000,000 were in Europe, of whom some 3,500,000, the largest number under a single European jurisdiction, made up the Jewry of Poland. In no other land did the Nazis find more eager pupils. Even before the Germans devised their swift method of "solving" the Jewish problem Poland, by taxing smaller Jewish enterprises out of existence and transforming larger ones into state monopolies that employed "Aryans" only, had reduced most of its Jews to penury and destitution. With the ascendancy of the Nazis in Germany the Poles stepped up their campaign against the Jews. Pogroms became frequent and widespread, and there was a fierce attempt to eliminate Jewish students from the universities, where in 1937 the Government tried to segregate them by legalizing "ghetto benches" in the classrooms.

But the spirit of Polish Jewry was not broken. As in previous periods of its thousand-year career, it set at naught the economic interpretation of history, the two principal founts from which it drew its strength being the ancient faith and the Zionist Movement. In a variety of schools, traditional and modern, the education of the young continued uninterrupted. There was a steady flow of secular and religious

books, with editions that added up to millions of copies annually, and a flourishing periodical press with scores of publications in Hebrew, Yiddish and Polish, and the two Zionist Yiddish dailies, *Haint* (Today) and *Moment* in the lead. Poland was the principal source and training ground for the pioneers who vanguarded the work of reclamation in Palestine, and of the immigrants who settled in the National Home in the period between the Wars nearly 40 per cent were Polish Jews. So strong was the attraction of Palestine for the Jews of Poland that even the anti-Zionist Agudat Israel was compelled to launch Palestine projects of its own. Among the many political parties that competed for the support of Polish Jewry the first place was usually held by the Zionists: they headed the Jewish members of the Sejm, who formed a club or bloc of their own, and there were Zionists in the Polish Senate also, men like the distinguished scholar and rabbi Isaac Rubinstein and the industrialist Raphael Shereshevsky, who pitted themselves in vain against the flood of Polish anti-Semitism.

§ 5

North of Poland lay the Baltic republics Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, where the Jewish communities were comparatively small, but the *Tarbut* schools were strongly entrenched and the Hechalutz flourished. In Lithuania, the biggest of the three, the Jewish community numbered only 150,000, but it had a long and proud tradition of learning, and Zionism played an even more dominant role in its affairs than in Poland. Lithuania was the home of the most famous Talmudic academies, first among them being the Yeshivah of Volozhin, which for more than a century produced many of the most illustrious rabbis of eastern Europe. From Lithuania also came the most distinguished leaders of religious Zionism, among them Isaac Jacob Reines of Lida, founder of the Mizrachi party, and Meyer Berlin, who in 1939 was its world leader.

Lithuania began by honoring Jewish minority rights after the First World War, and even established a Ministry of Jewish Affairs in its Cabinet, headed by the Zionist leader Max Soloveitchik. But the example of Poland and later of Germany was too strong. The policies that led to the pauperization of the Jews of Poland were copied by her neighbor with the same result. By 1939 some 8,000 Lithuanian Jews had migrated to the National Home, but the Jews of Lithuania rendered the Movement still another great service. Many of them migrated to the Union of South Africa, where they formed the bulk of a

compact Jewish community of nearly 100,000, which, for its size, ranked first in devotion to Zionism. Its Zionist Federation had the largest proportional membership, it made the largest per capita contribution to Zionist funds, and initiated important projects in Palestine.

§ 6

With Bessarabia, Transylvania and Bucovina added to her domains, Rumania emerged from the First World War with a Jewish population of 900,000, more than three times as large as before the War. The Rumanian statesmen, long skilled in the arts of chicanery and evasion, violated not only the minority rights which the peace treaty prescribed, but more basic individual rights. Anti-Semitism ran riot even before 1933, when the Nazi triumph in Germany lifted it to new heights of fury. By 1937 more than a third of the Jews of Rumania had been deprived of their citizenship and livelihood.

Zionism became their principal defense and hope. They elected Zionists to the local and national legislative bodies; many of their young men and women prepared themselves for pioneer life in Palestine, and up to 1939 some 20,000 Rumanian Jews had migrated to the National Home. The Movement was especially strong among the students in the universities, who as in Poland found themselves in an almost continuous state of siege.

Zionism was a dominant factor also in the much smaller communities of the other Balkan countries: Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece. The Jews of Bulgaria dated their devotion to the cause from the early days of Herzl; theirs was the only community in the world that imposed an annual tax on its members for the *Keren Hayesod*. A unique contribution to the National Home was made by the Jews of Salonika. This Mediterranean port, rich with memories of Jewish merchants, scholars and mystics of the days when the city was part of the Turkish Empire, was awarded to Greece after the First World War. It had a Jewish population of 80,000 in a total of nearly 200,000, but its maritime trades were largely in Jewish hands. There were so many Jewish merchants, sailors, dock-workers and fishermen in Salonika that the Jewish Sabbath was a day of rest for the whole city. But Salonika fell on evil days after the War, and many of its Jewish fishermen and stevedores found their way to Palestine, where they laid the foundation for the maritime trades in the National Home.

In Hungary opposition to Zionism was exceptionally strong. It came on the one hand from the Orthodox, who hearkened to the

Agudat Israel, and on the other from the super-patriots, who wanted to be known as "Magyars of the Jewish persuasion" and refused to be identified with a Jewish nationality. The opposition was strong enough to prevent the legalization of the Zionist Federation in Hungary until 1927. But the "Jewish Magyars" received their "reward" in 1939. Under the prodding of the Hungarian Nazis a law was passed fixing quotas for Jews in industry, commerce and the professions, and more than half the Jews of the country were left without a livelihood.

In Austria Zionism grew stronger as the indigenous brand of anti-Semitism became more rabid under the inspiration of Nazism. Zionist organizations, especially among the youth, multiplied. Zionist students in Vienna learned to reply to anti-Semitic insults with the sword, and the Zionist football team *Hakoah* (Strength) gained worldwide fame. After 1933 large numbers of Austrian Jews, who had the insight and courage to read the handwriting on the wall, took refuge in the National Home.

In liberal Czechoslovakia, where Jewish national rights were honored, Zionism had a large following, but in Germany it was small: the hostility that surrounded the German Jews strengthened the urge towards total assimilation. A portion of the youth, too proud to take refuge in self-effacement, embraced the Zionist solution, and they found two brilliant teachers in Martin Buber, who rediscovered the spiritual treasures of Chassidism, and Franz Rosenzweig who, though totally paralyzed, produced philosophic works of depth and beauty. But it was only after 1933 that large numbers of German Jews set their faces toward Palestine, and not from conviction but from compulsion. By 1938 some 35,000 of them had found refuge in the National Home. By the end of 1939 the German Jewish community was practically liquidated. Those who remained were either too old to merit the attention of the Gestapo, or else they were in concentration camps or in hiding.

Nor did Zionism win a sizable following among the native Jews of France. The embers of anti-Semitism left by the Dreyfus Affair still smoldered, but there was no threat of a conflagration. There were distinguished Zionists in Paris—Nordau, Bernard Lazare, Alexander Marmorek and André Spire—and there was a group of French notables calling itself *France-Palestine*, with Leon Blum among its members, from whom the Movement received moral and political support. But it was only after the First World War, when there was a large

influx of Jews from eastern Europe, that Zionism became an active force in French Jewry. In Holland and Belgium there were enough Zionist societies, their membership also consisting largely of east European immigrants, to constitute territorial federations.

§ 7

The counterpart of *France-Palestine* in England was the Palestine Mandate Society. For a long time it was headed by Lord Robert Cecil, and it had a distinguished membership recruited from all three parties, Conservative, Liberal and Labor. The official sponsorship of the National Home by Britain silenced, if it did not convince, the opponents, who before the Balfour Declaration was published fought it so bitterly, and with London the political center of the Movement, Zionism in Britain was bound to be very much in evidence. The most important Jewish body in Britain, the Board of Deputies, was a constituent member of the Jewish Agency. The English Zionist Federation was the leading Zionist body, and the different Zionist parties had their own organizations within the Federation.

As the issues between Zionism and His Majesty's Government multiplied and became embittered, the Movement in Britain and British Jewry as a whole found themselves in a dilemma. Did their loyalty to Britain obligate them to acquiesce in the baleful White Papers, including the final and disastrous Paper of May 1939? Or did their loyalty to the cause of their people require them to oppose these attempts to cramp and liquidate the National Home? British Jewry rose manfully to the test. Rejecting all imputations of double loyalty they opposed the anti-Zionist measures of their governments just as, for that matter, many Britons also opposed them.

In the communities of North Africa and the Middle East, most of them situated in the midst of Arab majorities, the Movement nevertheless had a considerable following. It was especially well represented in the larger cities of Tunisia and Egypt, but in Iraq and Syria the Arab leaders kept a jealous eye on it. In Yemen, as we have seen, Zionism came to the suppressed Jews of that small medieval kingdom as a personal redemption. The Movement reached out also to the sparse communities of the Far East and the Antipodes: to Singapore and Shanghai, New Zealand and Australia. The most distinguished Zionist in Australia was General Sir John Monash, commander of the Australian forces in France in the First World War.

§ 8

In the New World Zionism made impressive progress in the years between the world wars. In Mexico, Central America and South America its growth came chiefly from a substantial influx of east European Jews during that period. In South America the most important center of Zionist activity was Argentina, the land where Baron de Hirsch, whom Theodor Herzl had vainly tried to win over, had committed his millions in an attempt to establish a new Zion for the harassed Jews of Russia. Buenos Aires pulsed with Jewish life, which not even the devices of a Fascist regime could suppress. The Zionist Federation of Argentina comprised more than a hundred societies and there was a vigorous Zionist press in Hebrew, Yiddish and Spanish: the new Zion had proved an illusion; the old was a growing reality. There was Zionist activity in Chile, Peru and Uruguay also, but in Brazil the Movement suffered under a ban which the government imposed in 1938 on all international organizations.

Since 1922 the Zionist Organization of Canada, under the leadership of Archibald Freiman, a prominent merchant of Ottawa, had made striking progress. In 1939 Canadian Jewry numbered approximately 175,000, the principal concentrations located in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg, and there were practically no anti-Zionists among them. In general Canadian Zionism modeled itself on the Movement in the United States: its youth organization called itself Young Judea and its women's division Hadassah, both having numerous branches throughout the Dominion. And Labor Zionism and Mizrachi were also well represented.

§ 9

But the largest and most significant growth of Zionism took place in the United States where, after the breakup of the concentration under the scepter of the czar, the Jewish community took first place not only in wealth and power but in numbers. For the age-long hope of national redemption the rise of American Jewry was providential. With the Russian community isolated and the Polish impoverished, American Jewry alone was able to furnish the financial, political and moral help which enabled the Yishuv to grow and finally attain its fulfillment.

It was not, however, until the late thirties, when the Nazi shadow enveloped the Jews of Europe, that the Zionist potential of the American Jewish community began to materialize. From 1921 to 1929 a

sum of approximately \$10,000,000 was turned over to the *Keren Hayesod* by its American branch. It was no mean contribution, amounting as it did to 55 per cent of the total that was gathered throughout the world. But it was not of state-building proportions.

A coast-to-coast campaign structure, of which Emanuel Neumann was the chief architect, was built up and the grinding toil of money-raising absorbed the energies of the Movement. There were, of course, not a few who thought of Zionism in cultural terms and rebelled against the tyranny of Mammon. As early as 1916 some of them organized the Federation for Hebrew Culture (*Histadrut Ivrit*), and in 1921 they launched the Hebrew weekly *Hadoar* (The Post), of which Menachem Ribalow became the editor. But from Palestine and London the demands for funds were continuous and imperious, sometimes frantic, and the cultural Zionists complained that the assistance they obtained from the official Zionist bodies was niggardly. Nor did the organized strength of the Movement in America in the first decade after the First World War reflect the attachment to the cause that lay imbedded in the community. In 1930 the total membership in all Zionist groups did not exceed 150,000; the Zionist Organization of America claimed no more than 65,000, Hadassah 35,000, Mizrahi 20,000, the Labor groups 10,000 and the youth organizations 20,000. Ten years later the total stood at nearly 400,000, of whom the Zionist Organization of America had 150,000, Hadassah 65,000, Mizrahi and its affiliates 53,000, Labor Zionism 40,000, the youth organizations 45,000. The rest belonged to other groups, with approximately 6,000 in the New Zionist Organization launched by Jabotinsky.

It was chiefly, no doubt, the rising tide of vicious anti-Semitism, which was reaching out to America also, that brought the Movement this large accretion of strength. Those were years of profound anxiety for the Jews of America, anxiety not only for their brothers in Europe but for themselves. They were beset by a swarm of Fascist movements and organizations with anti-Semitism as their mainspring. Many thousands in whom their Jewish awareness lay dormant were rudely awakened, and those who chose to meet the challenge not with self-effacement but self-affirmation identified themselves with the boldest and most positive Jewish purpose.

§ 10

The different components of the Movement in America developed new instruments to increase their effectiveness and influence in

America and Palestine. The Mizrachi launched an intensive program for the promotion of Jewish religious education in America; it sponsored *Hapoel Hamizrachi* (The Mizrachi Worker), a pioneer organization that adopted *Torah V'avodah* (Torah and Labor) for its motto, and *Hashomer Hadatti* (The Religious Guard), a youth organization to train pioneers for Palestine; and the Mizrachi Women's Organization of America established trade schools for girls in the Homeland.

The Labor wing of the Movement in America developed along similar lines. Its fraternal order, the Jewish National Workers' Alliance, maintained a large group of afternoon schools for children; its women's branch, the Pioneer Women's Organization, worked in various fields, with emphasis on helping the women workers of the Yishuv; its youth organization, *Habonim* (The Builders), engaged in intensive preparation for pioneering in Palestine. In 1923 the Labor wing established an annual fund-raising campaign for the Histadrut, which became one of the features of the American Zionist scene.

All branches of the Movement in America had their periodical publications in English and Yiddish. Among them *The New Palestine* of the Zionist Organization of America and *The Jewish Frontier* of the Labor wing exerted most influence. The editor of the *Frontier*, Hayim Greenberg, was the acknowledged intellectual leader of Socialist Zionism in America. Other outstanding leaders in the Labor wing were the popular orator Baruch Zuckerman, the scholarly Chaim Fineman, the veteran labor leader Joseph Schlossberg, and Louis Segal and Isaac Hamlin, both able organizers. Among the noted Mizrachi leaders were Gedaliah Bublick, editor and writer, the eloquent Wolf Gold, and Leon Gellman and Max Kirschblum.

Across the country most of the Mizrachi leaders were the Orthodox rabbis, with their Conservative confreres prominent among the General Zionists. But even the Reform wing of American Judaism had been drawing closer to the Movement, and by 1937 had come very close indeed. In that year its Union of American Hebrew Congregations declared it to be "the obligation of all Jewry to aid in the upbuilding of Palestine as a Jewish Homeland," and six years later its Central Conference of American Rabbis found Zionism and Reform Judaism "definitely compatible." What a distance Reform had traveled since 1897 when the *Protestrabbiner*, as Herzl called them, recoiled from the newborn Movement with indignation and alarm! Few are the "eternal verities" that endure against the waves of time.

§ 11

The growth of the Movement in America was promoted also by the gradual healing of the breach that occurred in 1921 when the leadership of Brandeis was repudiated. His exit gave control of the major American Zionist organization to a group of men among whom Louis Lipsky was the ranking member, his colleagues in the Administration being Emanuel Neumann, Morris Rothenberg, Bernard Rosenblatt, Abraham Goldberg, Peter Schweitzer, Louis Topkis and Louis Robison. Lipsky's forensic and parliamentary skill made his popularity secure, and a number of able men were attracted into the service of the Organization, including Meyer Weisgal, who became the managing editor of *The New Palestine*, and Simon Bernstein who edited *Dos Yiddische Folk*. A link between American Zionists and the Homeland was established through the successful flotation in the United States of a bond issue of the Tel Aviv Municipality, and through the American Zion Commonwealth, a land purchasing and development company, which enabled American Jews to become landowners in Palestine. In both undertakings the leading role was played by Bernard Rosenblatt.

In the political field the outstanding triumph of the new Administration came in 1922 when on June 30 of that year a Republican Congress adopted a Joint Resolution "favoring the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people." On September 21 it was signed by President Warren G. Harding. The Resolution was an almost verbatim repetition of the Balfour Declaration, so that the Zionist objective now had the approval of both political parties. In the Senate the Resolution was introduced by Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, who was chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He was a staunch isolationist, but he was persuaded to take the step by a group of prominent Zionists of his state, headed by Elihu Stone of Boston: politicians knew how dear Zionism was to the heart of the Jewish voter. In the House the Resolution was brought in by Congressman Hamilton Fish, and the Zionists would no doubt have looked for a different sponsor had they possessed the prophetic gift to know that in the succeeding decade the Congressman would become a sponsor of Nazi Germany. The Lodge-Fish Resolution, as it came to be known, is thought to have played a not unimportant part in persuading the League of Nations to ratify the Palestine Mandate.

In the meantime prominent members of Brandeis' following were

finding their way back into the Organization: Zionism, they felt, needed not only economic projects, but mass action and mass enthusiasm. Among the first to return were Stephen S. Wise and Abba Hillel Silver, both great orators and natural leaders, who needed the atmosphere of a mass movement for their own fulfillment. Somewhat later Julian Mack accepted an honorary office in the United Palestine Appeal, the joint fund-raising instrument for the *Keren Hayesod* and *Keren Kayemet*, which was set up in 1925.

At the same time dissatisfaction arose and spread with the group headed by Lipsky. There were inner tensions in it which reduced its effectiveness, and many Zionists felt that the American branch of the Movement ought to have a more outstanding leadership if only to balance the exalted non-Zionists who were preparing to enter the Jewish Agency. In addition, the recurring crises in Palestine were laying heavier responsibilities on the American Movement than the group in control was able to meet. On every count a stronger leadership was imperative, and the Brandeis-Mack group appeared to be the only available source for it.

The opposition came into the open at the Convention of 1927, and the following year the world leadership was compelled to take note of charges of mismanagement that were leveled against the Administration. The difficulties continued to mount: in 1929 came the first formidable Arab outbreak in Palestine and the economic upheaval in the United States. The Convention of the following year, also held in Cleveland, restored the old leadership: a coalition administration was chosen in which members of the Brandeis-Mack group had a majority. Julian Mack was its honorary chairman, Robert Szold became its chairman, and among its other members were De Haas, Israel Brodie, Abraham Tulin, Samuel Rosensohn and others whom the Cleveland Convention of 1921 had forced out. An important role in restoring the Brandeis group was played by the women of Hadassah, in whose leader, Henrietta Szold, the best qualities of both groups were combined: a passionate attachment to the cause that marked the "easterners," and meticulous efficiency in the conduct of its affairs, on which the "westerners" prided themselves.

The group chosen in 1930 held office for two years and was followed by an administration headed by Morris Rothenberg. In 1936 Stephen Wise became president of the Organization and he was succeeded in 1938 by Solomon Goldman, a prominent rabbi of Chicago. Those were the years when the shadow of Nazism deepened, and the Yishuv was the target of Arab violence and British White Papers. The

Zionists of America reacted vigorously to every menace, striving to rouse the public opinion of America against the British policy of responding to violence with injustice. The Movement in America grew to impressive dimensions. Its progress, among non-Jews as well as Jews, was promoted by able speakers and writers, among them Ludwig Lewisohn, Maurice Samuel, Charles Cowen and Marvin Lowenthal, and the ranks of the Organization were extended by a corps of effective organizers including Morris Margulies, Samuel Blitz, Morris Zeldin, Harry Kahn and others.

As the decade moved on to its fateful close and the Movement in America acquired strength and maturity the lines that divided the followers of Brandeis and their opponents, so ominous in 1921, blurred and vanished. At the outbreak of the new war American Zionists stood together braced to meet the grim tests that faced the Jewish people and its ancient hope.

Part Four: FURY AND FULFILLMENT

Chapter XXVII : MARTYRS AND HEROES

IT WAS, as we have seen, the precarious lot of the Jewish multitudes in Europe which forced a great many, including Herzl himself, to the Zionist solution. In his day the millions of eastern Europe were still disfranchised, and the emancipation which had finally come to their brothers in central and western Europe was being poisoned by the new anti-Semitism. And in the years that followed the First World War, especially after the Nazi triumph in Germany, the plight of all the Jews in Europe became more perilous and the Zionist solution more urgent. Palestine beckoned to the victims as a haven of refuge, and Zionism stood out as a great work of rescue and salvage.

But apart from the immediate humanitarian need, Zionism always obeyed a more basic imperative. It sought to save alive a people endangered not only by the brutal pressures of persecution, but by the blandishments of the glittering world into which the emancipated were suddenly thrown. National survival through national redemption was its paramount goal, determining its reactions to all major issues, like the Uganda project of 1905, the language issue posed by the *Hilfsverein* in 1913, the White Papers of 1931 and 1939. Zionism was no fortuitous device, no mere philanthropic expedient. It was the outgrowth of a remote but still vital past, a bridge from a mean and precarious present to a dignified future. Zionism was the stuff that history is made of.

The Second World War invested both Zionist objectives, the major goal of national restoration and the ancillary function of rescue and salvage, with a new and desperate urgency. The Movement was now confronted on the one hand by the destruction of more than a third of the Jewish people comprising those who offered the best prospects of national continuity, and on the other by the pitiful survivors of the holocaust who clamored for admission to the National Home as their only chance for a new life. To the Yishuv as well as the World Movement the speedy establishment of a free Jewish Commonwealth appeared to be the only answer to both demands.

But the War brought the Movement not only a new urgency but a new mood, which gave rise to events in Palestine that startled the world. Two colossal iniquities went into the making of this mood: the murder of European Jewry by the Germans, to which the rest of the world for all practical purposes was indifferent, and the embargo, which was tantamount to a death sentence, imposed upon the survivors by the British. And only by keeping in view the anguish and desperation which these wrongs engendered is it possible to understand the course of the Movement after the War.

§ 2

The murder of European Jewry by the Nazis is a story that is no longer untold. It exists now in official documents and cinema records, in eyewitness accounts and diaries, even in songs and aphorisms, although the very magnitude of the crime makes a complete revelation impossible, and many of its foul episodes will remain unknown. It took years for its enormity to be grasped and for the incredulity of the world to be overcome: the blood-stained annals of mankind contain nothing so vast and hideous. And its salient features should be recalled, for it formed the backdrop against which the drama of fury and fulfillment in Palestine was enacted.

The physical dimensions of the crime are summed up briefly in the verdict of the International Military Tribunal representing the United States, France, Britain and the Soviet Union, before which the major German war criminals, with the exception of those who had already ended their own lives, were tried. The verdict, delivered September 30 and October 1, 1946 after a trial that lasted a year, contains the following sentence: "Adolf Eichmann, who had been put in charge of the program to exterminate the Jews, has estimated that the policy pursued resulted in the killing of 6,000,000 Jews, of whom 4,000,000 were killed in the concentration camps and 2,000,000 were killed by the Einsatz Groups." The latter were special units who were charged with "the duty of exterminating the Jews in the East."

The annihilation pattern was elaborated by the Germans with all their vaunted scientific thoroughness, and it embraced psychological as well as physical devices. The victims were first herded into squalid and congested ghettos where their morale was systematically undermined and then, under pretext of being taken for employment elsewhere, they were packed—men, women, children and infants—into boxcars and transported to well-equipped death factories. Those who

survived the journey were then asphyxiated in gas chambers and burned in crematoria. Most of the murder mills were set up in Poland, and their names—Maidanek, Treblinka, Sobibor, Auschwitz and many others—have become symbols of the bestiality to which man is capable of descending. As the Germans overran the countries of western Europe and the Balkans millions of Jews were taken from those regions to the extermination centers in Poland, where they perished in the same manner as their Polish brothers. Such was the master pattern of annihilation, but it had its variations, as when thousands of victims were shot down into mass graves which they had previously dug for themselves, or when they were systematically beaten, starved or worked to death, or when they succumbed to experiments conducted upon them by German doctors.

Gradually the details of the stupendous horror became known, but no feature of it produced so shattering an effect as the massacre of the little ones: of the six million victims, a million are estimated to have been small children. "The Nazi conspirators" said the formal indictment against the war criminals who were tried in Nuremberg, "mercilessly destroyed even children. They killed them with their parents in groups and alone. They killed them in children's homes and hospitals, burying the living in the graves, throwing them into flames, stabbing them with bayonets, poisoning them, conducting experiments upon them, extracting their blood for the use of the German army, throwing them into prison and Gestapo torture chambers and concentration camps, where the children died from hunger, torture and epidemic diseases." That indictment, as well as the testimony, mute or vocal, of numerous survivors and vestiges, convey some idea of the magnitude of this crime, but no words can depict the moral depravity of the perpetrators or the tortures they inflicted upon their victims. And only those who were familiar with the inner life of East European Jewry can realize that an ancient culture and noble way of life was murdered as well as a people.

It was the culture and way of life in which most of the men and women of the Yishuv had been reared and nurtured, for the millions who were done to death were their mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers. The news of the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto in the spring of 1943 brought them a mite of consolation in their grief, and they took somber pride in the fact that the initiative for the revolt came from Hechalutz, that of the twenty-two combat units eighteen were Zionist, and that Mordecai Anilevitch, who was in general command of the uprising, was a leader of Hashomer Hatzair. And by the end of

the year they learned that there had been uprisings also in the ghettos of many other cities, among them Vilna, Bialystok, Bendin, Cracow, Tarnopol, Czestochowa and Stryj, and that outbreaks had even occurred in Treblinka, Sobibor and other charnel houses. In time survivors of those desperate ventures made their way to the Homeland: Tzivya Lubetkin, "the Mother of the Warsaw Ghetto," Chaya Grossman, who fought in the Bialystok revolt, Isaac Zuckerman, a leader in the Warsaw uprising, and others. And after the liberation, large numbers whom various hazards had saved from the gas chambers arrived in Palestine, with camp numerals branded on their forearms and stories of horror on their lips, survivors from whom the Yishuv learned the glory of resistance and the shame of submission. And the Yishuv learned also that, notwithstanding instances of help extended by Christian neighbors, especially in western Europe, the Jews were alone, utterly alone, and that many of their neighbors—Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians—even welcomed the murderers and made common cause with them. Finally the Yishuv saw the criminals aided and abetted by the indifference and futile gestures of the democracies, and above all by the British, who shut the doors of Palestine against thousands upon thousands who could have been saved from death.

§ 3

The gestures began as early as July 1938 when, at the behest of the President of the United States, delegates representing thirty-two countries met at Evian in France and spoke touching words about the sufferings of the victims of Nazi barbarism. But each country had its sacrosanct and immutable immigration laws, so the victims continued to be tortured and slain. It was only in December 1942, when the German murder mills had been in operation for two years, that official notice of the fact was taken in Britain: Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden informed the House of Commons that the Nazis were exterminating the Jews of Europe and expressed an appropriate sense of outrage. But during those years numerous small derelict freighters, packed from stem to stern with fugitives from the horror, the "coffin-ships" as they were called, had been kept from the shores of Palestine by the British navy, or their passengers, after landing, were hunted, interned and deported. In 1940 the remaining Jews in Germany could have been saved had Britain allowed them to enter Palestine; instead the British authorities refused to grant them immigration certificates

because they were "enemy aliens"! A Government ordinance, enacted as soon as the War broke out, barred Palestine to all Jews from territories held by the enemy, and the ban remained unlifted even after it was known that the only other outlet for them was the gas-chambers. In 1944 Joel Brandt, a leader of rescue efforts in Hungary, negotiated with Eichmann for the ransom of the Jews under Nazi jurisdiction who were still alive; informed of this move by a member of the Jewish Agency, a high British official asked, "But what will we do with them?" Small wonder that in the ears of the Yishuv the denunciations by British statesmen of the German slaughterhouses sounded hollow and hypocritical.

There were expressions of sympathy and indignation in the other democracies also. In the United States there were public demonstrations, days of fasting and prayer, and resolutions were adopted by Congress and state legislatures. And in April 1943 a conference, which roused high hopes, convened in Bermuda. Its delegates represented the governments of the United States and Britain, and they met to devise measures for rescuing the doomed. But Bermuda proved an even more lamentable fiasco than Evian. The delegates found insuperable obstacles in the existing immigration laws, the scarcity of shipping and—cruellest mockery of all—the White Paper of 1939!

In January of the following year President Roosevelt was persuaded to launch a more genuine attempt at rescue. He established a War Refugee Board "to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other persecuted minorities in Europe." The word "forestall" had a bitter ring: the extermination, as was well known, had been going on for years and the victims were already numbered in millions. But the Board, which consisted of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Treasury, was welcomed by the Jewish people, and with the help of the Jewish Agency and Joint Distribution Committee an office was established in Turkey which proved helpful in saving some hundreds of Jewish lives.

§ 4

While those futile or feeble gestures were being made by the governments, daring efforts were conducted by the Yishuv and by Zionist groups throughout Europe to snatch as many victims as possible from the claws of the monster. Underground resistance and rescue went hand in hand, and in time couriers from the Yishuv established contact with Jewish partisan groups in Nazi-occupied countries

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§ 4

While those futile or feeble gestures were being made by the governments, daring efforts were conducted by the Yishuv and by Zionist groups throughout Europe to snatch as many victims as possible from the claws of the monster. Underground resistance and rescue went hand in hand, and in time couriers from the Yishuv established contact with Jewish partisan groups in Nazi-occupied countries

and coordinated their activities. The work began as soon as the War broke out with the establishment of a center in Geneva, and in 1941, after Syria had been liberated from Vichy France, rescue headquarters, under the guise of a commercial enterprise, were established in Istanbul. From that city *shlichim*, or couriers, as well as paid agents made contact with rescue groups in Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. Budapest became the hub whence the lines were extended to Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Italy and other countries. Even the vast slaughterhouse of Poland was reached, and written messages in an improvised code were exchanged between the ghettos and the headquarters in Istanbul; in this code Hebrew words, in appearance the names of individuals, conveyed information and directives. The operations were complicated, costly and perilous. They involved smuggling refugees across borders, providing them with false papers, hiding them until they could be embarked on ships for the hazardous and sometimes abortive voyage to the Homeland. Those who were saved, though they are estimated to include tens of thousands, were only a pitiful fraction of the murdered, but it is significant that of all the Jewish communities in the world that remained free only the Yishuv furnished men and women who pierced the Nazi wall of blood and terror. Whatever was accomplished by the American War Refugee Board in Istanbul was also due largely to the resourcefulness of the fearless couriers from the Yishuv. The lives they saved were precious enough, but equally precious was the spiritual lift they brought the forgotten and condemned prisoners of the ghettos.

§ 5

The boldest rescue effort initiated in the Yishuv was that of a group of Jewish parachutists who were dropped behind the enemy lines in Italy and the Balkans to bring help to the remaining Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe, chiefly in Hungary and Rumania. The project, which was launched in the fall of 1943, was approved by the British military authorities, for the parachutists undertook also to aid the cause of the Allies by gathering intelligence, stimulating guerrilla activities and assisting in the escape of war prisoners. Nearly 250 received training, of whom 32, in the spring and summer of 1944, had the opportunity to come to grips with their mission. The results they achieved justified their daring. They helped thousands of Jews to escape from Rumania, Hungary and other lands, they organized Jewish partisan groups and centers of resistance in Budapest and Bucharest,

and with the help of the Jewish underground they saved large numbers of American airmen who had been forced down in the course of the bombing raids on the Ploesti oil installations. In their own words the most important service they rendered their people was, "the mere fact of our presence."*

But what the parachutists and the other emissaries from Palestine gave the Yishuv itself was equally important. They became an inspiration and a legend; their deeds became a national possession. Seven of the 32 who landed in Europe never returned: Abba Berditchev, Perez Goldstein, Haviva Reich, Raphael Reiss, Zvi ben Yaakov, Enzo Sereni, and Hannah Senesch, and the last two have been enshrined among the unforgettable heroes of the Jewish national revival.

Enzo Sereni, whom the group looked upon as its leader, was a member of perhaps the most distinguished Jewish family in Italy: his father was physician to the King and his uncle was the head of the Jewish community in Rome. For many years Enzo had labored in Palestine as a humble *chalutz*; he was one of the founders of the collective settlement Givat Brenner. But he was endowed with extraordinary audacity and energy, and had been entrusted with Zionist missions in many lands, including Germany, where in 1933 he attempted to organize the Zionist youth movement. Already in his thirty-ninth year when he joined the parachutists, he nevertheless insisted on sharing all their toils and perils. In May 1944 he landed behind the German lines in northern Italy and was captured by the Nazis, who took him to the Dachau concentration camp where they tortured and killed him. In Givat Brenner his comrades have erected in his memory an impressive Bet Sereni (House of Sereni) with a library and museum dedicated to the history and culture of Italian Jewry.

The story of Hannah Senesch is equally heroic and tragic, and rendered more poignant by her youth, her charm and her poetic attainments. In 1939, at the age of eighteen, Hannah had left her native Budapest for Palestine, and after a period of training became a member of the fishing and farm *kvutzah* Sdot Yam (Seafields) on the site of ancient Caesarea. For five years she worked at her assigned tasks, confiding her thoughts and longings to her diary and poems. Hannah was haunted by a sense of mission and obeyed its impulse when she joined the parachute group. Her specific aim was to organize the rescue of Jewish children out of Hungary and to save her mother, whom she had left in Budapest. In March 1944 she landed behind

* *Blessed Is the Match, the Story of Jewish Resistance*, by Marie Syrkin (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1947), p. 73.

the enemy lines in Yugoslavia, but when she finally managed to reach Hungary three months later, she was betrayed by peasants to the police. For five months her jailors used a variety of tortures, crude and refined, to wrest the secret of her mission and failed. She was tried and sentenced to death. Asked if she wished to plead for mercy, she replied, "I ask for no mercy from hangmen," and when she stood before the firing squad in the prison courtyard she refused to be blindfolded.

In March 1950 Hannah was taken from her grave in Budapest, brought to Haifa on a ship of the Israel navy, and interred near the tomb of Theodor Herzl on the hilltop near Jerusalem that bears his name. The four lines of her last poem, *Ashrei Hagajrur*, "Happy is the Match," have become an important part of her legacy. They state the role which she and her comrades fulfilled in life and death:

Happy is the match consumed igniting the flame;
Happy is the flame ablaze in the heart's recess;
Happy is the heart in honor beating its last:
Happy is the match consumed igniting the flame.

§ 6

But the mood of the Yishuv was not one of anguish and indignation only. Two other components entered into it: a consciousness of strength and a self-reliance, both inspired by the Yishuv's expansion during the war years and the part it played in the conflict.

When the Second World War was over the Jewish Agency estimated the population of the Yishuv at 592,000, an increase during the war years of more than 100,000. Some 60 per cent of this increase consisted of immigrants, many thousands of them *maapilim*, or *Aliyah Bet*, as the "illegal" immigration came to be called. Many of the newcomers had been compelled to follow long and circuitous routes: Polish Jews who fled from the Nazis into Russia journeyed across Siberia to Chinese ports and then through the sea lanes of the East Indies and across the Indian Ocean to Mediterranean ports, or they disembarked at Capetown and made their way north through the Dark Continent.

Some fifty new agricultural settlements were planted during the period, ten of them in the Negev. There was a marked expansion of industry, with emphasis on production for military purposes; of the Yishuv's labor force 70,000 men and women were either in uniform

or engaged in the manufacture of military goods and the construction of roads, camps and fortifications. The most dramatic construction job was performed by a force of 10,000 Jews who worked day and night to build the fortifications near the northern border that were necessary before the British could invade Vichy Syria in 1941.

The agriculture and industry of the Yishuv went on a war footing. The land under cultivation was increased by 200,000 dunams and irrigated areas were more than doubled. New crops were introduced to provide a substantial part of the food for the armies stationed in the country, and there was a marked increase in the production of dairy products, vegetables—especially potatoes—and grains. In the first three years of the War the value of the industrial products manufactured by the Yishuv for the military increased twelvefold. They included metal and leather goods, textiles, cement and chemicals, especially potash, for which the entire British empire depended on the Palestine Potash Works. The list of machines and machine tools is particularly impressive. It included air compressors, cranes, fire extinguishers, hydraulic jacks, electrical appliances, precision instruments and shipbuilding tools. Heavy armament and land mines were produced by the Vulcan Foundries. The textile products included khaki cloth, ropes, tents, tarpaulins and knitted goods, and a rubber plant manufactured tank tracks and tires.

The scientific resources of the Hebrew University, the Haifa Technion and the Daniel Sieff Research Institute were mobilized for the war effort, with valuable results in tropical medicine—especially in the prevention and treatment of typhoid and typhus, and meteorology, as well as in the production of optical instruments, synthetic serums and drugs, including digitalis and sulfa preparations, vitamins, hormones and pharmaceuticals.

§ 7

But it goes without saying that it was the fighting front to which the Yishuv was most eager to make its contribution. By every impulse of heart and head its men and women were moved to throw themselves into the battle against the destroyer of their people and the enemy of all decency and freedom. The Yishuv desired nothing so much as to be allowed to fight with the Mandatory against the common enemy, but it was anxious that its soldiers should not be lost in anonymity, but should fight in distinct units of their own, with their own insignia and under their own flag. Two decades earlier, as we saw, a precedent for this demand had been established: Jewish sol-

diers had fought in Palestine as part of the British army, but in separate battalions of their own.

The right to those battalions in the First World War, it will be recalled, was won only after a long and hard struggle, and an even longer and harder struggle had to be fought before the same right won full recognition in the Second World War. No time was lost by the Yishuv in making its men and women available for service: in September 1939 a call for volunteers brought out 136,000 between the ages of eighteen and fifty, among them 50,000 women. But it was only five years later, in September 1944, that the British Government announced the authorization of a Jewish Brigade to participate in the operations of the British Army. Jewish food and labor, machines and materials offered no ground for Arab threats or protests, and could therefore be accepted. Jewish military units had political implications and were felt to be against the spirit of the White Paper, always the supreme guide for British policy in Palestine. Jewish offers of military participation were therefore officially ignored and discouraged.

Not that during the first five years of the War the fighting men of the Yishuv were absent from the battle. Far from it. That announcement in September 1944, and Prime Minister Churchill's statement in the House of Commons the same month that it was "indeed appropriate that a special Jewish unit, a special unit of that race which has suffered indescribable torments from the Nazis, should be represented as a distinct formation among the forces gathered for their final overthrow," came after an intense struggle in which the entire Movement was involved; but more effective probably than the resolutions, memorandums and petitions that poured in from all parts of the world where the Movement was still unmuzzled, was the record established during those years by the soldiers of the Yishuv on many fronts and in all branches of service.

The British began by accepting Jewish volunteers with important reservations: they were to form not combatant but auxiliary or service units, and they were to figure in dispatches not as Jews but as Palestinians. And when the combatant ranks were finally opened to them it was in a Palestine Regiment in which every Jewish unit was to be matched by an Arab unit. Eventually this principle of "parity" had to be abandoned: the Arabs were not too eager to enlist.

Jewish auxiliary units served in France, in Greece and Crete, Malta and Cyprus and in the seesaw battles of North Africa, including the siege of Tobruk, the long and critical deadlock at Alamein, and the victory of the Eighth Army that saved the Allied cause from disaster

and lifted the nightmare of a Nazi conquest of Palestine from the Yishuv. The units included stevedores and truck drivers, engineers, camouflage craftsmen and pioneers. A Jewish camouflage unit rendered exceptionally important service at Alamein, and a group of Jewish minelayers, discovered by the enemy at work south of Alamein, held out against continuous attack by bombers, stukas and tanks, suffering and inflicting heavy casualties for nearly a month. General Bernard Montgomery, the commander of the victorious Eighth Army, speaking after the capture of Tripoli, said: "The rapid advance and striking victory would have been impossible without the stevedores and the Royal Army Supply Corps Transport Companies, who traveled great distances on their trucks incessantly day and night, and always delivered the goods." A large portion of these stevedores and drivers hailed from the Yishuv, which furnished nine transport units to the Eighth Army. There were veterans of Greece and Crete among them, and some who had escaped from Nazi prison camps. Along the North African coast the language most frequently heard among the men who repaired and supervised roads and railroads was Hebrew. Their senior officer, the Chief Engineer of the Eighth Army, was Brigadier Frederick Kisch, who had once been head of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem; in April 1943 he was killed by a land mine while leading a party of sappers in Tunisia. There were auxiliary units from the Yishuv in France, Cyprus, Malta and Italy also, and nearly 4,000 women of the Yishuv, most of them in the Palestine Auxiliary Territorial Service, performed many duties near the front, serving in hospitals, depots and signal stations, repairing propellers, parachutes and instruments, and sometimes replacing men as truck-drivers and traffic directors.

Long before the formation of the Jewish Brigade, the Yishuv furnished combat units also. The right to form such units was first granted the Jews in the fall of 1940, after Italy entered the war. The danger to the Near East became imminent and the Zionist leaders told the Government that "if we are to go down, we are entitled to go down fighting." The Jewish companies fought in Abyssinia and Eritrea, and played a gallant part in the capture of Gondar, Keren and Ambi Alaga. They excelled in commando operations, and on other fronts also Jewish commando units performed conspicuous exploits.

A group of fifty scouts from Jewish settlements in Upper Galilee vanguarded the invasion of Syria in 1941: they seized two bridges near the coast that were vital for the British advance and held them against Vichy troops until the invaders arrived. Earlier that year a

squad of twenty-three Jewish volunteers, on a mission to blow up the oil installations of Tripoli on the Syrian coast, perished when their boat was intercepted by enemy vessels and sunk. Commando exploits were performed by Jewish volunteers on the African coast also. A group of eighty-five, during the advance of the Eighth Army, was landed in Bardia by British destroyers. They seized a number of block-houses and machine-gunned the enemy from the rear, leading him to surrender in the belief that he was completely surrounded. A number of individuals stand out in these exploits, among them David Raziell, who led Jewish commandos in Eritrea and lost his life on a British mission during the pro-Axis revolt in Iraq; Shmaryahu Weinstein, who saved his unit by sacrificing his life in the battle for Keren; and Moshe Dayan, who headed the group that operated in Syria in advance of the invaders and lost an eye during the action: in November 1939 the British had arrested Dayan and 42 others and sentenced them to long terms of imprisonment for belonging to the Haganah.

More than a thousand men from the Yishuv served in the British Navy, and the small Jewish merchant marine carried supplies into the harbors of North Africa, sustaining exceptionally heavy losses in men and ships. There were some 3,000 in all-Jewish ground units and operational field units of the Royal Air Force, who served not only in Africa, but in Malta, France and Russia.

§ 8

The Jewish Brigade was not, of course, the Jewish Army which the Zionist leaders proposed when the War broke out and which the British Government rejected. Nevertheless it was hailed as an important gain. On the Brigade uniform a blue-and-white shoulder flash bore the shield of David, and its flag, which in April 1945 it received officially from a representative of the Jewish Agency at a stirring ceremony in Italy, was the blue-and-white flag of Zion. Later the same month the Jewish soldiers, commanded by Brigadier Ernest Benjamin, went into action against the Nazis in Italy. The Brigade was part of the Allied Forces that swept into Austria and Germany and, before its demobilization, was garrisoned in Belgium and Holland. When Prime Minister Churchill informed the House of Commons on May 2, 1945 of the surrender of the German troops in Italy, he mentioned the Jewish Brigade, saying it "had rendered an excellent account of itself." But the soldiers of the Brigade, and of other Jewish units, gave an

excellent account of themselves also in a way which was not mentioned. They utilized every opportunity to help and save the surviving Jews of Europe, the mere sight of their flag and uniform bringing a thrill of new hope to the despairing. With their aid an underground transfer system was set up by which thousands of refugees were taken to Palestine.

By the time the Brigade was authorized some 33,000 Palestinian Jews, notwithstanding the negative attitude of the Administration, were serving in the armed forces of Britain, nearly all of them in units of their own. Many of their commissioned and nearly all their non-commissioned officers were Jews, their language was Hebrew and the "Palestine" on their shoulders proclaimed their origin. For years, however, the official war dispatches referred to them as "Palestinians": they might have been Arabs as far as the world was concerned. To recognize them as Jews would have offended the White Paper and strengthened the moral claim of the Jews to their National Home.

Besides, there was no need for it, the Jews would fight against the destroyers of their people without it. Thus the British reasoned, and correctly. "The universal complaint in the Jewish Units," wrote Major L. Rabinowitz, the senior Jewish chaplain of the Middle East Forces, "is that they are being kept back. The universal desire is to take a more active part in the fighting." There was abundant evidence, on the other hand, that the loyalty of the Arabs was more than doubtful. There was the pro-Nazi rebellion in Iraq in the spring of 1941 led by the Mufti of Jerusalem and Prince Rashid Ali under the banner of a Holy War. There was the Egyptian Chief of Staff, who was arrested as he was leaving by plane to negotiate with the enemy, and the Egyptian King was induced to change his pro-Nazi government only when British tanks rolled up in front of his palace. In Syria the leading political parties were in the pay of the Axis, and as for Palestine, the ranking Arab leader, the Mufti of Jerusalem, after the suppression of the Iraq rebellion made his way to Italy and Germany, where he served the Nazi cause faithfully and well, broadcasting its virtues to the Moslem world, recruiting Moslem contingents for the Axis and acting as adviser to Eichmann, the chief executioner of the European Jews. And the Mufti's devotion to the Axis was emulated by other Arab leaders, among them Fawzi Kaukji, who had played a big role in the rebellion of 1936 to 1939. It was the Arabs, therefore, not the Jews, who had to be wooed, and one way of doing it was to minimize the Yishuv's contribution to the war effort.

§ 9

It was no mere snub, this policy of non-recognition; it had political implications of grave consequence for the Zionist Movement and for the remnants who survived the holocaust in Europe. And it hardened the Yishuv's mood of resentment and determination, nor did it weaken the sense of achievement and confidence which the war effort at home and the encounters with the enemy in Africa and Europe inspired. Living dangerously was an art which the Yishuv had had the opportunity to learn, especially during the bloody years from 1936 to 1939. But there were times in the course of the War when Palestine was in imminent danger of being overrun by the Nazis. At such times British aloofness and antagonism relaxed. The most critical period was the summer of 1942 when Rommel's Afrika Korps stood deployed on the border of Egypt. The British had plans all ready for evacuating Palestine, and British officers trained members of the Haganah in guerrilla tactics and sabotage. For the Jews there could be no evacuation: they could only prepare to sell their lives as dearly as possible. And these periods of extreme tension also had their value. They conditioned the Yishuv for the greater struggle that was to begin when the War ended.

The Jews of Palestine saw their contribution to the Allied cause as a national war effort by a distinct national group. It was indeed the only contribution to the Allied cause that came from that part of the world. Was the White Paper to be their reward? Thousands of battle-hardened men who had seen the survivors of the Nazi murder mills come back to the cities and colonies resolved not to permit Britain's imperial planners to kill the last hope of the tortured remnants, or to prevent the consummation of the national redemption of their people.

Chapter XXVIII : WAR AND TERROR

THE WAR IN Europe ended in May 1945. Three years later the Yishuv became the State of Israel, and by the middle of 1949 the warring Arab governments had signed armistices with the new state. Those were the years of supreme test for Zionism. Before the new state could be proclaimed the sanction of the world community, organized in the United Nations, had to be won, a task which was accomplished principally by the resolute leadership and massive following of the Movement in America. And the Yishuv had to fight and win two wars, one against Britain before the Proclamation of Statehood was issued; the other, notwithstanding the sanction of the United Nations, against the surrounding Arab world after it was issued.

This summation of the Yishuv's performance, in view of the relative strength of the antagonists, may sound fantastic. Nevertheless, after another millennium or two, when the ceaseless amassment of history has made compression still more imperative, historians may have to be content with that summary. For us, of course, it is not sufficient, and it will be the task of what remains of this chronicle to recount the main events of the intense struggle in the United Nations and of the wars the Yishuv fought to proclaim and vindicate its independence.

§ 2

Conflict with the Mandatory, with immigration, as we have seen, the principal issue, had been in progress for many years before the White Paper of 1939, but it was that undisguised attempt to reduce the Yishuv to a ghetto in an Arab Palestine which transformed the conflict into a savage guerrilla war. In March 1940, when the restrictive land regulations were issued, there were violent demonstrations in the chief centers of the Yishuv which lasted six days, with street barricades, attacks on government buildings and clashes with the police and military in which scores of persons were injured. Nor did the war

against Nazism terminate the war against the White Paper. The Yishuv endorsed the offer, made by Weizmann to Prime Minister Chamberlain on August 29, 1939, of "Jewish manpower, technical ability, resources, etc.," but it was not prepared to endorse his willingness that the differences with the Mandatory in the political field should "give way before the greater and more pressing necessities of the time." The attitude of the Yishuv was more accurately reflected in the statement of David Ben Gurion: "We will fight the war as if there were no White Paper, and we will fight the White Paper as if there were no war."

It was a strange war within a war, and it was fought with strange weapons. The principal weapons employed by the Yishuv were uninterrupted immigration and colonization. Since the White Paper aimed to freeze the National Home by arresting the flow of immigrants and checking the acquisition of land, the Yishuv maintained the flow of immigration and continued to expand its network of agricultural and urban settlements. The British countered with a remorseless campaign against the "illegals," and with attempts to disarm the Yishuv and undermine its morale. There were moments during the six years of the world conflict when, as we saw, the British relaxed their pressure on the Yishuv, nor did the generals commanding in the Middle East always dance to the tune of the Palestine Administration, or the War Cabinet in London follow the line of the Colonial Office. The Jewish Brigade, for example, was clearly a departure from the spirit of the White Paper and it came only after Churchill himself insisted on it. Nevertheless, the war within the war went on, and with the decline and downfall of the Axis it became more intense and rose finally to a pitch of fury for which history offers few parallels.

§ 3

The most persistent and spectacular battle of this war was the Battle of Immigration. Its lines embraced the frontiers and ports of many lands and the lanes of many seas. It was the crucial battle: on its outcome depended the lives of thousands of hapless men, women and children as well as the fate of the Zionist enterprise. By the time the war was over a far-flung apparatus for assembling, maintaining and transporting immigrants by land and sea had been built up by soldiers and emissaries of the Yishuv, and the adversary, the British Empire, had thrown into the Battle its naval and air forces in the Mediterranean, its military establishment in Palestine and its diplomatic resources in the capitals of the countries through which the wanderers

sought passage. Never did the Empire wage a more inglorious war and never did a tiny community, fighting for its future and for the remnants of its kith and kin, display more daring and resourcefulness. By roads devious and hazardous the fugitives converged on Mediterranean and Black Sea ports, where they embarked at night on ships, most of them small, derelict freighters, a few of them revamped river and coastal vessels from America, to brave the perils of the sea and the greater perils of interception by the British Navy. Many of the ships were captured, their human cargo interned and deported, first to the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean and later to Cyprus. Others defeated the vigilance of the British planes, warships and radar-equipped stations, and reached the shore of Palestine, where detachments of the Haganah brought them to land, sometimes wading out to the ship and carrying them on their shoulders, and dispersed them swiftly among the settlements. Most of the ships that set out must have come through in this manner; their names were not of course published, but from the middle of 1945 to the end of the following year alone some 25,000 *maapilim* landed in Palestine.

A vivid illustration of the perils involved in landing the refugees is provided by the *Hannah Senesch* which in December 1945 managed to get near the coast at Nahariya. A storm prevented the Haganah detachment that waited for her from rowing her passengers to shore, but they were all landed safely by means of a "human chain" or on the backs of swimmers. They were promptly taken to different settlements, and the next morning the British found the vessel capsized with the blue-and-white flag floating defiantly from her keel.

But often enough the Battle of Immigration did not end with their happy landing and dispersal. The British Army in Palestine went into action, raiding settlements suspected of harboring "illegals," whom they sometimes detected and apprehended. But more often they found themselves foiled. What could any army officer do when, after assembling all the inhabitants of a colony in order to pick out "illegals," he found that not one of the assembled possessed identity papers?

Such, in bare outline, was the strategy of the Battle of Immigration, an outline that conveys but little of the anguished hopes, the tragedies and the triumphs that were of its essence.

§ 4

Thousands of "illegals," most of them in the labor category, the group which the Zionist Executive was so eager to augment and the

Government to restrict, had been arriving annually since the early thirties: in 1932 and 1933 alone the Administration estimated their number at more than 22,000. But the officials followed the simple device of deducting these estimates from the number they authorized, and so held the final tally down to their desires. As the decade advanced and the Nazi menace grew, the pressure on the gates of Palestine increased, and the Battle of Immigration became in large part a series of encounters between the "coffin-ships" and the vessels of the British navy.

For the Yishuv and the Movement a number of those ships became symbols and mementos. They began to arrive and to be turned back in the spring of 1939, and on the day when the War began one of them, the *Tiger Hill*, was fired upon and three of her passengers were killed. They kept on coming. The fate of some will never be known, but four at least will not be forgotten. One was the *Salvador*, which sailed from Bulgaria with 350 refugees, and in December 1940 reached Istanbul. Having no visas, her passengers were denied admittance, and their ship put about and ran into a storm in which 230 of them perished. Of the others, who managed to return to Istanbul, some were deported to Bulgaria and the rest were picked up by the *Darien*, another of the "coffin-ships." In March 1941 the *Darien* arrived in Haifa in sinking condition; her 800 passengers were allowed to land, and then interned. Another memorable ship was the 800-ton *Atlantic*. In November 1940 she arrived in Haifa with nearly 1,900 refugees. After being landed they were detained two weeks in a camp at Athlit, and then carried or whipped aboard another ship and deported to Mauritius, where they remained under wretched conditions until August 1945.

But the ships that achieved first place in the long roster of tragedies were the *Patria* and the *Struma*. The first was not a "coffin-ship"; she was a British steamer, and in November 1940 she, too, was to sail from Haifa for Mauritius and take with her some 1,800 refugees who had arrived earlier that month on two crippled old freighters. But among the refugees were some who were resolved to bring their hopeless odyssey to an end. They blew up the *Patria*, and 260 of her passengers perished. That explosion in Haifa harbor was heard above the din of the World War. There were indignant protests in England and America, and the British officials were constrained to let the survivors land. They found compensation, of course, by deducting their number from the regular schedules.

In February 1942 came the sinking of the *Struma*, the most

appalling tragedy of all. This hulk of less than 200 tons carried 769 refugees, 250 of them women and children. Two months earlier she had limped into the harbor of Istanbul in sinking condition, but the Turks refused to let the passengers land: they had no permits for Palestine. The *Struma* remained in the harbor while in Jerusalem the Zionist Executive tried desperately but in vain to obtain permits for them, or for some of them, or at least for the children. Finally the Turkish authorities ordered the *Struma* to depart, and a short distance off shore she broke up and sank, and all but one of her pitiful cargo went down with her.

The *Salvador*, the *Atlantic*, the *Patria* and the *Struma* represent only a few of the grim episodes in the Battle of Immigration. But the battle continued, its tempo after the war mounting, nor could all the king's ships and all the king's men put an end to it.

§ 5

We turn now to another battle in this war between the Yishuv and Britain, the Battle of Colonization. For in the strategy of state-building it was essential to absorb the new immigrants, and not only in the growing industry of the Yishuv but in its agriculture also. It was essential to increase the areas in Jewish possession and to plant new outposts at strategic points, especially in Upper Galilee and the Negev. In spite of the severe restrictions on the purchase of land by Jews, the *Keren Kayemet* increased its holdings between 1939 and 1944 by nearly 250,000 dunams, and it provided the land for all but five of the 51 new settlements which were established during the same period. Included among them were ten which were planted by small groups in the wastes of the Negev and fifteen in Upper Galilee.

The British, of course, did not look at the extension of Jewish colonization with a kindly eye, and there were strange encounters, in which the settlers met the onslaughts of the military with a combination of passive resistance and the perseverance of ants whose nest is trampled by the foot of a passer-by. Typical of these encounters was the one that took place in Biryā in March 1946. This tiny settlement, located in Upper Galilee near Safed and set up with the swift technique which had been developed during the disturbed period between 1936 and 1939, was invaded by British troops. They demolished the installations and removed the 25 settlers, whom they had to carry bodily to the trucks, four soldiers to a settler. Nine days later 3,000 unarmed men and women came to Biryā and rebuilt the settlement. Again the

soldiers came, and there was more demolition and dangerous tension. In the end the Government yielded; the soldiers departed and Birya was added to the line of Jewish outposts in Upper Galilee.

But the most dramatic episode in the Battle of Colonization occurred later that year, on October 16, 1946. On that day eleven new settlements sprang up in the Negev. It was not, of course, an improvised exploit. It came after long and secret preparations by the colonizing groups and the Haganah, and it caught the Government by surprise.

§ 6

In both spheres—immigration and colonization—on which the life and hopes of the Yishuv depended, a vital role was played by the Haganah, the underground Jewish militia, and the third and perhaps the most decisive battle in its war with Britain was the Battle of Defense. It was the Haganah that created and operated the network of activities involved in Aliyah Bet. The Haganah stood guard over the establishment of every new settlement. And without the Haganah the Yishuv would have been wiped out by its Arab foes.

The British maintained that the Yishuv should depend on them for protection against Arab attacks. For the maintenance of public security is a primary government function, and the existence of a large and secret defense force not subject to its control was no doubt a challenge to the Mandatory. But the experience of 1920, 1929 and 1936 to 1939 had taught the Jews that they must rely only on themselves: the measures taken by the military were usually too late and too mild. Nor were the Jews alone in this distrust of the Government's capacity to defend them. The Royal Commission which investigated the disorders of 1936 declared in its report: "We regard failure to insure public security as the most serious, as also the best-founded, of Jewish complaints." Besides, the Jews were building a nation—something which the British never quite understood—and no nation can hope to survive if it delegates its defense to others. The Battle of Defense began long before the Second World War, it continued during the War, and it was fought with growing ferocity after the War. The British pressed the battle in three ways: they raided Jewish settlements in search of arms, they staged demonstrative trials against Jews arrested for possessing arms, and they attempted directly to disarm and disband the Haganah.

Raids on Jewish settlements in search of arms were often com-

bined with attempts to apprehend "illegals," whom the settlers were suspected of harboring. They became more frequent and savage after the threat of an Axis invasion was removed and the Jews were no longer needed to fight a guerrilla war in the event of a British evacuation. In November 1943, for example, there was a descent on Ramat Hakovesh in the Sharon Valley: one settler was fatally wounded and thirty-five were arrested; "certain military equipment" was reported to have been found.

When the War was over the campaign to render the Jews defenseless was stepped up. On November 25, 1945, there were simultaneous raids on Rishpon, Shefayim and Givat Hayim, all situated on the coastal plain north of Tel Aviv. Thousands of British troops were employed in the action, and they were "opposed" by throngs of unarmed settlers who came flocking from the neighboring colonies. The soldiers fired on them, killing 8 and wounding 75. They looked for "illegals" as well as arms and found neither. The only answer they got from those they tried to identify as "illegals" was: "I am a Jew of Palestine." They were more successful on July 1, 1946, at Yagur near Haifa where, after three days of plowing and digging, they unearthed a vault containing a large cache of Haganah arms and ammunition. But the "illegals" they had come to find eluded them. In a written reply to a demand for their surrender the settlers said: "We will not hand over 'illegal' immigrants to the police, but will always help them."

The numerous trials for smuggling and possessing arms, the other device by which the British sought to destroy the capacity and the will of the Yishuv to defend itself, were even more spectacular and futile. In August 1943 two soldiers were convicted of smuggling arms into Palestine, and the British officer who defended them at the trial used the occasion to deliver a general and violent denunciation of the Yishuv, its leaders and its fighting men in the British forces. But this outburst was mild compared to the diatribe of the prosecutor at a subsequent trial in which two Jews were convicted of the same offense. He charged the Jews with maintaining an organization, obviously the Haganah, that aimed "to sabotage the war effort," and called the Jewish soldiers "a canker in the military organization of the Middle East." American journalists in Cairo had been invited to attend the trial; the aim apparently was to discredit the Yishuv and its leaders before the Allied world. The spectacle was publicly and officially denounced by David Ben Gurion, the chairman of the Zionist Executive.

But the trials continued, Jews and Arabs were found guilty of illegal possession of arms, with startling differences in the penalties

that were meted out: for every month of imprisonment imposed on Arabs, Jews generally received a year. In December 1943, eight colonists of Hulda, a settlement in the Judean lowlands which had been three times demolished with considerable loss of life during Arab disturbances, were sentenced to long prison terms for possessing arms. In November 1944 two young colonists of Nachlat Yehuda were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for possessing arms obviously intended for self-defense only, and in the months that followed there were similar convictions and sentences.

Indeed, the Battle of Defense, as we shall see, continued even after the British were preparing to withdraw from Palestine, and it ended only with the termination of the Mandate in May 1948.

§ 7

From 1943, when the ultimate defeat of the Axis became certain, the David-and-Goliath war between Britain and the Yishuv became more and more stubborn and savage, although neither side called it war: the Jews called it Resistance, the British a campaign to suppress lawlessness and terror. No compromise appeared possible. Britain's position was a model of realistic statesmanship: the power potential of the Yishuv appeared negligible compared to that of the Arab and Moslem world, so British imperial interests demanded a pro-Arab orientation, with which the National Home policy was incompatible. The Yishuv's position was stated in a brief sentence of a memorandum submitted by the commander-in-chief of the Haganah to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry which probed for a solution of the impasse early in 1946: "We will confront the British Government with a choice: Accept our vital demands or destroy us."

Terrorism had become the avowed policy of a minority of the Resistance Movement, which seceded from the Haganah as early as 1938 in protest against the policy of *Havlagah*,* and had retaliated in kind against the indiscriminate killing of Jews by Arab guerrillas. The secessionists, who named themselves *Irgun Zvai Leumi* (National Military Organization), derived their inspiration from the spirit and ideology of Vladimir Jabotinsky, the founder of Revisionism, and attracted many adherents, especially among the youthful Sephardim and Yemenites. The Irgun saw no hope for the fulfillment of Zionism as long as the British remained in the land, and they were sure only force would compel them to evacuate. *Rak kach!* (Only thus!) was its

* Page 268.

motto, the two words being inscribed on the picture of an upraised arm, the hand grasping a rifle. In 1943 the Irgun found a bold and adroit leader in Menahem Beigin, who had served in the Polish army. But by that time the Irgun itself had undergone a schism when Abraham Stern, a student of the Hebrew University, rejecting a truce under which the Irgun cooperated with the Government in the early years of the War, organized the "Fighters for the Freedom of Israel," better known as the Stern Group and among its foes as the Stern Gang. The Irgun operated under self-imposed restraints, the most important of which was to warn personnel to evacuate government buildings before attacking them. The Sternists, whose leader was shot in the back and killed by British police, committed their acts of terror without restraint or warning. Needless to say, there was no love lost between the Haganah and the two dissident groups. The Haganah leaders, as well as the organized Yishuv and the World Movement, stood for what they called constructive Resistance as expressed in the Battle of Immigration and Colonization, and denounced the terror tactics of the Irgun and the Sternists as injurious to the cause and repugnant to Jewish ethical concepts. The relations between the Haganah and the dissidents were at times dangerously strained, but civil war, which the British greatly desired and sometimes demanded, was averted: the Irgun made it a basic principle never to attack fellow-Jews, and the Haganah refused to resort to bloodshed on behalf of a regime which, by its cruel and unlawful White Paper policy, was, in the opinion of the entire Yishuv, itself responsible for the terror.

§ 8

During the early years of the War, as we have pointed out, terror went into abeyance: leaders of the Irgun like David Raziel even undertook dangerous missions for the Government. It broke out again in 1943, and by 1944 had become a standing and formidable menace, with the Irgun blowing up police stations and seizing arms. In August of that year the Sternists made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the outgoing High Commissioner, Sir Harold MacMichael. It was Sir Harold who had sealed the fate of the *Struma* passengers by rejecting all appeals on their behalf, and it was he who authored a plan to liquidate the National Home by destroying the Haganah, abolishing the Jewish Agency and arresting and interning the leaders of the Yishuv.

In November 1944 two members of the Stern Group journeyed to

Cairo, where they committed an act of terror which had worldwide repercussions. They assassinated Lord Moyne, the British Resident Minister in the Middle East. The Yishuv and the entire Movement were profoundly disturbed. The good name of Zionism, it was felt, was being besmirched and its interests undermined by the terror. Churchill declared that Britain's position towards Zionism might have to be "re-considered." The Hebrew press, the Zionist leaders and the Histadrut called upon the Yishuv to stamp out the terror. The Government rounded up many suspected terrorists and deported them to Eritrea and the Sudan, where, by the beginning of 1945, several hundred of them were interned.

For a year the Zionist leaders in Palestine and the Haganah labored to weed out the terrorists, making common cause with the authorities whom they distrusted and who, ironically enough, were at the same time attempting to suppress the Haganah. That year there was a new High Commissioner in Palestine, Field Marshal Viscount Gort, who showed a much more sympathetic understanding of the aspirations of the Yishuv than his predecessor. But the policy was made in London, and the High Commissioner was an instrument, willy-nilly, of the Foreign Office. Lord Gort resigned in November 1945 and was succeeded the same month by Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham.

But the men and women of the Yishuv, opposed as the large majority of them were to the terror, felt no disposition to turn informer for the benefit of a government they looked upon as an enemy. There were serious divisions among them, for the antagonism between the Haganah and the Irgun went deeper than the question of how the Resistance should be carried on; it harked back to the animosity between Labor Zionism and Revisionism which, as we saw, used to erupt with volcanic fury at Zionist Congresses. But on the part of the anti-Zionist officials in London and Jerusalem it was fatuous to suppose they could exploit this antagonism to prod the Yishuv into a civil war for their benefit.

§ 9

The terror did not abate, and the fall of 1945 brought a supply of fresh fuel that lifted the flames to new heights. New bitterness came in the wake of a new hope balked and betrayed.

In July 1945, two months after the end of the war in Europe, the British Labor party took over the government of Britain, and Zionists

the world over rejoiced. They recalled how vehemently the leaders of the Labor Party had denounced the White Paper of 1939. They recalled that since 1917 the Party had consistently and zealously supported their cause, even exceeding at times their own demands, as when in April 1944 it proposed a solution of the Arab problem which no responsible Zionist leader had dared to suggest. "Let the Arabs be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in," said the Labor Party. "Let them be compensated handsomely for their land, and their settlement elsewhere be carefully organized and generously financed." And the Party Conference of that year declared:

There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold-blooded, calculated German-Nazi plans to kill all the Jews of Europe.

No wonder the victory of the British Labor party in the General Election of July 1945 was hailed by the Movement as the beginning of a new era. There would be an end now to the White Paper policy—and to the terror. At the moment the "irresistible case" for Zionism was represented by 100,000 Jewish "Displaced Persons," as they were euphemistically called, 100,000 pitiful survivors of the holocaust, whom the Nazis, owing to the rapid advance of the liberating armies, had not had time to murder, and who were still living, or rather vegetating, in German concentration camps. They found it impossible to resume life in the lands of their origin; some who tried it had hurried back to the camps, for those lands were the vast graveyards of all they had loved and cherished, and the neighbors around them were now infected with the Nazi brand of anti-Semitism, virulent and homicidal. Nor was America or the other democracies willing to admit them, and their sole hope was Palestine, where the Yishuv was eager to receive them. In some of the camps, groups of the younger people had even established *kibbutzim* where they trained for life in the National Home. The first gesture of the Labor regime, so the Movement expected, would therefore be the admission of these survivors to Palestine, and the Hundred Thousand became a symbol and test.

Their admission, moreover, received the support of President Truman. A month after the victory of the Labor party, Earl G. Harri-

son, a member of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, made a personal investigation for the President and informed him that for the Jewish survivors in the camps "Palestine is definitely and pre-eminently the first choice." So the President wrote the head of the new British Government urging that there be no delay in opening the gates of Palestine to the Hundred Thousand. He got no reply, and when in September 1945 the Labor Government offered some 1,500 immigration certificates that were still "available under the White Paper," the Yishuv and the Movement were shocked into a realization that the new hope was a chimera.

So the David-and-Goliath war broke out afresh. The same month the largest of the show trials opened in Haifa, with twenty Jews charged with possessing arms illegally. Early the following month there were large and angry demonstrations throughout the country, and *Kol Israel* (Voice of Israel), the secret radio station of Haganah, broadcast its first message, a defiant declaration that the gates of Palestine would be kept open for the Jewish survivors. On the last day of October, bridges and other railway installations were blown up in scores of places, as well as police boats in the harbor of Haifa and Jaffa.

Finally, on November 13, 1945, the Labor Government published its official Palestine policy. The declaration was issued by Ernest Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, former leader of the British Transport and General Workers Union, a man of large girth and stubborn will, the acknowledged strong man of the party. Instead of opening the gates of Palestine, the declaration announced a new Commission of Inquiry, to be composed this time of an equal number of Britons and Americans. The purpose was only too apparent: first, to delay the urgent decision; second, to undermine American sympathy by holding up to the American investigators the difficulties that plagued the Mandatory; and third, to associate America with the rejection of Zionist demands which the Commission, the Foreign Secretary expected, would surely recommend. And to prove that Britain was not insensitive to humanitarian considerations, the declaration promised that homeless Jews would be admitted into Palestine, "with the generosity of our Arab friends," at the rate of 1,500 a month.

But a statement which accompanied this announcement was even more painful: Bevin felt called upon to rebuke and warn the survivors of the Nazi murder mills. "They want to get to the head of the queue," he found, and he took pains to point out that "you have the danger of another anti-Semitic reaction through it all." Nor was that the only gratuitous admonition which Britain's new statesmen offered the sur-

vivors. It was their duty, they were told, to stay in Europe and "contribute their ability and talent towards rebuilding its prosperity." The Foreign Secretary's statement of policy and *obiter dicta* evoked a general protest strike in the Yishuv, and the war against the "British invaders," as the Irgunists called them, gathered new momentum.

§ 10

The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, consisting of six Britons and six Americans, examined the situation in Palestine and visited the concentration camps in Europe, but its report, which appeared in April 1946, brought the Labor Government no comfort. The Committee recommended the immediate admission of the Hundred Thousand and the abrogation of the land regulations of 1940. The recommendations, moreover, were unanimous, and Bevin had promised that if they should be unanimous they would be carried out. Could the Labor Government now reject the recommendations?

The Labor Government could and did. In May the Prime Minister told his House that to admit "so large a body of immigrants," he must have American help, and that as a prior condition, the Haganah must disarm and disband. A month later the Foreign Secretary told a meeting of his party that if the Hundred Thousand were admitted, he would have to send another army division to Palestine. He said nothing about the number of divisions that were being used to keep the Jews out of Palestine. He thought also that the Americans were urging them to go there because they did not want "too many of them in New York." Such was the fiasco of the final investigation with which the British were officially concerned. Perhaps its only positive results were two books by members of the Committee: *Palestine Mission* by the Briton Richard Crossman, and *Behind the Silken Curtain* by the American Bartley Crum. They bared the misery of the Jewish survivors as well as the intrigue and chicanery that surrounded the investigation.

§ 11

The next significant event in this story of the strange purlblindness of an "enlightened" empire occurred a year later when the General Assembly of the United Nations convened in New York for a Special Session on Palestine, the British Government having thrown the problem into the lap of the United Nations.

During that year the war and the terror had risen to a new pitch. On June 29, 1946, the initiative was taken by Britain. In an attempt to paralyze the Yishuv and its public institutions, the Government arrested and interned its leaders and outlawed the Jewish Agency. On that day 2,718 men and women were seized and imprisoned, and the offices of the Agency were occupied. Apparently the strategy, as the leaders of the Movement in America charged, "was conceived on the highest political level in an attempt to liquidate the Jewish National Home." The arrests were to be followed by an all-out campaign to liquidate the Haganah and Irgun, and an imposing array of military might was ready for the undertaking.

But the plan miscarried. The Haganah had obtained and broadcast advance information of the move, and on June 16 its striking units, the Palmach, blew up the five bridges that spanned the Jordan and disrupted the roads and railways of the country. It was an impressive warning, which the Government, of course, could not afford to heed. Large British forces descended on dozens of settlements and were met by passive resistance, against which they were helpless. The arrested leaders, including the members of the Agency, were gradually released; by November they were all free.

The relations between the Mandatory and the Yishuv worsened rapidly. In London Bevin and his associates went on trying to square the circle, producing plans that offered the Jews the bait of increased immigration, but left them ultimately at the mercy of an Arab majority. There was the Morrison Plan, contrived with the help of American experts headed by Henry Grady, which proposed a federated state with separate Arab and Jewish cantons, and offered to admit the Hundred Thousand into a Jewish zone with an area of only 1,400 square miles. And there was the Bevin Plan, which offered to admit them over a period of years to be followed by the establishment of Arab and Jewish semi-autonomous zones under British authority. The plans were rejected by the Arabs as well as the Jews, and again the Government invited the two sides to talk things over around a table, but the Jews declined, the Palestine Arabs declined and only the Arab States were represented.

And the acts of terror on both sides grew in frequency and recklessness. The most shocking incident occurred on July 22, 1946, when the south wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem was blown up by the Irgun with nearly 100 killed, among them 40 Jews. The wing was occupied by the Government Secretariat, the destruction of which was planned as an act of reprisal against the wholesale arrests of the

previous month. The Chief Secretary had been warned by telephone to evacuate his staff, but the warning was ignored. There was an outburst of indignation against the Irgun, and the inner tension in the Yishuv increased as well as the bitter hostility of the British. General Evelyn Barker, Commander of the British forces in Palestine, placed Jewish shops out of bounds for his troops. "You will be punishing the Jews in a way the race dislikes as much as any," he told them, "by striking at their pockets."

In November British troops and police ran amok in the streets of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, firing into houses and wounding scores of men, women and children. In December the Irgun retaliated for the flogging, by order of a military court, of one of its members by kidnapping and flogging a British major and three sergeants: the terrorists were determined to reject the implied British claim of being a master race. In January 1947 the Irgun blew up the police headquarters in Haifa, and by the end of that month the High Commissioner had ordered the evacuation from Palestine of British women and children as well as civilians whose services were not essential. Palestine had become virtually a police state under martial law, with continual raids, searches and curfews. But it was the British even more than the Jews who found themselves in a state of siege.

And the war continued on the Mediterranean also: there was no truce in the Battle of Immigration. In October 1945 a Haganah detachment broke into the Athlit detention camp and freed over 200 "illegals" who were held for deportation, and a few months later the Haganah attacked and disabled radar stations of the Coast Guard to prevent the detection of approaching ships. For the little freighters kept gliding towards the coast, many of them landing their human freight, others intercepted by British warships and captured by British boarding parties in the classic and bloody manner of the pirates of old. The very names of the ships ring with echoes of the epic struggle. The brave landing and demise of the *Hannah Senesch* has already been told. There was the *Enzo Sereni* with nearly 1,000 refugees which was intercepted in January 1946; the *Four Freedoms*, a 400-ton vessel with 1,000 passengers, who fought fiercely against British sailors when they boarded her in September of the same year; the *Palmach*, intercepted the same month and taken to Haifa after a battle in which one passenger was killed and nearly 100 wounded; the *Negev*, the *Maapil Almoni* (Unknown "Illegal") and the *Chaim Arlosoroff*, intercepted in February 1947: the boarding party that seized the last was met with gunfire; the *Lanegev* (*To the Negev*), brought the same month into

Haifa harbor by two destroyers; the *Moledet (Birthland)*, intercepted in March 1947; the *Theodor Herzl*, captured the following month by two destroyers after a three-hour battle in which the passengers used cans, bottles and fists against guns and tear-gas bombs; the *Mordei Haghettaot (Ghetto Rebels)*, captured in May 1947; and the *Exodus 1947*, whose unparalleled odyssey will be told in a later chapter.

In March 1947 the Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech-Jones, informed the House of Commons that 25 ships had been intercepted since 1945; he could not, of course, report the number that had run the blockade successfully. And Britain used her diplomatic influence also to stem the flow of immigrants. In April 1947 the governments of France and Italy agreed to cooperate in preventing emigrants without permits to sail from their ports to Palestine. In April 1946 the detention of more than a thousand such emigrants in the port of La Spezia in Italy led to a hunger strike in the Yishuv which forced the High Commissioner to admit them. The camps for the detention of "illegals" in Palestine were becoming overcrowded and they were, besides, a constant temptation to the Resistance Movement. So in August 1946 the British began to deport the intercepted refugees to Cyprus; by the end of April 1947 the number interned there was in excess of 14,000. Two British deportation ships kept plying between Haifa and Cyprus, and a squad of Haganah underwater swimmers, who came to be known as the "frogmen," specialized in mining them.

Nor did the terror abate after the Mandatory announced its intention to refer the Palestine problem to the United Nations. That announcement was made by Bevin in the House of Commons in February 1947. A week later the Foreign Secretary staged the most sensational of his many exhibitions of spleen on the subject of Palestine. He told the House of Commons that his efforts to solve the problem had been thwarted by "a person named Earl Harrison," by certain "New York Jews" and—by President Truman! The President's demand for the admission of the Hundred Thousand Bevin denounced as election politics. The White House called his statement "false and misleading," and in Palestine his good faith in submitting the question to the United Nations was seriously questioned.

On March 1 attacks were made on British police stations and other targets at fifteen separate points, and an Officers' Club in Jerusalem was blown up. The British retaliated by clamping martial law on Tel Aviv and the Jewish sections of Jerusalem, bringing life to a practical standstill for more than two weeks. The case of Dov Gruner, a veteran of five years service in the British army, who was sentenced

to death for complicity in an attack on the British in April 1946, had been agitating the Yishuv and the Movement for more than a year. All efforts to save Gruner from the gallows failed, and on April 16, 1947, he was executed with three other members of the Irgun. Six days later a British troop train was blown up near Rehovot.

§ 12

In the perspective of history the remote and immediate dictates that impelled this tiny community to defy a powerful empire and resort to measures that were out of keeping with its character and traditions will not be difficult to understand: a millennial hope and purpose had become exasperated by a great wrong and desperate need. The motives that induced the Mandatory to wage this "squalid war," as Churchill called it, were more complex. The overriding consideration, of course, was the importance of having and holding the friendship of the Arabs in a world which, as soon as the Nazi peril was overcome, was confronted by the menace of Communist imperialism. The Near East, in the event of war, might easily become a theater of crucial military operations. Britain's position in the Arab world left much to be desired, and to strengthen it the Foreign Office pursued three main objectives: the creation of a League of Arab States which was formally launched in March 1945; the establishment, a year later, of Transjordan as an "independent" state protected and subsidized by Britain; and the liquidation of the Jewish National Home.

The importance of placating the Arabs was further emphasized—and brought home with great force to American military and diplomatic circles also—by the vast oil resources of Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Transjordan, which Britain and the United States controlled. It was oil principally that led the State Department in Washington to see eye to eye on the subject of Palestine with the Foreign Office in London. Through the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), American interests owned all the oil rights in Saudi Arabia, including the Bahrein Islands, and a fourth of the rights in Iraq and Transjordan, while Syria and Lebanon also played an important part in the oil picture, for the vital pipelines to the Mediterranean had to pass through their jurisdiction. British and American officials, civil and military, not to speak of the oil magnates, contended that Arabian oil was vital for the naval and air forces of both countries as well as for the recovery of western Europe, and warned that the Arab rulers might turn their oil fields over to Russia if their demands on Palestine were not satisfied.

But the Arab League failed to solve Britain's difficulties with Egypt, and instead of cementing the Arab states it only served to bring out their rivalries. For Egypt's pretensions to leadership were distasteful to the others, the dream of King Abdullah of Transjordan to become ruler of a "Greater Syria," which was to include Palestine, aroused general suspicion; and no love was lost between King Ibn Saud of Arabia, who in 1924 had usurped the throne of the Hashemite King Hussein, and the rulers of Iraq and Transjordan, both of whom were Hashemites. The Arab rulers found common ground only in their hostility to Zionism, and if it was the aim of the British to harden and harness this hostility, they accomplished it. The League embarked on a venomous anti-Jewish propaganda, which imperiled the already precarious position of the Jewish communities in the Arab countries. In November 1945 there were bloody pogroms in Tripolitania which, there was reason to believe, were not suppressed by the British authorities as promptly and effectively as they could have been, and Egyptian mobs in Cairo and Alexandria indulged in widespread rioting and looting, of which Christians as well as Jews were the victims.

Another weakness in the calculations of the generals and diplomats lay in the fact that the military potential of the members of the Arab League presented no serious obstacle to a possible Russian incursion. Even the fear that the Arabs would drive the Jews into the Mediterranean was discounted by no less an authority than General J. C. D'Arcy, who in 1945 commanded the British forces in Palestine. He told the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry that "the Haganah could hold Palestine against the entire Arab world." Nor was the "oil diplomacy" of London and Washington any more sound. Arabian oil, it was pointed out by experts, was not indispensable for their naval and air forces, and in the event of war the oil installations would in any case be exposed to attack and demolition. And the warning that the Arab rulers, who depended on American and British oil royalties for their income, and who were not blind to what they might expect under Communist domination, would willingly transfer their oil fields to Russia, strained ordinary credulity to the breaking point.

But legends die hard. Even President Roosevelt who, after the Yalta Conference, received King Ibn Saud on board his cruiser in the Mediterranean with pomp and splendor, was greatly impressed when the picturesque old warrior, according to one account, solemnly assured him that "if Palestine is given to the Jews, I will never rest until I and all my sons have been killed in the defense of Palestine." On his return Roosevelt declared he had learned more about "the Moslem

problem, the Jewish problem, by talking with Ibn Saud for five minutes than I could have learned in exchange of two or three dozen letters." It was not surprising, therefore, that men of lesser imagination and perspicacity, the under-secretaries and bureaucrats, were impressed by the manifestoes of the Arab potentates. They saw no reason for sacrificing the strategic interests of the Western World for the sake of a sentimental enterprise that based its claims on—of all things—the Bible.

Chapter XXIX : UP FROM THE RUINS

HOW, IN the meantime, had the Movement been faring on the second of its two fronts, the worldwide Jewish Dispersion? The First World War and its aftermath had deprived it of its major bulwark, the Jewry of Russia; the Second destroyed nearly all its remaining assets on the European continent. The communities of Poland, Germany and Lithuania were no more, and those of Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were drastically reduced in numbers and resources and before very long became subject to a regime which looked upon Zionism with hostility. Nor was the situation better in western Europe, for the Moloch which the Germans had set up in the east was fed by millions of victims from the west also.

In all lands east and west the Zionist youth had been in the forefront of the resistance and revolt against the enemy. They were active in the ranks of the Maquis in France, harassing the Nazis and their collaborators and rescuing Jewish children from their clutches. They joined the underground in Holland, Belgium and Italy, and Zionist partisan groups were particularly active in Yugoslavia and Greece. In Poland the Zionists formed the large bulk of the Jewish fighting groups in the forests and ghettos.

Brave attempts to revive Zionist activity in all those lands were made immediately after the liberation. In Poland it was spurred by a national committee headed by Emil Sommerstein, in Rumania 50 delegates from various parts of the country assembled as early as November 1944 for their first Zionist Conference, and in France a Zionist Conference took place in March 1945 attended by 600 delegates. But it was clear that the continent was no longer an important reservoir of Zionist strength, although the hundreds of thousands of survivors, for whom salvation meant admission to Palestine, gave a new urgency to the Zionist solution, and the tragedy of European Jewry, it was ruefully pointed out, confirmed some of the ideological postulates of the Movement.

The first international Zionist gathering after the war met in London in August, 1945. For London was still the capital of the World Movement, and in spite of Britain's anti-Zionist policy, British Jewry as a whole did not waver in its fidelity to the cause. They opposed that policy with as much vigor as they fought the savage anti-Semitism which Sir Oswald Mosley's Union of British Fascists was busy promoting. "There can be no solution to the inseparable problems of the Jewish people and Palestine," declared the London Conference in a solemn manifesto, "except by constituting Palestine, undivided and undiminished, as a Jewish State in accordance with the original purpose of the Balfour Declaration." A new note was thus struck in official Zionist demands, the note represented by the term "Jewish State," which before the War had been carefully avoided.

§ 2

The new note was first sounded more than three years earlier by the Zionists of America, who were now summoned to redress the losses sustained by the Movement in Europe and be the chief support of the Yishuv in its struggle for statehood.

The Movement in America assumed the burden of leadership in 1939 on the outbreak of the Second World War, as it had done in 1914 on the outbreak of the First. But in the interval of twenty-five years the American Zionist organizations had grown in following and influence, and the heroic struggle of the Yishuv against the Mandatory, coupled with the tragedy of European Jewry, brought the Movement in America an accretion of new strength which prepared it for the role it was now called upon to play.

The immediate response to the war crisis was to set up in the United States an Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs which was to assume over-all authority in case the Executive in Palestine should be isolated from the world Movement. With the decline of that danger, the Committee in January 1942 became a wholly American body, its name changed to American Zionist Emergency Council. The Council became the executive arm of all the units of the Movement in America and in a real sense of the entire world. It operated within the borders of the leading world power and it drew upon the political, economic and moral resources not only of its constituent bodies but of a strong and influential community of 5,000,000. The strength of Zionist sentiment in that community was brought to light in November 1945 when

a poll conducted by Elmo Roper revealed that 80.1 per cent of its members believed that "every effort should be made to establish Palestine as a Jewish State," 9.4 per cent were undecided and 10.5 per cent were opposed. The Council began its career under the chairmanship of Stephen Wise, dean of the Zionist leadership of America, and the executive direction of Emanuel Neumann. In 1943 Abba Hillel Silver became co-chairman, and in 1947 sole chairman.

The Council's function was to act as spokesman for Zionism in the country whose influence might well prove decisive for the future of Palestine. It was essential, therefore, to win the public opinion of America for the Zionist solution. In pursuit of that objective nearly 400 local Emergency Councils were established over the country. Forty state legislatures adopted pro-Zionist resolutions and as many governors sent President Roosevelt a pro-Zionist petition. Leaders of the nation in every sphere—public service, industry, labor, religion, education and the arts—were drawn into a nation-wide surge of sympathy. An American Palestine Committee, headed by Senator Robert Wagner of New York, embraced over 15,000 of them, all non-Jews, and a Christian Council of Palestine was formed, headed by Henry A. Atkinson, leader of the Church Peace Union, with nearly 2,500 clergymen of every denomination as members. In May 1946, the two groups combined and became the American Christian Palestine Committee. In 1948 the Committee had a membership of 20,000, and among its active promoters were Senator Owen Brewster of Maine, Senator James Mead of New York, Carl Herman Voss, Dean Howard M. Le Sourd, Reinhold Niebuhr and Helen Gahagan Douglas.

The tragedy of European Jewry and the vital place of Palestine in the hopes of the survivors were not allowed to fade from public view, and the objective urged by that impressive assemblage was the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. At their annual conventions in 1944 the two major American labor bodies, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, placed themselves on record in favor of this objective, and early in 1945 some 2,000 university professors in 250 seats of learning across the country called on the President to support it.

American public opinion was won, but it is significant that when, early in 1944, a pro-Zionist resolution was introduced in Congress, with every prospect of adoption by an overwhelming majority, the State Department found it "untimely in the light of the existing international situation," and the resolution was withdrawn. It was not,

however, abandoned. In December 1945 it was duly adopted by both Houses. It spoke clearly about Palestine being "opened for free entry of Jews" and "full opportunity for colonization and development," and rather vaguely about "Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights." Apparently the resolution had been watered down: the term "Jewish Commonwealth" was absent. In July of the previous year the two major parties at their nominating conventions had inserted pro-Zionist planks into their platforms. The Republican plank called for "a free and democratic commonwealth," the Democratic plank for "a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

But American Zionists were learning to distinguish between words and deeds, and they were learning also the harder lesson that their government did not always move in all its parts in the same direction. It was all very fine to have the sympathy of legislative bodies, governors, clergymen, professors, labor leaders and others, but certain officials in Washington refused to be impressed by their petitions and pronouncements. In Zionist circles the complaint was freely voiced that on the question of Palestine the State Department in Washington did not see eye to eye with the White House, but stood at the bidding of the Foreign Office in London.

§ 3

A sharp increase in the organized strength of American Zionism was registered by all branches of the Movement: General Zionism, Religious Zionism and Socialist Zionism. The youth organizations, most of them attached to the different branches of the Movement, attracted larger followings, and Zionist periodicals and other publications multiplied in number and circulation. Groups engaged in promoting special Palestine projects—like the American Fund for Palestine Institutions, headed by Edward Norman, the Palestine Economic Corporation, the American Friends of the Hebrew University, the American Technion Society for the support of the Haifa Technical Institute—flourished. The boldest and most imaginative scheme was the Jordan Valley Authority, modeled on the Tennessee Valley Authority and projected by Walter Clay Lowdermilk, a government soil conservation expert and an ardent Christian Zionist. The scheme, for which extensive surveying and planning were carried out by American engineers, promised to irrigate and afforest large tracts of arid land

with the waters of the Jordan, and generate electric power by channeling water from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea.

For three years after the War the American Zionist scene was enlivened and also bedeviled by two organizations, both of which owed their impulse to the "activist" or Revisionist current of the world Movement. In the angry controversy over the terror in Palestine they took their stand with the Irgun and sought sympathy and support for it in America. One of them was the small Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, headed by the fiery Peter Bergson; the other, supporting the Committee, was the American League for a Free Palestine with Senator Guy M. Gillette of Iowa as president. In 1948 the League claimed a membership of 150,000 and commanded the allegiance of a goodly number of literary and other celebrities, among them Ben Hecht, Louis Bromfield, Will Rogers, Jr., and William Ziff.

The passions aroused by the struggle against the Mandatory in Palestine, coupled with the holocaust that overwhelmed their kin in Europe, swept the Jews of America into the Movement by the hundreds of thousands. The first group in size and influence was still the Zionist Organization of America, and second to it was Hadassah, both identified with the center, or General Zionist section, of the world Movement. In 1945, the president of the first was Abba Hillel Silver, whose eloquence and resoluteness made him the foremost figure in American Zionism. He was succeeded in 1947 by Emanuel Neumann, experienced and resourceful and with a thorough grasp of Zionist problems in Palestine as well as America. In the second year of Neumann's administration the membership of the ZOA rose to 250,000, an increase since 1942 of 500 per cent. By the same year the membership of Hadassah, under the leadership of Tamar de Sola Pool, Judith Epstein and Rose Halprin, had also risen to that figure. The two united to establish the American Zionist Youth Commission to strengthen their youth groups: Young Judea, Masada, Junior Hadassah and the Intercollegiate Zionist Federation.

The Labor Zionist Organization and its many affiliates also made considerable gains, attracting adherents among liberal intellectuals and union leaders, as well as Conservative and Reform rabbis. The Religious Wing, represented by the Mizrachi, with its energetic women's branch and other affiliates, continued to draw its following from the Orthodox. In terms of direct personal affiliation Zionism became the largest force in the American Jewish community, its organized strength having risen to nearly a million, a figure which should be

doubled if those indirectly affiliated, like the members of the big fraternal orders, were added. The latter now included the influential B'nai Brith, whose officers collaborated in political action with the Zionist leadership. And, of course, this massive following, in whom the Movement stirred profound emotions, represented a considerable political force in a democracy where it was free to voice its hopes and wishes, and where those who held or sought high public office were bound to listen.

It was also a source of unprecedented financial aid. Even those who still held aloof from Zionism as an organized movement did not, as in Herzl's day, hold aloof from its financial needs. The United Palestine Appeal joined in a common effort with the other leading Jewish agencies engaged in relief and reconstruction work overseas, and the United Jewish Appeal, as the new instrument was named, raised sums that were unmatched in the field of voluntary giving, Jewish or non-Jewish. Nearly half went to the *Keren Hayesod* and the *Keren Kayemet*. In 1947 the Appeal received \$170,000,000, a sum which would have appeared fabulous to Herzl and more than enough to bring his fondest hopes to prompt fruition. The nation-wide effort was led by Henry Morgenthau, Jr., who had served many years in Franklin Roosevelt's cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury. At the same time smaller groups were engaged in supplying the Yishuv directly with some of the instruments which the struggle called for. One of them, headed by Rudolf Sonneborn, purchased and remodeled ships and provided them with crews for the Battle of Immigration.

By 1947 the American Jewish community was united on the Palestine issue as it had never been united on any issue. Nevertheless, there was one discordant note, as if to make sure that the struggle which Zionism had had to wage against enemies in the Jewish fold would not be forgotten. All the alarms and resentments with which Herzl had been met by Jews of wealth and influence found themselves concentrated in America in a small group that called itself the American Council for Judaism. It stood on the shore in the rising tide and imperiously commanded the waves to roll back.

§ 4

Influencing public opinion, raising funds, enlarging its organized forces, and lining up political support—such were the principal functions of the Movement in America. They were promoted by a variety

of means, chief among them publications, conventions and demonstrations. There were numerous demonstrations against Britain's anti-Zionist policy. They often took place simultaneously in cities across the country, some of them reaching giant proportions.

Of the many conventions and conferences two deserve special notice. The first took place in May 1942 at the Biltmore Hotel in New York; the significant Declaration it adopted has come down as the Biltmore Program. The Conference was called by the Emergency Council and represented every grouping of the Movement. The Biltmore Program denounced the White Paper of 1939 as having "no moral or legal validity" and as "cruel and indefensible," and it concluded with the demand "that the gates of Palestine be opened, that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration and the necessary authority for upbuilding the country," and that Palestine be established as "a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world." The Biltmore Program epitomized the progress which Zionism had made since 1917. "Palestine a Jewish Commonwealth" now became the watchword of the Movement; it was a far cry from the shadowy "national home in Palestine" of the Balfour Declaration.

The second important gathering during the war years was the American Jewish Conference, held in New York in September 1943. Its convocation was prompted by motives similar to those which brought the American Jewish Congress into existence in 1918: a desire to rally the whole of American Jewry to the Zionist objective. The Conference, therefore, included delegates from national Jewish organizations and communities throughout the country. Directly and indirectly it was estimated to represent 2,250,000 men and women. And it dealt not only with Palestine, but with the rescue of the surviving Jews of Europe and the protection of minorities. But the zenith of its deliberations was its Declaration on Palestine. That Declaration was in effect an enlargement of the Biltmore Program. Its crucial paragraph stated: "We call for the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine, whose intent and underlying purpose, based on the 'historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine,' was to reconstitute Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth." It was a solemn and moving manifesto, and the overwhelming majority of the 500 delegates at the Conference voted for it. But among the few who were opposed were the delegates of the American Jewish Committee, led by its president, Joseph Proskauer. They were not prepared for a "Jewish Commonwealth": it involved the old and dis-

turbing issue of "double loyalty." But history was marching with seven league boots. Four years later the notables of the American Jewish Committee, including Proskauer, were to join the Zionists in demanding not a Jewish Commonwealth, a term still not without ambiguities, but a sovereign State.

§ 5

That first international Zionist gathering after the war in August 1945 met in no buoyant mood: the tragedy of European Jewry stood before it in all its horror, and while the struggle of the Yishuv inspired pride and admiration, the terror that accompanied it engendered bitterness and division. Perhaps the highest incident at this gathering was the address of Chaya Grossman, a young woman who had been in the forefront of the uprising in the ghetto of Bialystok. "We knew that with our death all would not be lost," she told the veterans of the Movement who had come from Palestine, America and Europe; "that our death would become an uplifting force, a Torah for the education of the young. And one thing more I would say to you: the heroes of our people are not exactly its famous leaders; they are the common men and women, the humble and the silent . . . For us the war is not over."

§ 6

In December 1946, after a lapse of seven years, came the Twenty-second Zionist Congress. It moved in an atmosphere even more charged with uncertainty and anxiety than its predecessor in 1939. Again it met in Basel, the city where Herzl had launched the Movement half a century before. What a grim road those fifty years had been, a road strewn with broken promises and blasted hopes, beset with toils, perils and disasters. Two global wars had intervened to deprive the Movement of its major bulwarks, and the Great Power which had taken the cause to its bosom in 1917 was now attempting to stifle it.

The Congress represented an orphaned Movement, thousands of its faithful adherents and leaders having been murdered with the rest of their people. "It was a dreadful experience," says Weizmann in his autobiography,* "to stand before that assembly and run one's eyes along row after row of delegates, finding among them hardly one of the

* *Trial and Error* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1949).

friendly faces which had adorned past Congresses. Polish Jewry was missing; central and southeast European Jewry was missing; German Jewry was missing." The Congress made one of its sessions a somber memorial to the six million slain whom the Nazis had added to the long martyrology of the Jewish people.

In the period between the Conference of 1945 and this Congress, moreover, the new hope raised by the victory of the British Labor party had proved a new illusion, and the relations with the Mandatory had deteriorated alarmingly. During this period, it will be recalled, the British Foreign Secretary had been indulging in crude jibes at the expense of the homeless Jews and their aspirations, and the humane recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry had been summarily rejected by him and his Government. The deportation of the refugees to Cyprus was continuing, the "illegal" ships were moving steadily towards the coast of Palestine, and the terror in the land was mounting. And six months before the Congress convened the Government had made its supreme bid to crush the Yishuv's resistance by arresting and imprisoning thousands of its leading men and women. Such were the events in whose shadow the Twenty-second Congress found itself.

In spite of the loss of a third of the nation, however, the world Movement had more followers than ever; the 385 delegates represented 2,100,000 shekel-payers. It is doubtful if any national movement in history ever won a larger proportion of the people it represented. More than half the shekel-payers were in America, 616,000 in Europe and 300,000 in Palestine. The American delegation of 120 was the largest at the Congress, the Palestinian came next with 79 delegates, and there were 16 delegates from the camps in Germany and Austria, sent by the survivors who were still waiting for deliverance. The Revisionists were now back in the Congress, but they lacked their force of the early thirties: their brilliant leader Jabotinsky had died in New York in 1940. The Revisionist demand for a Jewish State, moreover, was now voiced by every other group except the radical Hashomer Hatzair, which clung tenaciously to a bi-national state. In the name of the Yishuv the demand for a State was voiced by its representative, David Remez. And another grouping, the World Confederation of General Zionists, headed by Israel Goldstein, a prominent New York rabbi and former president of the Zionist Organization of America, made its first appearance at the Congress. The basic aim of the Confederation was "the strengthening of national unity in the face of separatist tendencies from the right and from the left."

The Congress was attended by diplomatic representatives of many nations, among them the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Italy, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Greece and the Scandinavian countries. But Great Britain was absent.

§ 7

The previous Zionist Congresses had wrestled with numerous problems: political, financial and religious; problems of rural and urban colonization; of education and culture; immigration and organization. At this Congress the political problem dominated the scene, and it revolved around two questions. The previous August the Jewish Agency, meeting in Paris, had announced it was "prepared to discuss a proposal for the establishment of a viable Jewish state in an adequate area of Palestine." Should the Congress take the same stand, a stand for partition, or should it demand a Jewish Commonwealth in the whole of Palestine? In September the Government had opened in London its ill-starred round-table conference on Palestine. Should the Movement accept the Government's invitation to attend that Conference? The two questions produced a rift in the Congress which cut across party lines. One group, headed by Weizmann and including influential leaders like Stephen Wise, Moshe Sharett, Nahum Goldmann, Isaac Gruenbaum, Berl Locker, and Felix Rosenblueth, still believed in the possibility of an understanding with the Mandatory and urged the Congress to approve the principle of partition and accept the invitation to the Conference. Only the year before Weizmann had expressed the view that "the present relations between the Jews and the Mandatory Power are surely based on a temporary aberration." The principal spokesmen of the other group, whose members were referred to as "activists" or "militants," were Abba Hillel Silver, David Ben Gurion, Emanuel Neumann, Bernard Joseph and Moshe Sneh. With regard to partition, they contended that the proposal, if it came at all, should come from Britain or the Arabs; the Movement would only stultify itself and undermine its bargaining position if it proposed it first. The overriding need, Ben Gurion declared, was unrestricted immigration and resettlement, which alone could save the survivors of the great disaster, and which only a Jewish State would insure. Ben Gurion headed a large minority of the the Labor delegation in "rebellious" opposition to Weizmann.

After long and heated debate on the floor of the Congress and in the Political Committee, over which Silver presided, the "militants"

won. The Congress adopted resolutions which, after demanding "the removal of the scourge of national homelessness from the Jewish people and its establishment as a free and independent nation in its own country," went on to reiterate the Biltmore Program, which said nothing about partition. And on the touchy question of accepting or rejecting the Government's invitation declared "that in the existing circumstances the Zionist Movement cannot take part in the London Conference." The Congress rejected the Morrison-Grady plan "as a travesty of Britain's obligations under the Mandate," and adopted a resolution denouncing "the terrorist campaign to which certain dissident groups in Palestine have resorted in defiance of the authority of the representative Jewish national bodies."

The vote on Bevin's invitation and on partition meant the repudiation of Weizmann's leadership: he had told the Congress he would again be president of the World Organization only if it accepted the invitation and approved of partition. All attempts to build up a majority for him failed: too many of his supporters among the Laborites and the General Zionists, especially among the General Zionists of America, had been alienated by his persistent pro-British orientation. The Congress adjourned without electing a president or an Executive, investing the newly elected General Council, or Actions Committee, with authority to choose both. Five days later the General Council chose a Coalition Executive, consisting of 8 General Zionists, 7 Laborites and 4 Mizrachi, which elected Ben Gurion as its Chairman and Silver as Chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive.*

* The terms Zionist Executive and Jewish Agency Executive are used interchangeably.

Chapter XXX : NOVEMBER 29, 1947

WITH THE opening of the Special Session of the UN Assembly on April 28, 1947 the Palestine imbroglio, in which the Jews, the Arabs and the British had been deadlocked for three decades, became the formal responsibility of the organized world community. But this community, still in its infancy, suffered from two major maladies: it was torn by the rivalry between the Soviet Union and its satellites on the one hand, and the western democracies on the other, and it had no physical power to enforce its decisions. Would Palestine become another pawn in the global game between the rivals? The Kremlin's long-standing hostility to Zionism would, it was feared, clash with the sympathetic attitude which was generally, but all too confidently, attributed to the American government. And if the Assembly reached a decision but the parties concerned chose to defy it, what would the Security Council do to enforce it? An international police force was only a hope and a dream.

The first question was answered by Andrei Gromyko, the head of the Soviet Delegation, in a manner that took the friends and foes of Zionism alike by surprise. His address at the plenary meeting of the Assembly on May 14 was the climactic event of the Special Session. Both Jews and Arabs, he declared, have "historical roots" in Palestine, and after making a strong plea for a binational state, he went on to say that if "this plan was unrealizable . . . it would be necessary to consider an alternative solution . . . the division of Palestine into two independent separate states, one Jewish and one Arab." Soviet Russia, where Zionism was proscribed as counterrevolution, had become an advocate of the Zionist solution: a Jewish State in Palestine! An assortment of explanations was offered for the paradox, the most plausible being that an independent Palestine—whether it consisted of one state or two—would mean the withdrawal of the British from the country. At any rate, for the first time in its career it appeared possible for the

United Nations to grapple with a major world problem without being bedeviled by disagreement between East and West.

The second question was not answered so simply and promptly. Forced to rely on its moral power alone, the United Nations in the months and years that followed pursued a course which became increasingly involved, equivocal and subsidiary. There were moments when the part it played was salutary and constructive, but it did nothing to enforce its Decision when the Arab states invaded Palestine to nullify it. It was the Yishuv, rather, that saved the prestige of the United Nations by implementing the Decision and vindicating it on the field of battle.

§ 2

The Decision in question came seven months after that Special Session—on November 29, 1947. It was made by the Regular Session of that year which began in September, and during those months there was another and final investigation of the Palestine deadlock, conducted by a United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), the creation of which was the sole accomplishment of the Special Session.

The debates that preceded the naming of the Committee and the adoption of its terms of reference were passionate and bitter. The Arab side had, in addition to others, five zealous champions in the five Arab states who were members of the UN. The Jewish side had none until the Jewish Agency was invited to present its case to the Political Committee.* But the invitation to the Agency was balanced by one to the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine. The spokesmen of the Agency were Abba Hillel Silver, the head of its American Section, Moshe Sharett, who headed its political department, and David Ben Gurion, its chairman.

The American Zionist leader stressed the fundamentals of the Zionist Movement. Palestine, he told the delegates, was not primarily a haven for a certain number of Jewish refugees or displaced persons. The Mandate, he reminded them, recognized "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and "the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country," and the Committee of Inquiry, he urged, must be guided by "the international obligation to

* The composition of this Committee, known also as the First Committee, is the same as that of the Assembly. In the Committee, however, decisions can be reached by a bare majority; in the Assembly they require a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting for or against.

insure the continuous development of the Jewish National Home." Sharett emphasized the uniqueness of the problem. He said:

The great historic phenomenon of the Jewish return is unique because the position of the Jewish people as a homeless people, and yet attached with an unbreakable tenacity to its birthplace, is unique. It is that phenomenon which has made the problem of Palestine an issue in international affairs, and no similar issue has ever arisen.

The spokesman of the Arab Higher Committee contended that the Balfour Declaration was illegal and the Palestine Mandate, which was based on it, must be annulled. The head of the Higher Committee himself was not in attendance. He was still the former Mufti of Jerusalem, the leader of the onslaughts against the Yishuv in 1929 and 1936, and his prestige in the Arab world was so great that in spite of his close and well-known collaboration with the Nazis, he was permitted to escape from France and establish himself in Egypt. Britain's attitude during the proceedings was passive and noncommittal: she hoped the Committee would find a solution that would be accepted by both parties, a hope which the experience of a generation must have shown her to be vain. Was it hypocrisy or a sly intimation that no solution was possible, that the UN would get no further in Palestine than she herself? The attitude of the American Delegation was also wary and "neutral," and it became more clear than ever to the Zionists of America that powerful forces in their Government were supporting the British position.

An Inquiry Committee of 11 members, from which the 5 major powers were excluded, was finally named by the Assembly, with terms of reference that required it "to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine." Clearly, the homeless Jewish survivors in Europe could be included in the Committee's purview, and the Arabs protested vehemently: there were broader and richer lands, they argued, that should provide a home for the homeless Jews. The Committee was instructed to report not later than September 1947, when the Regular Session of the Assembly would convene. It was furnished with a Secretariat of 57 persons, and elected Emil Sandstrom of Sweden as chairman.

At its first meeting in Jerusalem in June the UN Committee learned that the Arab Higher Committee had decided not to cooperate with it. But the members heard a full presentation of the Arab case

from representatives of the Arab States, with whom they met in Beirut. They listened, of course, to the spokesmen of all parties in the Yishuv. They inquired closely into the strength of the Haganah, and even questioned the leader of the Irgun in his secret headquarters. Nor did they confine themselves to official hearings and the testimony of the leaders. They saw the land and listened to the common people. Early in August they went to Europe and visited a number of the camps in Germany and Austria where the survivors of the holocaust still waited. They were deeply affected by what they saw and heard. Two of them in particular, Jorge Garcia-Granados of Guatemala and Enrique Rodriguez Fabregat of Uruguay, became ardent advocates of the Zionist cause.

On the last day of August UNSCOP published its report. On some things, such as the necessity of terminating the Mandate "at the earliest practicable date," of preserving "the economic unity of Palestine as a whole," and of safeguarding "the sacred character of the Holy Places," the members of the Committee were unanimous. But on the paramount question of the political future of the country, they were divided. A minority of three—India, Iran and Yugoslavia—recommended a unitary federal state. The others, with the exception of Australia, which refrained from taking any stand, recommended the establishment of three distinct political units: a Jewish State, an Arab State and an international regime under the authority of the United Nations for Jerusalem and its environs. The majority proposed to maintain the economic unity of all three parts by means of a customs union, a common currency and joint operation of basic utilities and projects, including the ports of Haifa and Jaffa. And it set the boundaries of the two states, allotting to the Jewish State eastern Galilee, the Emek, most of the coastal plain and the Negev.

The boundaries fixed by the Committee made the map of Palestine look very much like a jigsaw puzzle, but it could not be denied that the proposed Jewish State would have the choicest parts of the country. But most important of all, the Committee recommended a sovereign Jewish State, the hope of two thousand years of national homelessness, the vision with which Herzl had launched the Zionist Movement a half century before. "An earnest effort to bring the problem to a just solution" was the way the Zionist Executive characterized the report. But the Arab spokesmen denounced and rejected it *in toto*; they even rejected the minority plan of a federated Arab-Jewish state.

How would it go with the UNSCOP reports in the General Assembly of the United Nations which opened in September? And should

the majority report be approved, how would its provisions be implemented in the face of the immovable intransigence of the Arab Higher Committee backed by the encircling Arab states?

§ 3

Partition and independence, the remedy proposed by UNSCOP, was no mere palliative, and the war between the Yishuv and the Mandatory, which the members of the Committee witnessed during their stay in the country, must have played its part in forcing them to so radical a solution. In Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv the UN emissaries found the British administration and military entrenched behind fortified enclosures in sections from which they had evicted the residents: "Bevingrads," the Jews derisively called them. And that spring and summer of 1947 some of the most savage and spectacular acts of terror and counter-terror were committed.

The counter-terror was the work of a special squad of the British police recruited, according to report, from Mosley's Union of British Fascists. In May and for months afterwards the Yishuv was agitated by the abduction and apparent murder of Alexander Rabovitz, a Jewish boy of sixteen, committed by members of this squad. No trace of the boy was found, and in October a British major accused of the crime, after avoiding prosecution for a long time, was finally tried not by the civil courts but by court martial, and acquitted by his fellow-officers.

The same day that UNSCOP opened its hearings in Jerusalem—June 16—a military court in that city pronounced the death sentence on three Jewish youths for participating in an attack on the prison at Acre, the fortress where many political prisoners were held. It was there that two months earlier Dov Gruner and three other Jews were hanged. The attack—one of Irgun's most daring and successful exploits—had resulted in the liberation of 250 prisoners. But the Irgun resolved that the execution of its three members should not go unavenged. In July two British sergeants were kidnapped and held as hostages, and when, towards the end of that month, the three condemned youths were hanged, the bodies of the two soldiers, with mines attached to them, were found two days later hanging from a tree in a wood near Nathanya. That was the most gruesome incident in the melancholy round of terror and counter-terror in Palestine. The Yishuv was outraged by the ruthless act of reprisal, and the press branded it as simple murder. But British troops and police retaliated

by driving through the streets of Tel Aviv and firing into stores, cafes and passing buses, leaving 5 killed and 27 wounded. Some days later 200 Jewish leaders were arrested, among them Israel Rokach, the Mayor of Tel Aviv, and Oved Ben Ami, the Mayor of Nathanya. Such were the grisly events that accompanied the UN inquiry in Palestine. The Committee had appealed to the Government in London for a commutation of the death penalty imposed on the Irgun youths, but the Government had informed Trygve Lie, the UN Secretary General, that it would take no action.

But even more shocking and sensational was an episode in the Battle of Immigration which began during UNSCOP's inquiry in Palestine, and did not end until nearly two months later. It was the tragic odyssey of one of the "illegal" ships with the challenging name *Exodus 1947*. On July 11 of the year for which she was named, the ship, a former American coastal steamer originally built to carry 700 passengers, slipped out from a southern French fishing port with nearly 4,500 refugees, men, women and children, bound for Palestine. A British squadron consisting of a cruiser and three destroyers appeared promptly and trailed the ship across the Mediterranean. On the seventh night, as the *Exodus*, with lights out, tried to elude her "escort" and made a dash for the shore of Palestine, she was rammed and boarded, and in the clash that followed William Bernstein, one of the American members of her crew, and two passengers were killed and a score wounded. The ship was compelled to proceed to Haifa.

So far the plight of the vessel and her human cargo was something to which the Yishuv and the world had become inured. But now, by edict from London, it became unique. The Government had decided to stop deporting "illegals" to Cyprus. Too many had already been dumped there and, besides, the proximity of the island to Palestine led the internees to feel that their journey had not been entirely in vain. Cyprus was a mistake, the "illegals" should henceforth be taken back to their port of embarkation. So the passengers of the *Exodus 1947* were huddled into three British prison ships, which five days later anchored off Marseilles. But how were the "illegals" to be landed? The French were willing to receive them, but only if they came willingly, and the refugees declared they would land willingly only in Palestine.

For nearly a month the three ships stood off Marseilles, the refugees crowded on caged decks and in holds in the intense summer heat, the British waiting for their resolution to break. It was a grim duel between a mighty empire and a few thousand tormented human

beings. In the Yishuv men and women fasted in demonstrations of their solidarity with the victims, special prayers were recited in the synagogues, and the shofar was sounded as on the Day of Atonement. The *Exodus* incident was perhaps the most squalid page in Britain's "squalid war" against the Yishuv, and Britain was made to feel it by the indignation it roused across the world.

The resolution of the refugees did not break. The British abandoned the duel, and proceeded to inflict a still greater indignity upon them. The prison ships headed west, passed through the Strait of Gibraltar, then steamed north to Hamburg in the British Occupation Zone of Germany. On September 8 the passengers were dragged ashore, many of them resisting and sustaining severe injuries from the truncheons of British soldiers. Again they found themselves incarcerated in concentration camps on the soil of the people who had murdered their kith and kin and reduced their old and proud communities to vast and nameless graveyards.

The answers the refugees gave to British intelligence officers who attempted to classify them deserve recording for their symbolic imaginativeness. "I am a Jew from Palestine and I want to go back to Palestine," was the manner in which they identified themselves. "How then did you become a victim of the Nazis in Europe?" was the next question. "I was traveling," was the answer.

§ 4

But the 2,000-year journey was not far from its end, for the General Assembly of the United Nations was already in session, and on September 25 the UNSCOP majority report lay before the delegates meeting as an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Palestine. The adoption of the report by the Assembly came two months later, on November 29, 1947, and the intervening weeks were the most hectic which the new world organization had yet experienced.

There was an unprecedented reason why it should have been otherwise—why the Assembly should have adopted the report promptly and with a minimum of storm and tension: Soviet Russia and the United States stood on the same side. On October 11 the United States declared for the Partition Plan, and three days later Russia did likewise. The Arab delegates, of whom there were now 6, Yemen having been admitted to the UN on September 30, were of course entitled to a hearing, as well as the spokesman of the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine. He was Jamal el Husseini, a cousin of

the former Mufti, and he exercised that right to the full, rejecting the report of the minority as well as the majority, and warning that any partition boundaries that might be established would become "walls of blood and fire," and the delegates of the Arab states spoke in the same vein. But with the two leading powers for once in accord, the result should not have hung in the balance as it did.

There were a number of factors which for six weeks—from the middle of October to the final vote on November 29—held the outcome in suspense. The most important of them was the tepid and vacillating attitude of the American Delegation, an attitude which soon became apparent in spite of the American declaration in favor of the Partition Plan. The paradox sprang from the contradiction between the pro-Jewish disposition of the White House and the pro-British policy of the State Department. Many delegations, therefore, whose vote was normally determined by the attitude of the United States, felt free to shift their support to the Arab side or abstain from supporting either side. On November 26, when the *Ad Hoc* Committee approved the Partition Plan by a vote of 25 to 13 with 17 abstentions, it became exceedingly doubtful if the Plan would receive the necessary two-thirds majority in the Assembly.

The crisis called for the employment of all the strength, skill and influence the Zionist Movement could muster, but the burden rested almost entirely on the Movement in America, whose leadership and mass following rose to the need. The problem was to change the lukewarm attitude of the American Delegation to wholehearted support so that at least 7 of the 17 abstainers would be added to those who approved. It was a remorseless and gruelling battle, fought in Flushing Meadows, in Washington and across the country with all the instruments of persuasion available to free men in a democracy. At the last moment there were dramatic shifts by a number of delegations, and on Saturday, November 29, when the vote of the General Assembly under the gavel of the president, Oswaldo Aranha of Brazil, had been counted, it stood 33 for the Partition Plan, among them the United States, the Soviet Union and France; 13 against, 10 abstentions and one absent. Britain was among the abstainers; her partners in the British Commonwealth all approved.

So the report was adopted with two votes more than the required majority. The goal of the Zionist Movement, the restoration of the Jewish State in Palestine, had been decreed by the highest international authority. It was the climactic moment in the career of Political Zionism. The news was heard across the globe, and that night and for

days afterwards Jews in all parts of the world, including the camps of the survivors on the continent and in Cyprus, observed a new Passover of freedom and rejoicing. The young danced in the streets, strangers greeted and embraced each other, and there were jubilant processions, among them the symbolic parade through the Arch of Titus in Rome to which allusion was made in the opening of this chronicle. And nowhere was the exultation greater than in Palestine, where British soldiers and even Arabs joined in hailing the event.

Chapter XXXI: FIRST ASSAULT

BUT THERE were no illusions in the Yishuv or in the Movement as to what lay ahead. When the vote was announced the delegates of the six Arab states walked out of the Assembly, and the following day the Arab Higher Committee ordered a three-day general strike of Arabs in Palestine. A day later a large Arab mob stabbed, burned and looted in Jerusalem, and fatal encounters between Jews and Arabs had begun in the area between Tel Aviv and Jaffa. A week later the Arab League, meeting in Cairo, made it known that it would take military and other measures to prevent the implementation of the UN Decision and the wrath of their people boiled over into bloody attacks upon their Jewish neighbors. Nothing so drastic was threatened by the British; they only stated they would not cooperate in enforcing partition, but in the circumstances the statement meant that they ranged themselves on the side of the Arabs and against the Jews.

The Arab-Jewish War that followed had two distinct phases. The first was a guerrilla war, fought by bands of Palestine Arabs, reinforced by numerous and well-armed contingents from the neighboring lands, and it had three main objectives: to paralyze the Yishuv by forcing Jewish traffic off the roads, to destroy outlying Jewish settlements, and to cut the Yishuv in two by seizing the Emek. The second phase of the war, which began May 15, 1948 immediately after the expiration of the Mandate, involved the armed forces of Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Transjordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, which invaded Palestine with the object of throwing the Jews into the Mediterranean.

During the first phase of the war the British were still in the land, but neither before nor after their departure was there a change in the hostile attitude of the Labor Government towards the people whom Britain had once promised a National Home. There were British soldiers in Palestine whose attitude as individuals was quite different, and there were indications that Sir Alan Cunningham, the

High Commissioner, would have preferred to pursue a different course. But the policy that prevailed, decreed from London and masterminded by the unbending Foreign Secretary and his pro-Arab experts in the Foreign and Colonial Offices, now had only one aim: to thwart the rise of a Jewish State in Palestine.

So the long-standing war with the British did not really end. As long as they remained they insisted that they alone were responsible for public security, but in the face of mounting Arab attacks, they hampered the Jews by denying them the use of armored vehicles and escorts, and confiscating their arms. Nor did they seriously attempt to check the infiltration of the Arab guerrillas from the neighboring countries, and they continued to intercept "illegals" attempting to land on the coast and transported them again to Cyprus, the experiment with the *Exodus 1947* having been a dismal failure. The Arab armies that invaded Palestine when the British departed came with tanks, armored cars, artillery, planes and other weapons which had been supplied them by Britain in pursuance, it was piously claimed, of treaty obligations, but those weapons, the same treaties stipulated, were for internal security, not for aggression. And before and after the departure of the British—during both phases, that is, of the Arab-Jewish conflict—the most formidable military force the Jews had to face was the Arab Legion, which, as we saw, was British-financed, British-trained, and British-officered. Formally, of course, the Legion was the army of Transjordan, whose astute and ambitious ruler, King Abdullah, made no secret of his hope to add the whole of Palestine to his domain; but it was also no secret that Abdullah was Britain's puppet, and that the Legion was in fact an instrument of British policy. Indeed, the British, as they withdrew, brought in contingents of the Legion for police duty in Palestine with fatal consequences for many Jews. On December 15, for example, soldiers of the Legion encamped near Lydda fired at a Jewish supply convoy on its way to Ben Shemen, killing fourteen of the guard and wounding twelve. And when the British withdrawal was completed, the same contingents, transformed into Abdullah's army of invasion, stayed on where the British had put them. In the summer of 1947, the United Nations Special Committee, during its inquiry in Palestine, was told by leaders of the Haganah that they were confident they could even repel an invasion by the states of the Arab League, unless the invaders had the help of "a Great Power." From the very start of the Arab-Jewish war the Yishuv was aware that the Great Power in question was allied with its enemies.

§ 2

The five and a half months of guerrilla warfare that followed the UN Decision brought scores of encounters, large and small, in nearly every corner of the land and thousands of killed and wounded.* Only the more significant episodes can be noted in this chronicle. They included the attempts of the Arabs to sever Jerusalem and the settlements north and south of it from the rest of the Yishuv, the prolonged duel between Arab Jaffa and Jewish Tel Aviv in the no-man's land between the two cities, the defeat of the "Arab Army of Liberation" in the Battle of Mishmar Haemek and, shortly before the British evacuation, the seizure by the Jews of Tiberias, Haifa, Safed and Jaffa, and the sudden flight of the Arabs across the partition boundaries.

Early in the war Jerusalem became the focal point of the conflict. The city's lifeline—the road that connected it with Tel Aviv—became the principal target of the attack on Jewish traffic, and the city itself the most coveted prize in the Arab plan to seize the outlying settlements. For, in a real sense, the Holy City, for which the UN had decreed an international regime, was an outlying Jewish settlement, isolated from the rest of the Yishuv and peculiarly vulnerable to siege and attack. The Jews of Jerusalem had fewer fighting men and arms than any other sizable Jewish concentration, and if that was true of the 100,000 Jews of the New City, it was especially true of the 1,500 who lived in the crowded Jewish quarter behind the thick walls that girded the Old City. In a matter of days after the UN Decision, this quarter found itself under attack and siege, and it held out against the Arab irregulars only because the Haganah succeeded in smuggling men and arms into it, as well as food and medical personnel.

The New City soon found itself faced with a host of problems, of which food, fuel, water and arms were the most serious. The entire Yishuv, in fact, was inadequately armed, even for guerrilla warfare. The Haganah was not yet an army; it was only an underground force, without enough rifles and ammunition, let alone artillery, tanks and planes. Only its commando wing, the Palmach, was an efficient force, but it numbered only some 3,000, its units thinly scattered, and it was greatly handicapped by the restraints which the British imposed on it, and which, in the early stage of the conflict, it imposed on itself. For the other formations of the Haganah, the Field Troops and es-

* Casualties reported May 3, 1948 were 5,014 killed and 6,632 wounded. Among the killed were 1,256 Jews, 3,569 Arabs and 152 Britons. But many Arab casualties remained unreported.

pecially the Home Guard, there were not enough Sten guns, side arms, or even hand grenades.

The convoys from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem soon found themselves under incessant attack, and wrecked vehicles began to strew the sides of the road. Scores of Jews were killed in these attacks and the bodies of those who fell into Arab hands were revoltingly mutilated. The steep run from Bab-el-Waad to Jerusalem was especially hazardous and cost many lives and vehicles. It was road-blocked by guerrilla bands whose principal base was the village of Castel, site of an ancient Roman fort. On the night of April 3 a detachment of Palmach captured Castel; the Arabs, nearly all of them Syrians and Iraqis, counter-attacked in great force and retook the village, but they were again driven out, and their leader, Abdul Kadar el Husseini, a nephew of the ex-Mufti, was killed. Another incident in the struggle for the crucial road was of different character: it brought shame and chagrin to the Yishuv and the Movement. On April 9, a group of Irgun and Stern Band members entered the Arab village of Deir Yassin, and when the inhabitants refused to surrender, shot 250 of them, including many women. The ruthless killings were bitterly condemned by the Yishuv's leaders.

With the capture of Castel the road, for the time being at least, became fairly passable, and on April 17 and 20 large convoys from Tel Aviv reached Jerusalem, though not without losses and casualties, bringing desperately needed supplies, including unleavened bread for Passover. Before the arrival of the convoys the daily ration per person had dropped to 500 calories.

Nor was hunger the only affliction visited on the New City. The road to the Hebrew University and Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus became the scene of the most appalling disaster of the guerrilla war. On April 13, a convoy carrying supplies and personnel, including physicians, nurses and teachers, to the hospital and University, was ambushed and destroyed by Arab guerrillas, who had occupied the Sheikh Jarrah quarter. Officially the road was under the protection of the British, and they had previously pronounced it clear and safe. During the attack they made no move to assist the burning vehicles, and denied the Haganah access to the scene. Most of the personnel, numbering 76, perished and 21 were wounded. Among the dead was Dr. Chaim Yassky, head of the Hadassah Medical Organization.

And previously the New City had been the scene of three massive bombings which also claimed many victims. On February 1, the

pressroom of the *Palestine Post* was destroyed with 4 killed and 20 injured: an army truck filled with explosives had stopped before the building and blew up after the driver left. The same technique was followed three weeks later when the main commercial center of the City on Ben Yehudah Street was blown up; 52 were killed and more than 100 injured. On March 11, the *Keren Hayesod* wing of the Jewish Agency building was blasted, with 13 dead and 40 injured, among the dead being Leib Jaffe, the *Keren Hayesod* director, a veteran Zionist leader and distinguished poet. An inquiry conducted by the Jewish Agency found British policemen responsible for the first two bombings. Credit for the Ben Yehudah explosion, in fact, was claimed in a circular, a copy of which fell into the hands of the Haganah, by a British organization associated with Mosley's Union of British Fascists and calling itself "The British League—Palestine Branch." The circular quoted from the infamous Protocols of the Elders of Zion, exulted over the exploit on Ben Yehudah Street, and declared: "We will finish Hitler's job."

§ 3

Linked with Jerusalem was the fate of Kfar Etzion and three smaller settlements close to it belonging to the religious section of the chalutz movement, and lying south of the city between Bethlehem and Hebron. The region belonged to the Arab State as envisaged in the UN Decision, and the Etzion Bloc, as the group of settlements was called, was like a Jewish island in a raging Arab sea. Supplies and reinforcements could only come from the pitiful stores of food and arms and the sparse defenders of Jerusalem. On January 16 thirty-five members of Haganah, students of the Hebrew University, on the way to reinforce the isolated settlements, were ambushed by a large force of Arabs. They refused to surrender, and died to a man. The settlements continued to repel attacks, and late in March a sizable convoy succeeded in reaching them, but on the way back the precious vehicles were surrounded at Nebi Daniel near Bethlehem by 2,000 Arabs, and had to be surrendered under terms of a truce arranged by the British.

As the day of the British evacuation approached, two battalions of the Arab Legion, with tanks, artillery and armored cars, joined the battle against the Etzion Bloc. They attacked on May 12 and after two days of epic combat, which left only a handful of the defenders alive, the survivors, on orders from Haganah Headquarters, sur-

rendered to the British officers of the Legion. The day was Friday, May 14, 1948, the day of the proclamation of the Jewish State. But the Bloc had performed an important task. For five and a half months it stood guard on the southern approach to Jerusalem and kept thousands of Arab irregulars from joining in the onslaught on the City.

§ 4

Long before that memorable date, most of the guerrillas who were attacking Jewish outposts and road traffic or sniping at Jews in the cities were no longer Palestine Arabs: the latter, in fact, had shown no eagerness to join the conflict. They were the "volunteers" from the neighboring countries, financed by their governments and armed by them with weapons obtained from Britain, who had swarmed across the borders. On March 14, the Jewish Agency, in a memorandum to the Security Council, reported that 5,000 of them had invaded Palestine from Syria and Iraq, in addition to hundreds from Lebanon and Egypt. They called themselves the "Arab Army of Liberation," and their commander was the same Fawzi el Kaukji who had led a smaller but similar force of "volunteers" during the Arab uprising of 1936, and who, after serving with the Nazis, had, like the ex-Mufti, been allowed to return to his former haunts. Detachments of this army were planted at strategic points in Palestine in cities and villages, nor were they usually welcomed as liberators by the native Arab farmers and townspeople. The Haganah employed a large portion of its mobile striking force in attacks upon the bases from which these invaders operated.

But early in April their commander moved to strike a decisive blow at the Jews. His aim was to seize the broad Emek and its rich villages, and separate Galilee from the rest of the Yishuv: it was the strategy employed by invaders of Palestine since the dawn of history. The Battle of Mishmar Haemek which followed was perhaps the most important engagement of the guerrilla phase of the Arab-Jewish war. For more than a week, this settlement which, as its name indicates, is the gateway to the Emek, was under attack and siege by some 1,500 of the "Liberation Army." They outnumbered by about four to one the settlers capable of bearing arms, including the Haganah contingents that reinforced them, and their tanks and automatic weapons were far superior to anything the defenders had. On April 15, the Haganah took the offensive, captured a group of Arab villages to the

south, and routed Kaukji's army. At the same time an attempt to seize Ramat Yochanan at the western end of the Emek was also defeated.

§ 5

About the middle of April 1948, a month before the date fixed by the British for their final withdrawal, a new and strange factor with far-reaching consequences entered into the Arab-Jewish conflict: the flight of the Arabs from cities and districts inhabited by both peoples. The strange phenomenon was not due to panic alone, although the Arabs of Jaffa were overawed by a powerful mortar devised by the Haganah and nicknamed "David King of Israel," and those in Safed became convinced that the Jews possessed atomic weapons. The flight was primarily the result of directives from the Arab leaders, and it was assisted by the British. The armies of the Arab states were stationed on the borders; on May 15 they would march and drive the Jews into the sea. It was better to be away from the scene of battle and slaughter; those who fled would come back and find abundant compensation for their brief absence. Such were the assurances which impelled the Arab masses to abandon their homes.

On April 19 Tiberias, which for two months had been the target of attacks by Arab guerrillas, was seized by the Haganah, and the Arab residents departed. Three days later Haifa was the scene of a furious but brief battle between the Haganah and a large force of Syrian irregulars, the British having withdrawn from the center of the city in preparation for departure. The Syrians were routed, and of the 70,000 Arabs of Haifa only 2,000 accepted the Haganah's invitation and remained in their homes. On May 10 came the turn of Safed in Upper Galilee, for centuries the home of Jewish mystics and pietists. The Jews of Safed were even less qualified for physical combat than those in the Old City of Jerusalem, and they numbered only 1,500 in a mixed population of some 13,000. But the Haganah, by ruse and direct attack, captured the strongholds of the town which the Arabs had taken over from the British, and the story of mass flight was repeated.

Even more spectacular was the capture of the ancient seaport of Jaffa and the flight of its inhabitants. This Arab city of 100,000, which UNSCOP had included within the proposed Jewish State, but which the Jews, in deference to American wishes, had yielded to the putative Arab State, had received large forces of Syrians and Iraqis from the "Army of Liberation," who for nearly five months fought a

continuous guerrilla war against the contiguous quarters of Tel Aviv. In late April the Irgun and Haganah attacked and were on the point of capturing Jaffa, when the British intervened and placed themselves between the contenders. On May 12, the British left, and the Arabs accepted the surrender terms of the Haganah. But the entire population, except a few thousand, fled from the city.

Chapter XXXII : THE PROCLAMATION

IT WAS NO secret to the world that on the day the Mandate expired the Yishuv would proclaim itself the Jewish State. The General Zionist Council, meeting in Tel Aviv in the middle of April 1948, resolved unanimously that "with the termination of the mandatory rule, a government of the Jewish State shall come into being." In fact, as early as February the Hebrew press carried notices from the *Vaad Leumi* and the Zionist Executive calling for men "to undergo a course of training as officers in the Police Force of the Jewish State," and on March 11 the *Vaad Leumi* voted to set up a Provisional Government Council. The supreme international authority had spoken, and the Yishuv was preparing to obey its decree.

But the restoration of the Jewish State was not destined to be the result of a mere decree. As the fateful day drew nearer it seemed as if all the powers and dominions of the earth were taking counsel together to thwart the event. All the enemies, religious and secular, that had dogged the Zionist Movement from its inception redoubled their pressure on governments and public opinion in a last desperate effort to prevent its consummation, and even from quarters that were deemed friendly came warnings and threats that brought hesitation and confusion into the councils of the Movement.

On the eve of May 15, the date fixed by the British for the surrender of the Mandate, the perils that threatened the Zionist purpose were three in number. First and most imminent, were the armies of the Arab States, under orders to march into Palestine on the day the Mandate ended. Second was the condition of apparently planned administrative chaos in which the Mandatory left the country on its departure. And, incredible as it may sound, the third peril flowed from the Government of the United States, which on March 19, 1948 had reversed its stand on the UN Decision of the previous November and come forward with another plan from which a Jewish State was absent.

§ 2

Among the strange paradoxes that surrounded the political rebirth of the Jewish people this reversal by the American Government is perhaps the strangest. In fact, on May 14, when the State of Israel was proclaimed, the General Assembly of the United Nations had been meeting in Flushing Meadows since April 16 in its Second Special Session on Palestine. It was called at the behest of the United States to reconsider the previous Decision and adopt the new plan, which proposed a "temporary trusteeship" over Palestine after the Mandate ended. The new plan was urged on the simple and humane premise that the violence which the previous decision had unloosed proved that it could not be carried out by peaceful means, but to the American Zionists the motives behind the new proposal did not appear so simple and pure. It was sure to delay indefinitely the establishment of the State, and they traced it to the pro-British officials in the State Department, and the Near East oil magnates and missionaries. And other signs of hostility in Washington had already manifested themselves, the most serious being the embargo on the shipment of arms from the United States to the Near East, which the Government had imposed only a week after the November Decision. In theory the ban was impartial, in practice it was not. The embargo denied desperately needed arms to the Yishuv, while its enemies, as we have seen, obtained ample supplies from Britain.

The reversal was a dark moment for the Zionists of America, and again they mobilized to ward off a blow against their cause, aimed this time by their own Government. There were special services of prayer and protest in the synagogues, and in New York an imposing protest parade marched down Fifth Avenue, led by the Jewish War Veterans.

But the new threat proved not so formidable after all. American public opinion was bewildered and antagonized by the reversal, and the UN delegates failed to be impressed by the merits of the new solution. It was fairly obvious that a trusteeship could not be imposed by peaceful means either—the Yishuv intended to resist it: on March 23 the *Vaad Leumi* and the Jewish Agency declared that "the Jewish people and the Yishuv in Palestine will oppose any proposal designed to prevent or postpone the establishment of the Jewish State." The Assembly was not disposed to rescind its previous Decision, and there were signs that the American delegation itself did not have too much enthusiasm for its new plan: for one thing, the Soviet Union

could not have been excluded from it. For a month the debates in the Assembly dragged on, and the delegates were still embroiled in them when on May 14 a Proclamation was issued in Tel Aviv, which cut through the Gordian knot.

§ 3

Just what the British Foreign Secretary expected when he invited the United Nations to intervene in Palestine it is difficult to surmise, but one thing he certainly did not desire or expect: that the invitation would lead to a sovereign Jewish State. The pressure of British diplomacy on the American State Department, which gave rise to the abortive trusteeship plan, was only one of the means Britain employed to prevent it. Others, as we have seen, included the assistance it furnished the Arabs by supplying them with weapons, disarming and otherwise hampering the Haganah, permitting the flow of Arab irregulars from the neighboring countries, and giving Abdullah's Legion a free hand against the Jews. To these must now be added the apparently deliberate policy of isolating Palestine from the world and leaving it in a state of chaos.

In the councils of the UN it was foreseen, of course, that there would be a gap between the termination of the Mandatory Regime and the establishment of the proposed Arab and Jewish states, and a special five-man Commission was set up to fill the vacuum and insure an orderly transition. But the British rendered all the efforts of the "five lonely pilgrims," as one of its members called the Commission, ineffectual. They rejected the Commission's request to open a port for Jewish immigration, or to permit the establishment of Arab and Jewish militias to maintain order in their respective zones after the British withdrawal. Nor would they permit the Commission to enter the country before May 1, only two weeks before the expiration of the Mandate. Their presence, the British claimed, would lead to divided authority and "bring about Arab demonstrations."

As early as February Britain removed Palestine from the Sterling Bloc countries and its assets in England, amounting to £ 100,000,000, were frozen. The surplus in the treasury of the Palestine administration, which owed its existence to revenue derived from the Yishuv, became a deficit: among other withdrawals, a large grant was made to the Arab Higher Committee for "religious" purposes. In April the huge oil refineries in Haifa were closed, and the Yishuv faced the prospect of a fuel famine. The importation of other essentials, like

building materials, was suspended, railway traffic first curtailed and then halted, and the postal and telegraphic services were wound up. In April the Lydda airport was closed and international air traffic, both passenger and mail, came to an end. As the day of final evacuation approached huge quantities of dispensable military vehicles and other equipment were either destroyed or sold by British soldiers to Arabs or Jews. Barracks, military camps and police stations were either abandoned or turned over to the Arabs. Could it have been all due to a strange destructive mood, or was it planned and deliberate? A civilization built up by the greatest Colonial Power over a period of three decades lay virtually dismantled and in ruins.

§ 4

But even while the old regime was leaving chaos behind it, another force was planning and building for the day of fulfillment. The work of preparing state machinery began promptly after the November Decision, nor was it halted by the United States reversal in March and the attempt which followed to abrogate that Decision. By April 22, when the Jewish Agency informed the United Nations that a Jewish State would be proclaimed when the Mandatory regime ended, the framework, including a civil service and a National Council, ready to transform itself into a Provisional Council of State, was already in existence. It consisted of 37 members representing the world Movement and all the political parties in the Yishuv. And before the Mandate expired basic public services, such as Food Control, Law Courts, a Postal Service and others were already functioning.

The Mandate was to end May 15, but that day being the Jewish Sabbath, the leaders summoned the Council to meet on the afternoon of May 14 and adopt a Proclamation of Statehood which had already been drafted. It was a daring and fateful decision, even though the Yishuv was only carrying out the will of the United Nations. True, the territory allotted to the Jewish State was still in Jewish hands, the lost settlements lying within the proposed Arab State, and the flight of the Arab population had greatly simplified the Yishuv's defense problem. But north, east and south the regular armies of the Arab countries stood on the borders, and it was no secret that they had the moral and material support of a Great Power. Nor was it a secret that Abdullah planned to annex the whole of Palestine to his kingdom, and would at once launch his formidable Legion against a Jewish State. The Egyptian Air Force would, of course, lose no time

in bombing the Yishuv, and the Haganah had no fighters to stop them or bombers with which to retaliate. And, in general, while the Haganah had been able to cope with the irregulars, it lacked the weapons to meet the tanks, artillery and aircraft of the Arab armies. What life expectancy, then, was there for a Jewish State?

Moreover, even while the members of the National Council were gathering in Tel Aviv to issue their Proclamation, an elaborate attempt was under way in Flushing Meadows to destroy the legality of their action. The Second Special Session of the Assembly on Palestine was still meeting. The American Delegation still advocated the Trusteeship Plan, but since its adoption by the Assembly was not expected, the Security Council called for a truce in the fighting in Palestine, and named the Belgian, French and American consuls in Jerusalem as the truce supervising body. But to the Zionist leaders these maneuvers appeared to have only one aim: to circumvent the proclamation of a Jewish State. Any doubts they may have had on that score were removed when they received stern warnings from the highest levels in the State Department not to proceed with the Proclamation. For, the diplomats were alarmed: they saw the Near East about to burst into flames and the Third World War on the horizon. Not a few of the Zionist leaders began to waver: the pressure was too strong and its source too formidable. But in Palestine, Ben Gurion and his colleagues stood firm, convinced that the moment had arrived, and in the United States, the foremost leaders of the Movement stood with them.

Such were the uneasy circumstances—military, diplomatic and psychologic—in which the members of the National Council met at four o'clock in the afternoon of the fifth day of Iyar, 5708, in the Tel Aviv Art Museum. Earlier that day the last group of British officials, headed by the High Commissioner, had left their "Bevingrad" in Jerusalem, bound for Haifa and England, and immediately the Haganah, with little Arab opposition, had taken possession of their installations. It was a bittersweet sight to the Jews to see the British go. They could not but remember the hopes which the espousal of their cause by a great and enlightened Empire—the partnership between the ancient People of the Book and noble Britain—had once inspired, and how those hopes had one after another been trampled and extinguished. And to many Britons also the moment was solemn and tragic. They saw thirty years of labor and impressive achievements in the arts of civilization abandoned to chaos and destruction.

§ 5

But in Tel Aviv that afternoon the hope which antedated all the hopes and heartbreaks of those decades came to fruition. In the small auditorium of the Museum, where the 37 members of the Council together with some fifty other notables were assembled, the reestablishment of the Jewish State was solemnly proclaimed. From a large portrait that hung facing them the stern, sad eyes of Theodor Herzl looked down upon the small assembly, and it was only natural to recall the First Congress in Basel fifty years earlier, which he had called together. "In Basel," Herzl, with the audacity of genius, had noted in his Diary, "I created the Jewish State; for a state," he went on to say, "exists primarily in the will-to-statehood of the people." And he added: "Perhaps in five years, certainly in fifty, everybody will perceive it." That Congress in Basel, for all its pathos and pageantry, had made little stir in the world; certainly the Powers and potentates of the earth gave it little heed. But as for the meeting in Tel Aviv—a direct offspring of the Basel Congress—the eyes of the nations, and especially of their chosen representatives in Flushing Meadows, were fixed upon it with anxiety and fascination.

From the platform where sat those who were about to constitute the Provisional Government of the State, David Ben Gurion read the "Proclamation of the Rise of the State of Israel," of which the following is the official English version:

The Land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

Exiled from Palestine, the Jewish people remained faithful to it in all countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and the restoration of their national freedom.

Impelled by this historic association, Jews strove throughout the centuries to go back to the land of their fathers and regain their statehood. In recent decades they returned in masses. They reclaimed the wilderness, revived their language, built cities and villages, and established a vigorous and ever-growing community, with its own economic and cultural life. They

sought peace yet were prepared to defend themselves. They brought the blessings of progress to all inhabitants of the country.

In the year 1897 the First Zionist Congress, inspired by Theodor Herzl's vision of the Jewish State, proclaimed the right of the Jewish people to national revival in their own country.

This right was acknowledged by the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, and reaffirmed by the Mandate of the League of Nations, which gave explicit international recognition to the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to reconstitute their National Home.

The Nazi holocaust, which engulfed millions of Jews in Europe, proved anew the urgency of the reestablishment of the Jewish State, which would solve the problem of Jewish homelessness by opening the gates to all Jews and lifting the Jewish people to equality in the family of nations.

The survivors of the European catastrophe, as well as Jews from other lands, proclaiming their right to a life of dignity, freedom and labor, and undeterred by hazards, hardships and obstacles, have tried unceasingly to enter Palestine.

In the Second World War the Jewish people in Palestine made a full contribution in the struggle of the freedom-loving nations against the Nazi evil. The sacrifices of their soldiers and the efforts of their workers gained them title to rank with the peoples who founded the United Nations.

On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a Resolution for the establishment of an independent Jewish State in Palestine, and called upon the inhabitants of the country to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put the plan into effect.

This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their independent State may not be revoked. It is, moreover, the self-evident right of the Jewish people to be a nation, like all other nations, in its own sovereign State.

ACCORDINGLY WE, THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL, REPRESENTING THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN PALESTINE AND THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT OF THE WORLD, MET TOGETHER IN SOLEMN ASSEMBLY TODAY, THE DAY OF TERMINATION OF THE BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE, BY VIRTUE OF THE NATURAL AND HISTORIC RIGHT OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND OF THE RESOLU-

TION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, HEREBY PROCLAIM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JEWISH STATE IN PALESTINE, TO BE CALLED ISRAEL.

We hereby declare that as from the termination of the Mandate at midnight, this night of the 14th to 15th May, 1948, and until the setting up of the duly elected bodies of the State in accordance with a Constitution, to be drawn up by a Constituent Assembly not later than the first day of October, 1948, the present National Council shall act as the Provisional State Council, and its executive organ, the National Administration, shall constitute the Provisional Government of the State of Israel.

The State of Israel will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion; will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on the precepts of liberty, justice and peace taught by the Hebrew Prophets; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of race, creed or sex; will guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, education and culture; will safeguard the sanctity and inviolability of the shrines and Holy Places of all religions; and will dedicate itself to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The State of Israel will be ready to cooperate with the organs and representatives of the United Nations in the implementation of the Resolution of the Assembly of November 29, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the Economic Union over the whole of Palestine.

We appeal to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building of its State and to admit Israel into the family of nations.

In the midst of wanton aggression, we yet call upon the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to return to the ways of peace and play their part in the development of the State, with full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its bodies and institutions, provisional or permanent.

We offer peace and amity to all the neighboring states and their peoples, and invite them to cooperate with the independent Jewish nation for the common good of all. The State of Israel is ready to contribute its full share to the peaceful progress and development of the Middle East.

Chapter XXXIII: THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

THE MULTIPLE invasion for which the new State was braced but not prepared, and to which the fighting of the previous five and a half months was only the prelude, began immediately. On May 15 the Egyptian army crossed the border, and the Egyptian Air Force bombed Tel Aviv. The following day the armed forces of Syria and Lebanon entered from the north, and the Iraqis came from the east. The Transjordan Legion was already in Palestine, stationed at strategic Latrun on the Jerusalem life line, and moving north to the City from fallen Etzion; and contingents from Saudi Arabia also joined the descent. Said Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha, the genial Secretary General of the Arab League: "This will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongol massacres and the Crusades." And to all appearances this was no idle boast, for the Arab League had found a common cause. An arc of enemies with a population of thirty to forty millions was closing in on a community of 650,000 at whose back lay the deep blue sea. And they came with the weapons of modern warfare, including tanks, heavy artillery and planes, which the Jews were unable to match.

Nevertheless, this unequal contest resulted in a victory for the infant State. The Jews were rumored to have secret weapons. With grim humor they admitted to one such weapon. It was the weapon of *Ain Brerah*, "No Choice." But their courage, discipline and endurance did not spring from desperation alone. They were fighting for what appeared to them their people's last chance for national restoration, and in more than a figurative sense the Six Millions who had died in Treblinka, Maidanek and Auschwitz were fighting with them.

They were victorious with no help from the organized world community to whose help they were legally and morally entitled. For they were upholding the Decision of the United Nations against those who were openly flouting it. The Security Council adopted stern resolutions, one after another, ordering the belligerents "to cease and

desist," but it failed to use whatever power it had to enforce them, and in the same resolutions it even failed to distinguish between the aggressors and their victims. Not even the prolonged agony of Jerusalem, where not only the synagogues of the Jews but the Christian Holy Places were exposed to the British artillery of the Arab Legion, led to effective intervention by the Security Council. And if in the end the Arab States agreed to stop fighting, it was not really the pleas and demands of the United Nations that persuaded them, but the defeats they had suffered at the hands of the *Zva Haganah le-Israel*, the "Defense Army of Israel," as the Haganah, having emerged from its underground status, was now called.

§ 2

Israel's War of Independence lasted some eight months and was marked by periods of intense fighting separated by the cease-fires ordered by the Security Council. In the first period of active hostilities—from May 15 to June 10—the Arabs expected a swift and decisive victory. The Egyptians moved on Tel Aviv from the south and Abdullah moved to capture Jerusalem and then join his allies in the Jewish capital. The Syrians and Lebanese, reinforced by the Iraqis, expected to overrun Galilee, seize the Emek and march on Haifa.

On every front the Arabs were checked: the Egyptians by the colonies in the Negev; the Syrians, Lebanese and Iraqis by those of Galilee; and the Arab Legion by the Jews of Jerusalem. But this period was the most dangerous for the new State. Its Air Force and Navy were almost non-existent, and its Army, without weapons for an offensive, fought what was essentially a holding action. During the same period Jerusalem, unable to reply to the guns of the Legion, underwent its supreme ordeal.

On June 10 came the first cease-fire, continuing until July 9 when the second period of active hostilities began. It ended ten days later when a second cease-fire came into effect, but that brief period produced a transformation. The Army of Israel took the offensive and won a series of brilliant victories in the center and in Galilee.

The second cease-fire, which was supposed to extend indefinitely, was an uneasy truce, with the artillery of the Legion continuing to shell the New City, the Egyptians determined to keep the Negev cut off from the rest of Israel, and the remnants of Kaukji's Army of Liberation still rampant in Galilee. Three short campaigns, two in October, the third in December, drove Kaukji's irregulars out of

Galilee and the Egyptians out of the Negev, and a series of armistices followed which brought hostilities to an end.

Such, in very brief summary, was the course of the conflict. But this War of Independence is entitled to somewhat fuller treatment in this chronicle.

§ 3

One minute after midnight of May 15, 1948 the Army of Egypt, strongest of the Arab States, crossed the frontier, and in the weeks that followed occupied the southern coastal plain as far as Ashdod, threatening the approaches to Tel Aviv. Another Egyptian force, after occupying Beersheba, the hub of the Negev, moved north to Hebron and Bethlehem, from where it joined the Arab Legion in the attack on Jerusalem. The Egyptian Air Force bombed Tel Aviv, as well as Rehovot and Rishon Lezion, inflicting scores of casualties. On June 4 the Egyptian navy appeared off Tel Aviv; it was attacked by two Jewish corvettes and withdrew. Apparently Egypt's aim was to conquer the Negev and the coastal plain, and secure a voice in the final disposition of Jerusalem.

The truce which went into effect on June 10 found Egypt far from her goals. The coastal strip which the Egyptians occupied had been allotted to the proposed Arab State, and a counterattack by the Army of Israel, which began May 30, stopped them from advancing further north. Although they dominated the principal roads of the Negev, that region remained unconquered, and it was the valiant Jewish settlements that kept it out of Egypt's grasp. Those settlements—Nirim, Kfar Darom, Nir Am, Negba, Dorot, Yad Mordecai and others—having prepared underground defenses and living quarters, defied the artillery, tanks and bombers of the Egyptians. Their fields and groves were devastated, their buildings razed, their cattle killed, and they suffered many casualties, but they repulsed the attacks of the Egyptian infantry, inflicting heavy losses and gaining precious time for the defense of Tel Aviv.

In the north the Lebanese suffered a prompt defeat and ceased to be a factor in the war. On May 18 the city of Acre surrendered to the Jews, giving them virtual control of western Galilee to Ras-el-Nakura on the border, which Israeli forces occupied.

But the real enemy in the north was Syria, reinforced by Iraq and the ubiquitous Legion. As early as May 1 the Syrians had attacked on a wide front along the northern border, and on May 15 they



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launched a campaign which aimed to seize the Jordan Valley from Lake Tiberias to Beisan and then thrust across the Emek towards Haifa. After severe fighting, they captured Samakh on the southern shore of the Lake, forced the evacuation of Shaar Hagolan and Masada, and made ready to move on Dagania. At the same time a large force of Iraqis also moved towards the Emek.

In the next few days, however, the ambitious plan collapsed. The Iraqis were routed and fled back across the Jordan, and at Dagania the Syrians were repulsed with heavy losses, their tanks put out of action or turned back by the Jews at the very gate of the colony. On May 8, the Jews recaptured Samakh, and in the weeks that followed they raided Syrian strongholds and bases at will, inflicting heavy punishment by land and from the air. For a fortnight the Syrians remained behind their own border and the Palmach units were dispatched to sectors where the need was greater. On June 6 the Syrians staged another abortive invasion, but on the eve of the first cease-fire they again attacked, and many hours after the truce was to have gone into effect they captured Mishmar Hayarden. It was a final bid to gain a bargaining advantage.

More crucial and desperate than the struggle in any other sector was the battle for Jerusalem. In the first days of May, the affluent Arab Katamon quarter in the New City, which adjoined and molested the Jewish Rehavia quarter, was seized by the Haganah, and when the British departed, the Jews were in possession of nearly the whole of the New City, including strategic Sheikh Jarrah, which dominated the road to Mount Scopus. They hesitated to attack the Old City: nearly all the Christian Holy Places were there, and their Government was afraid of world repercussions. But the position of the 1,500 Jews and their defenders, numbering about 100, in the Old City became more precarious. Abdullah's Legion now joined the Arab irregulars and the circle around them became narrower. The Palmach succeeded in breaching the Zion Gate and sending reinforcements, but the breach was closed and the wall itself proved impregnable. The dwindling Haganah detachment fought for every house and court, but the foe continued to close in. The famous Hurva Synagogue, next to the Wailing Wall the holiest place to the Jews, was destroyed by the Legion, together with nearly all the other synagogues of the Quarter. Finally, on May 28, the few remaining defenders permitted the leaders of the Community to surrender. The Legion counted only 39 Jews capable of bearing arms. They and their dead and wounded comrades, as well as the hundreds of old men, women

and children, had gone through six months of siege, bombardment and assault by a modern, mechanized army.

Together with the attack on the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, the Legion opened a formidable assault on the New City. It was no secret that Abdullah hoped to annex Palestine to his kingdom, and he was eager to be crowned king in Jerusalem. For the moment the Jews were powerless against his British armor, and on May 19 his Legion recaptured Sheikh Jarrah. Four days later the Egyptians joined in the onslaught on the City from the south. They were stopped at Ramat Rachel, which changed hands many times, and the Legion's tanks were turned back on the edge of the New City. The Legion then settled down to a ceaseless and merciless shelling of the New City, inflicting thousands of civilian casualties.

But the critical front in the battle for Jerusalem was still the road to Tel Aviv. The Legion, holding Lydda, Ramle and Latrun, the latter close to Bab-el-Waad, sealed off the road. It was clear that unless food, water and fuel, as well as arms, ammunition and reinforcements, could be kept flowing to Jerusalem, the beleaguered city with its 100,000 Jews was doomed, and Abdullah's coronation would duly take place. All attempts to drive the Legion out of Latrun ended in failure, and the diversionary attacks on the Arab "Triangle," its points the cities of Jenin, Tulkarm and Nablus, were only moderately successful.

Jerusalem was saved first by the heroic fortitude of its people, and second by a daring and ingenious maneuver that changed the strategic picture of the siege. Through the rugged and impassable hills south of Latrun, and around in a ten-mile arc to Bab-el-Waad, which the Jews held, the Army of Israel hewed out a track along which vital supplies were carried by jeeps, mules and men to the City. It was done at night and in secret, and only on the eve of the cease-fire was it known that the siege of Jerusalem had been outflanked by means of this "Burma Road," as the trail became known. It was also called the Marcus Road, in memory of Colonel David Marcus, an American soldier who volunteered his services to Israel and became a tower of strength to her Army. He had been put in command of the Jerusalem sector and was killed by an Israeli sentinel to whom he failed to identify himself.

In later months the dirt track, which hardly deserved the name of road, was widened, paved and at some points rerouted. It became part of the Jerusalem corridor, flanked by new settlements and strong-points. It was built at top speed by men and boys too old or too young

for military service. On December 3, 1948 it was officially opened by the Prime Minister, and in tribute to the people of Jerusalem as well as the builders it was named *Kvish Hagevurah*, "Road of Valor."

On June 10, just before the cease-fire became effective, the Israel Air Force bombed Damascus, the capital of Syria. That was its second attack on an enemy capital, the first having had for its target the Transjordan capital of Amman, which was bombed on June 1. The creation of this Air Force was one of the many surprises of the War of Independence, for on the day of its birth the Jewish State had not a single bomber or fighter. The purchase and, even more, the transfer of planes from abroad was extremely difficult and dangerous owing to the British and American embargoes. Nevertheless, as early as May 20 the Israel Air Force had made its debut with an attack on Egyptian concentrations in the area of Gaza, and another on the artillery emplacements of the Legion at Jerusalem.

§ 4

Also on May 20 Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden had been named United Nations Mediator in Palestine, and it was he who received the acceptance of the cease-fire by the Jews and Arabs. The Count was one of the world's most distinguished men, a nephew of Sweden's King, president of the Swedish Red Cross and a celebrated humanitarian. It was not, of course, the distinction and persuasiveness of the Mediator that induced the Arab States to accede to the truce. In the four weeks of fighting they are estimated to have lost 2,000 killed and 3,500 wounded without attaining any of their objectives. The Jews accepted the truce because their forces needed rest, regrouping and above all replacements, the Palmach in particular having sustained severe losses. Under its terms the belligerents were not to import arms or bring in fighting personnel, but while, as far as Israel was concerned, the large corps of observers, planes and patrol boats with which the Mediator was provided appeared ample to enforce the prohibition, they did not appear at all ample to prevent the Arab States from continuing to import arms. But there was no pretense anywhere that both sides would not utilize the four weeks of the truce to prepare for a resumption of hostilities.

The Mediator's powers and functions, as defined in his appointment, gave him no authority to propose changes in the Partition Plan; nevertheless on July 1 he summoned Arab and Jewish representatives

to his headquarters on the island of Rhodes and presented them with a new solution of the Palestine problem involving drastic revisions of that Plan. The areas originally allotted to the proposed Arab State were to be annexed to Transjordan, as well as the City of Jerusalem and the Negev, the latter so essential for a viable Jewish State. The Port of Haifa and the Lydda airport were to be declared free. Israel would receive territorial compensation in Western Galilee, most of which was already in its hands. Israel and Transjordan, moreover, were to constitute a dual state, with coordinated fiscal, foreign and military policies, a proposal which, in effect, meant that the Army of Israel would be placed under British command. Finally, the plan proposed to give Transjordan a voice in the exercise of what the Jewish State considered its most vital function: the control of immigration.

The Mediator's plan amazed and shocked the Jews. It was, of course, promptly rejected by the Provisional Government and denounced vehemently by the Movement in America and throughout the world. The Zionists saw in it exactly what Bevin and his supporters in Washington would themselves have proposed, and it was freely charged that the plan had its origin in London. A profound distrust of the Mediator's intentions took root among the people of Israel.

§ 5

The truce interval witnessed still another shocking incident, one which the enemies of Israel hoped would plunge the infant state into civil war. The long-standing antagonism between the Irgun and the Haganah came to a fearful and bloody climax, in spite of the fact that the Irgun battalions had agreed to become integrated into the Army of Israel and that the process of integration was actually in progress. On June 20, the *Altalena*, an Irgun vessel of some 5,000 tons named in memory of Vladimir Jabotinsky,* reached the coast of Palestine with a group of volunteers and a cargo of arms purchased in Europe, the enterprise having been launched long before the truce was declared. In negotiations with Army representatives the Irgun leaders insisted that a substantial share of the arms should be set aside for their own battalions. The demand was rejected: to grant it would have meant recognizing an army within the Army, supplied and perhaps controlled by an agency independent of the Government. After disembarking her passengers and a small part of her cargo at Kfar Vitkin,

* Page 199.

the *Altalena* proceeded south in an attempt to land the rest of her cargo on the Tel Aviv beach. There the situation was further complicated by the Government's obligation to prevent the landing as a violation of the truce. The *Altalena* was attacked from the shore by Government troops and set on fire, with loss of life on both sides. The clash caused excitement and bitterness, but two days later the Provisional Council of State, by a vote of 24 to 4, upheld the Government's action. Civil war, it was claimed, had in fact been averted, and the integration of the Irgun, as well as the Stern Group, into the Army of Israel proceeded without further difficulties.

§ 6

The first to resume fighting were the Egyptians; thirty hours before the truce was to expire they launched a carefully prepared attack on Beer Tuvia, Negba and other Jewish settlements in the region with the aim of securing their Negev roads before driving north into Judea. Everywhere they were stopped and thrown back. They now faced an opponent no longer handicapped by a serious arms disparity. Israel now had heavy weapons, most of them purchased in Czechoslovakia, and even some flying fortresses had been added to its air force, in spite of the American embargo. The Jews, moreover, were no longer content to be on the defensive. New commando squads, calling themselves "Samson's Foxes"* wrought havoc among the Egyptians. On June 18, the Egyptian supply line from Majdal to Falluja was severed, and Gaza and Majdal were bombed. In the ten days of fighting the Egyptians are estimated to have suffered more than 2,000 casualties, and they sought consolation in stepped-up bombings of Tel Aviv.

But the most spectacular gains of the Army of Israel during those ten days were made on the central front where, after capturing Lydda, Ramle and Ras-el-Ain, the source of Jerusalem's water supply, they cut the road to Ramallah and bottled up the Arab Legion in Latrun. The threat against Tel Aviv was removed. The Legion made desperate but futile counterattacks, sustaining almost 1,000 casualties: the legend of its superior military prowess was overthrown.

Farther north, in Lower Galilee, the Jews moved on July 14 against a reconstituted force of 3,000 men under Kaukji, consisting

* Judges, XV, 4-5.

of a battalion of Iraqis plus a miscellany of Saudis, Yemenites, Germans, British and others. Two days later two Israeli columns, one moving east from Haifa, the other north from the Emek, met and captured the key city of Nazareth. Lower Galilee was conquered and Kaukji's followers, reduced to 800, fled towards Lebanon.

In Jerusalem the shells began falling again on the New City, but the bombardment was no longer one-sided. The batteries of the Legion now came under the fire of Jewish artillery, and the Arab inhabitants of the Old City took to flight. The threat to Jerusalem from the Egyptians on the south was lifted. The Jerusalem corridor was considerably widened by the seizure of Arab bases west of the city. The Army of Israel was ready to storm the Old City, with good prospect of capturing it, when the second cease-fire came into effect and halted the operation.

In the air also Israel had surprises for the Arabs. In the ten days of fighting the Israel Air Force downed a dozen enemy planes, Cairo was bombed for the first time in its history, and Damascus was bombed heavily twice. The tiny navy of Israel also joined the offensive, shelling the city of Tyre in Lebanon, the supply port for Kaukji's irregulars. When the second cease-fire became effective Israel held more than 800 square miles in addition to practically the whole area allotted the Jewish State in the Partition Plan.

§ 7

The total defeat of the invaders appeared imminent, and the staff of the Army advised the Provisional Government against accepting the new cease-fire. But the Security Council order was peremptory: the Arabs had to be saved or the Bernadotte Plan would go down with them. And the Jewish State, which acknowledged the paternity of the United Nations, could not, like the Arabs, flout its authority. The second cease-fire, to which the UN refused to fix a term, went into effect on July 18 and lasted officially until the conclusion of armistices between Israel and her neighbors.

In reality, however, the truce was honored more in the breach than the observance. Most of the violations were committed by Abdullah's Legion and the Egyptians. The latter attacked Jewish convoys carrying supplies to the Negev settlements, compelling the Jews to supply them by air. Legion forces continued to shell the New City almost nightly, and at Latrun they blew up the pumping station sup-

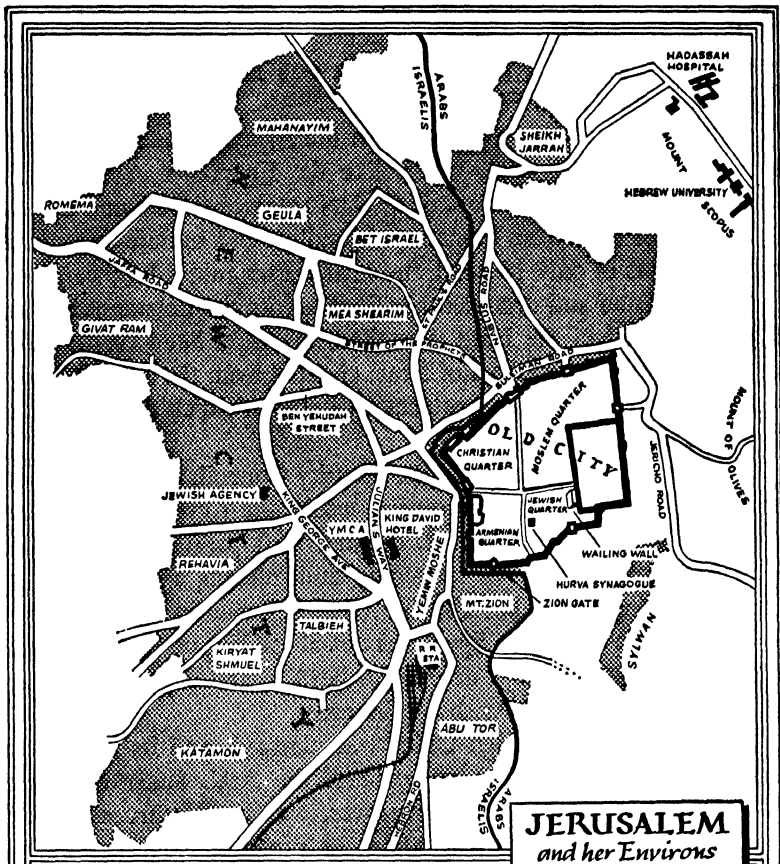
plying water to Jerusalem, after officially turning it over to UN observers. In the Bernadotte Plan Jerusalem, it will be recalled, was to be handed over to Abdullah, but on August 1 the Government of Israel, having declared Jerusalem Israeli Occupied Territory, appointed Bernard Joseph Military Governor of the City.

On September 17, that Plan, which had the backing of the Foreign Office in London and the State Department in Washington, acquired fresh authority when Bernadotte together with a French aide was assassinated in Jerusalem. The assassins, who were never discovered, were members of a new group of terrorists who called themselves the "Fatherland Front," an offshoot, apparently, of the Stern Band. The murder horrified and alarmed the Jews: it was not only ethically revolting, but politically stupid. It invested the Mediator's plan with his own aura of martyrdom. Secretary of State George C. Marshall and Foreign Secretary Bevin announced support of a new Bernadotte Plan, which omitted the dual state features of the other, but would have deprived Israel of the Negev, reducing it to less than half the area under the Partition Plan, compelled her to readmit the hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees, opened the port of Haifa and the Lydda airport freely to Arab traffic, and placed Jerusalem under international rule.

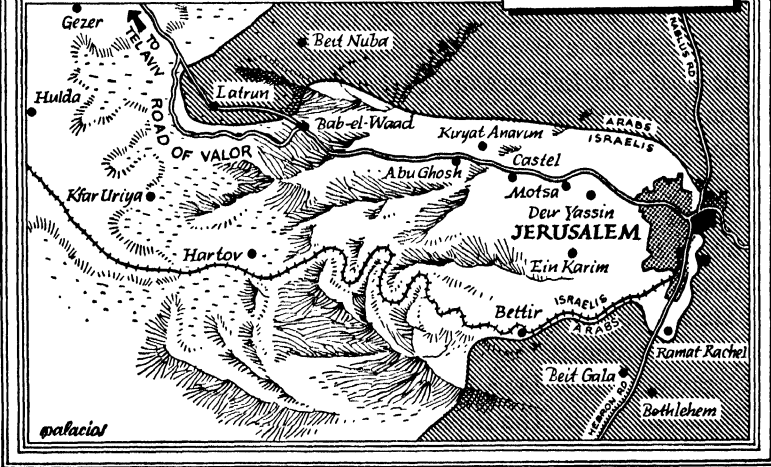
§ 8

In the meantime the truce had lost all semblance of reality, and every overture by Israel to enter into peace or even armistice negotiations with the Arab States was rebuffed. Nor were the efforts of Ralph Bunche, who was appointed successor to Bernadotte with the title of Acting Mediator, any more successful in inducing a conciliatory frame of mind among the members of the Arab League. The Egyptians in particular seemed determined to hold the Negev in their grasp and continued to prevent convoys from supplying the Jewish settlements. From the UN observers came admonitions and orders that went unheeded.

On October 15, the Army of Israel struck at the Egyptians on a wide front and broke the line they held from Majdal on the coastal plain to Hebron in the mountains. Falluja, the most important Egyptian base in the central Negev, was cut off. "Operation Ten Plagues," as this seven-day campaign was called, then drove the Egyptians out of Beersheba and isolated their forces south of Jerusalem. The Negev settlements were reunited with the rest of Israel. Its



JERUSALEM
and her Environs



JERUSALEM AND HER ENVIRONS

Air Force bombed Egyptian troop concentrations and air fields, and in a naval engagement its tiny fleet, it was later learned, sank the Egyptian flagship *King Farouk*.

There was another urgent task for the Army in the north, not far from the Lebanon border, where like the Egyptians in the south, Kaukji was defying the orders of the UN truce observers and attacking Jewish positions from Manara to Metullah. In less than three days, and with a loss of only 10 dead, the Jews sent Kaukji's followers fleeing into Lebanon and occupied positions across the Lebanese border. "The right hand of the Lord is exalted, the right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly," the soldiers of Israel chanted from the ancient Psalm as they returned from the spectacular campaign which finally cleared the whole of Galilee.

Another truce, ordered by the Security Council, followed "Operation Ten Plagues," but after several weeks the Egyptians again endangered the Negev settlements, cutting the pipelines that supplied them with water, and even launching tank attacks against some of them. Beginning December 23, the Army of Israel in a brilliant two weeks campaign drove the Egyptians out of the Negev, occupied their southernmost bases, swept across the border, and captured the airfield and outskirts of El-Arish on the coast.

In London the Foreign Office was alarmed, and its fears were shared in Washington. The strongest of the Arab States had been humbled and invaded. Egypt, moreover, was in the throes of anti-foreign, chiefly anti-British, agitation; its premier, Nokrasha Pasha, had just been assassinated; and the invasion of Egypt by the Jews might precipitate a popular uprising which could upset the entire Middle East. The full pressure of the United Nations was brought to bear on the victors to retire to their borders and agree to a new cease-fire, and against the advice of its military chiefs the Provisional Government again bowed to the authority of the world organization. The withdrawal from El-Arish and from Rafa, where the Army of Israel was about to cut the coastal railroad, saved Egypt from total defeat and enabled it to cling to the coastal strip from its border to Gaza.

On January 7, 1949, the day the new cease-fire became effective, five planes reconnoitering and strafing Jewish advanced positions in the Negev were shot down by Israeli fighters and found to belong to the Royal Air Force. The British had resorted to direct military intervention, fearful apparently that diplomatic pressure alone would not suffice to secure Israel's withdrawal from Egypt. There was increased and dangerous tension between the Foreign Office and Israel, but

many Britons demanded to know the nature of the mission the Royal Air Force was engaged in, and the Opposition used the occasion to deride Bevin's "sulky boycott" of Israel, as Churchill called it. Three weeks later the British tradition of respect for realities asserted itself, and the Labor Government extended *de facto* recognition to the State it had tried so hard to balk and erase. But in the State and throughout the world Jews hoped that better relations with Britain would before long be established, for the days of Balfour and Lloyd George were still remembered as well as the historic friendship since Cromwell between Britain and the Jewish people.

Chapter XXXIV : FULFILLMENT AND AFTER

IT WAS CLEAR now to all concerned, including the seven members of the Arab League, that their attempt to strangle the Jewish State at its birth had been defeated. They now evinced a more pliable disposition: whatever hopes for a "second round" they nourished, they were anxious to bring the present one to an end.

Two simultaneous efforts, both under United Nations auspices, were launched to end the conflict. The first, entrusted to Acting Mediator Ralph Bunche and his staff of UN observers, aimed to lift the cease-fires on the various fronts to the higher and firmer status of armistices. The second was more ambitious: its purpose was to establish lasting peace between Israel and her foes. It was assigned to a Palestine Conciliation Commission of three men representing the United States, France and Turkey, which the General Assembly set up at its meeting in Paris in December 1948.

Two major and apparently hopeless tasks confronted the Commission and blocked its progress. The first was to establish an international regime for Jerusalem; the second to return the Palestine refugees to their former homes. Both were out of accord with the realities. Much had happened since the Decision of November, 1947, which decreed that the Holy City and its vicinity should be internationalized and which the Jews reluctantly accepted. The Jewish Quarter of the Old City had been wiped out, and the New City had gone through a long and cruel siege, with the Christian world, so solicitous for its Holy Places, letting the artillery and tanks of the Arab Legion do their work of destruction unhindered. And at the cost of many lives the Jews had repelled the besiegers, built their Road of Valor, captured numerous enemy strongholds and widened the corridor through the hills, dotting it with new settlements. Israel would not now permit the New City to be torn from the Jewish State, and urged that international or interfaith supervision be set up over the Holy Places only. And the unreality of the original decree was underscored when Abdullah, now ruler of the Hashemite Kingdom of

Jordan, as Transjordan enlarged by the annexation of Arab Palestine was renamed, declared he would tolerate no international regime for the Old City, which his Legion occupied. Nevertheless the issue was not allowed to die, the most persistent advocates of internationalization being the Vatican, whose influence determined the attitude of many Catholic countries, especially those of South America, and the Arab States other than Jordan, who were not happy with the aggrandizement of Abdullah.

The problem of the Palestine refugees proved equally difficult, the demand that Israel permit them all to return equally unrealistic. It was clear to all observers that the infant State, staggering under its primary task of providing a home for hundreds of thousands of homeless and destitute Jews, would not survive an additional influx of hundreds of thousands of Arabs, nearly all of them equally impoverished, and—most serious aspect of all—constituting a potential Fifth Column. The Conciliation Commission's efforts to initiate peace talks were balked by the demand of the Arab States that Israel must first readmit the refugees, while Israel insisted that the solution of the refugee problem must be discussed in the context of a general peace settlement. In July 1949, under pressure of the American State Department, which saw in the Palestine refugees a grave danger to the stability of the Near East, Israel declared its willingness, as part of a peace settlement, to admit some 100,000 of them. It became increasingly clear that the rest, numbering some 500,000, would have to be resettled in the neighboring Arab countries, and in July 1951 another United Nations agency, the UN Work and Relief Organization, embarked officially on that task.

So the labors of the Conciliation Commission bore no fruit. The Arab States, particularly Egypt, Syria and Iraq, showed no inclination to become reconciled to the existence of their new neighbor, and the prospect of a peace settlement was still as remote as ever.

§ 2

The effort to arrange armistices, on the other hand, was more successful. On February 25, 1949, after six weeks of hectic and often critical negotiations on the island of Rhodes, Egypt and Israel signed an armistice, which left the much disputed Negev in Israel's possession. The following month Jewish forces moved down to Elat, near the southern tip of the Negev on the Gulf of Akaba, giving Israel an outlet to the Red Sea. The Gaza coastal strip remained in Egyptian

hands, but this area, it should be recalled, was not included in the Jewish State under the Partition Plan. The terms of the armistice with Egypt added considerably to Israel's prestige.

An armistice with Lebanon was signed on March 23, and with Jordan on April 3; Iraq, having no common boundary with Israel, had authorized Jordan to represent her interests. The armistice with Jordan made important rectifications in Israel's favor in her boundaries with Abdullah's enlarged kingdom, but left unsettled a number of issues in Jerusalem, the most important of them being access to the Hebrew University and the Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus. The armistice with Syria was not concluded until July 20, 1949. It was delayed by a political revolution in Damascus and by the difficulties of establishing demilitarized zones east of Lake Huleh and the Sea of Galilee, from which the Syrians had not been wholly expelled.

Armistice lines seldom remain inviolate, and in the months and years that followed there were not a few disputes and armed clashes between Israel and the Arab States, especially Jordan and Syria, which the Mixed Armistice Commissions, headed by the American General William E. Riley on behalf of the United Nations and consisting of representatives of each side and of the UN, managed to patch up. The most serious clash, which led to intervention by the Security Council, occurred in May 1951 in the demilitarized zone between Israel and Syria, when the latter attempted to prevent the Jews from draining the Huleh marshes, a project designed to reclaim some 15,000 acres for Jewish settlement. The Armistice lines were also violated from time to time by groups of Arab civilians who filtered across into Israel, sometimes in order to remain, but more often to plunder and escape.*

§ 3

On January 25, 1949, after a lively campaign, the first general election had been held in Israel. It was a free and orderly election, in spite of the numerous parties in the field and the keen rivalries among them. But of the 21 parties that presented lists of candidates, only 12 obtained enough votes to secure one or more of the 120 seats in the Knesset, or Parliament, and of those 12, the first 4 obtained 75 per cent of the half million votes that were cast. The strongest two of the

* The minorities in Israel—Arab, Druze and Circassian—all of whom are on a footing of civil, political and religious equality with the Jews, were estimated in 1951 to number nearly 200,000.

four belonged to the Left: Mapai, the Israel Labor Party, which had built the Histadrut and had dominated the political and economic scene in the Yishuv, polled 35 per cent of the votes, and Mapam, the name signifying United Labor Party, more radically Socialist and later advocating a pro-Russian orientation, polled nearly 15 per cent. The other two belonged to the Right: the Religious Bloc, consisting of Mizrahi and Agudat Israel groups, and Cherut (Freedom), heir of the Irgun and of the aspirations of the Revisionist Party in the Zionist Movement, each of which polled 12 per cent. Among the parties of the Center, the General Zionists, who stood for maximum encouragement of free enterprise, polled the largest number of votes, followed by the Progressives, who generally leaned towards the Left. The two were the successors, respectively, of Group B and Group A of the General Zionists as they figured at the Congresses. It should be noted that while in the World Movement, particularly in America, the Center held first place, in Israel that place was held by the parties of the Left. But the huge influx of new citizens into the country appeared to be changing the political alignments, the municipal elections in November 1950 pointing to a large increase in strength of the General Zionist Party.

For its opening session on February 14 the First Knesset met not in Tel Aviv but in Jerusalem, as an expression of faith that the Holy City would again become the capital of the Jewish State. It elected Chaim Weizmann first President of the Republic, the veteran labor leader Joseph Sprinzak as Speaker, and in the three weeks that followed David Ben Gurion, the leader of Mapai, formed a coalition cabinet embracing his own party, the Religious Bloc, the Progressives and the Sephardim, and commanding 71 of the 120 votes in the Knesset.

The free parliamentary election and the creation of a democratic government left no further doubt as to the character of the new State. The United States now changed its recognition from *de facto* to *de jure* and many other governments hastened to extend recognition to Israel. The previous July Eliyahu Elath, Israel's Special Representative to the United States, had been received by President Truman, and the following month James Grover McDonald, an ardent friend of the Zionist cause, had arrived in Israel as the Special Representative of the United States; the title of both was now changed to Ambassador.

On May 11, 1949 the General Assembly of the United Nations approved a recommendation of the Security Council and by a vote

of 37 to 12 elected Israel a member of the United Nations. In the Security Council Egypt had voted against the recommendation and Britain abstained, the nine other members voting for it. Thus, in less than a year from the Proclamation of Independence the new Republic had won its right to a seat in the family of nations.

§ 4

It was not a very happy family of which Israel became a member. An ugly cleavage ran through it, growing broader and deeper, and its members lived in the shadow of disaster. All the nations of the earth, big and small alike, the big perhaps more than the small, lived under the menace, and Israel, of course, could not claim exemption.

As for the Zionist Movement, the Proclamation of Jewish Statehood, the victorious War of Independence, and the admission of Israel into the United Nations, where, with the brilliant Abba Eban as her chief delegate, she at once began to play an active and useful part, may be regarded as the fulfillment of its aim as defined in the Basel Program: the establishment of a "publicly recognized, legally secured home for the Jewish People in Palestine." The career of the State subsequent to this consummation may, then, be considered not as part and parcel of the story of the Movement which began in 1897, and which this narrative has aimed to recount, but as the history of the Third Jewish Commonwealth. To this chronicle, therefore, might now be put the word "finis."

§ 5

But in every sector of the Movement the assertion that its aim was achieved was promptly and vigorously challenged. It was challenged on the ground that the security of the State was not assured so long as it was surrounded by unreconciled enemies, among whom talk of "a second round" was not seldom heard. It was challenged on the ground that its security was menaced, also, by its staggering domestic problems. Of these, the many problems—economic, social, cultural and educational—that sprang from the huge influx of newcomers under a policy of free Jewish immigration were the most formidable. In the first three years of its existence some 600,000 came in, nearly doubling its Jewish population. It was another accomplishment unparalleled in history: no land had ever attempted to receive a proportionate number of immigrants in as short a period. The camps in

Cyprus and Europe were emptied, and the process of ingathering entire Jewish communities, or "exiles," from that continent and from Asia and Africa was under way. In some cases, as in those of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Yemen and Iraq, it was practically completed. From Yemen and Iraq restrictions imposed by neighboring Arab governments made it necessary to evacuate the Jews by air through what was called "Operation Magic Carpet" in the case of Yemen and "Operation Ali Baba" in the case of Iraq. But the immigrants came faster than they could be absorbed into the economy and culture of the State. For many months scores of thousands of them had to be maintained in immigrant or work camps, adding greatly to the serious food, housing, currency, raw material and other economic problems of the State, and compelling the adoption of a strict austerity regime and drastic measures to curb a widening black market. The influx from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and the Levantine countries brought large numbers whose cultural background differed from that of the rest, and who presented social and educational problems as well.

The assertion that the aim of Zionism was achieved was rejected on other grounds also. It was rejected by those who insisted that the boundaries of the State must coincide with the historic boundaries of Palestine. And as to the ultimate Zionist goal, there were many who contended it should not be considered attained until the State had gathered in all Jewish exiles—those who must flee from persecution as well as those who prefer to live their lives in the land of their own people. For there is an exile of the spirit as well as of the body, and the rise of the Jewish State gave all Jews the right which, as Brandeis once pointed out, other men possessed but not they: the choice of being citizens of the land of their own people or becoming naturalized citizens of another land.

The prevailing opinion, therefore, both in Israel and among the Zionists of the world, was that the time had not yet arrived for the Movement to wind up its affairs and retire to the pages of history. But the transformation of the Yishuv into the State compelled a profound revision in the relations between the two Zionist fronts with which this chronicle has dealt: the worldwide Movement and the Jewish concentration in Palestine. More precisely, a new definition was called for in the relations between the sovereign Jewish State and the World Zionist Organization with its time-honored functions, institutions and procedures, things which gather tradition and sentiment and cling desperately to life. And since the large bulk of the world Movement, as well as its political and financial center of gravity, was

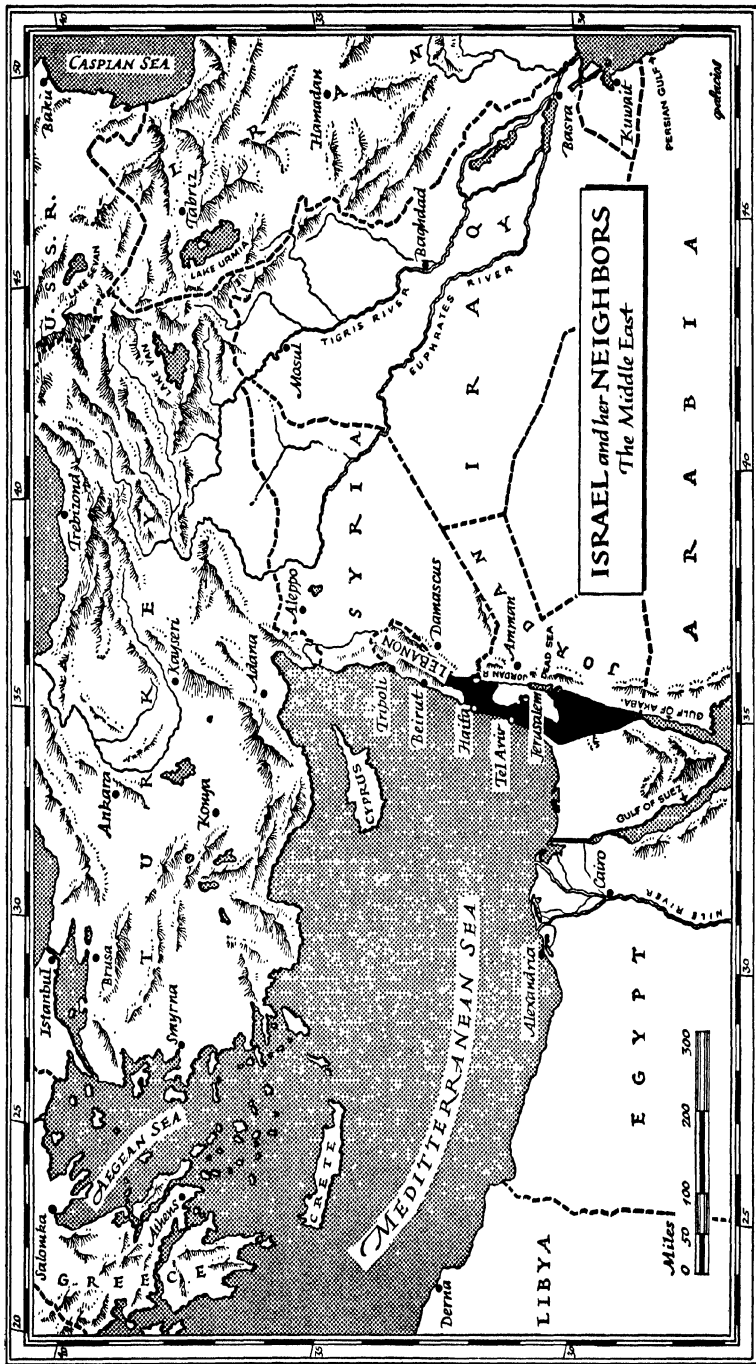
located in America, the problem of redefinition bore with special impact on the American branch of the Movement.

§ 6

The Zionists of America, backed by the entire Jewish community, had played no small part in the struggle against the Mandatory's White Paper policy and a decisive part in the critical days when Zionist destiny lay in the hands of the United Nations. The UN Decision of November 29, 1947, was indispensable for the Proclamation of the Jewish State, and it may therefore be fairly stated that the forces of American Zionism made the Proclamation possible. For it was their influence and exertions that overcame the numerous and powerful enemies of the cause in and out of American Government circles, changing the early lukewarmness of the American Delegation to positive support, and bringing a sufficient number of other waverers to cast their votes for the momentous Decision.

In these political struggles the Zionists no longer stood alone. Besides the numerous Christian friends of the cause, represented by the influential and energetic American Christian Palestine Committee and the two branches of the American Labor movement, the political objectives of Zionism were vigorously supported by important Jewish bodies like the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Order B'nai Brith, the rabbinical and synagogue organizations, the American Jewish War Veterans and others. And an even larger part was played by Jews not identified with organized Zionism in providing through the United Jewish Appeal the large sums required for maintaining and strengthening the Jewish position in Palestine and, after the establishment of the State, for the huge tasks of immigration and settlement which the Jewish Agency assumed on behalf of the State. But the Zionist bodies were convinced that they were the prime mover and spearhead for all efforts, financial as well as political, in the interest of the cause, that its new supporters could not in all circumstances be depended upon, and they deemed it essential that the organized Movement should remain in full vigor as long as the fledgling State was beset with perils and problems that menaced its security.

Strangely enough, it was the strongest sector of the world Movement, its Center or General Zionist grouping, represented in the United States by the Zionist Organization of America, that found itself most seriously threatened by the great consummation. The



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Socialist and religious wings had developed specific projects in the Yishuv, which they continued to cultivate in the State, and being affiliated ideologically with the Israel Labor Party and the Religious Bloc respectively, they found additional *raison d'être* in supporting their counterparts in Israel, showing little inclination to put an end to party divisions in the world Movement, as Emanuel Neumann, president of the ZOA, proposed in July 1948. Hadassah, too, with its many health institutions in Israel, could look forward to a busy future, although the Organization in America was also identified with the Center. The Zionist Organization of America, on the other hand, had concentrated on raising funds, making converts to the cause and promoting its political interests. Funds were now raised by the United Jewish Appeal, the need of converting Jews to Zionism seemed supererogatory, and all responsibility for the political interests of the State had, of course, to be left to its government. Nor could the Zionist Organization of America, by reason of its traditions and structure, become an effective educational agency for the promotion of Hebraic culture, as some proposed it should do. The major Zionist body in America was in danger of becoming empty of content and function.

There were indications, also, that the Socialist-dominated Government of Israel had scant sympathy for the problems of a group whose leadership they considered reactionary. In February 1949, Silver and Neumann, the two leading figures in American Zionism, resigned from the Jewish Agency Executive when, in a controversy with the Administration of the United Jewish Appeal, they failed to get the support of the Israel Government. The Prime Minister and his colleagues took frequent occasion to emphasize Israel's need for continued American support, but they looked for it not from the Zionists alone, but from the entire community, including the men who held aloof from the organized Movement, among whom there were many who commanded wealth and influence.

In the spring of 1951 Prime Minister Ben Gurion spent several weeks in the United States where he launched a drive for the sale of an Israel Government bond issue for \$500,000,000. The Prime Minister visited the principal cities of America, where he received the highest official honors, and was hailed by the Jews with massive and jubilant demonstrations. He was the symbol of the new dignity and self-esteem to which the Jews of the world had risen with the rise of the State. But in his desire to win all Jews for Israel he avoided in his public addresses all mention of Zionism as something, presumably, to which the odor of controversialism still clung.

Could the Zionist Movement, then, look forward to a useful and dignified future? What role should the World Organization, as such, play in the development of the State? What should be the formal relations between its Executive, or the Jewish Agency, and the Israel Government? Such were the grave and intricate questions which now faced the Movement. "God breaks the instruments that have served His purpose," was the saying Herzl applied to himself shortly before he died: was it now to be applied to the instrument he fashioned and bequeathed to his people? Hosts of men and women for whom Zionism had been the spiritual buttress of their lives, and who considered it a vital force in the collective life of their people, viewed its diminished prospects with deep anxiety.

§ 7

The established processes of the Movement continued, although the holding of the Twenty-third Congress, at which a new Program for the Movement to replace the Basel Program was to be adopted, had frequently to be postponed. In America the ZOA Convention of 1949 was preceded by a vigorous opposition campaign against the Silver-Neumann regime, in which a goodly number of leading Zionists joined. The opposition was conducted in the name of the liberal principles of Group A of the General Zionists, but as is usually the case in political clashes, principles and ambitions became commingled. At the Convention, however, which took place in New York in May, the differences were composed, and a unified Administration was elected with Daniel Frisch, a New York merchant, as president. The new head attempted to attach the organization to projects of its own in Israel, but he died a year later, and his term was completed by Benjamin Browdy, a New York manufacturer. Browdy was elected to the office by the Convention of 1950 in Chicago, and again by that of 1951 in Atlantic City. The problem that loomed largest at all three conventions was, of course, that of the future functions of the World Movement and its relations to the State of Israel.

§ 8

Whatever business, unfinished or new, the Zionist Movement might still have, its primary goal had obviously been attained. A Jewish State, which so many of Herzl's contemporaries called a fantastic illusion, was, in the words of Count Bernadotte, "a vibrant

reality." Nothing of the sort had ever happened in history before. After nineteen centuries of separation a broken and scattered people had resumed its corporate life in the land where it began its career some 4,000 years earlier.

The State was beset with perils and problems, its social landscape like its physical was undergoing rapid change, and its political lines were reforming under the impact of massive immigration. Its promise for mankind in general, and the Jewries of other lands in particular, was the subject of numerous prophecies, colored, of course, by the prepossessions of the prophets. They ranged from the conviction that the restored Jewish nation would implement the ethical ideals of the Hebrew prophets, to the fear that its isolation amid hostile neighbors would foster a narrow chauvinism. There were those who were sure that Jewish life in other lands would be quickened by new streams of spiritual energy flowing from the State, and others who were equally sure that, with Jewish survival guaranteed by it, Jewish communities in other lands would no longer hesitate to surrender their identity and find happiness in euthanasia. A fairly good case could be made out for each of these prognoses, but prophecy must be left to the prophets. For others it may suffice to remember that no group can slough away its past, that the longer and richer the past the more imperious its claims. Not only nobility but history also imposes obligations.

Whatever the future might have in store, there was no doubt that to all Jews the State brought new poise and prestige. Their people were no longer driftwood on the current of history. Their fate was no longer determined by the good will or ill will of others: the stigma of being always victims or beneficiaries was removed. They won an equality beyond the power of any emancipation statutes to confer, the equality which, as Leon Pinsker so well understood, comes only from auto-emancipation. And the State was a measure of compensation for the Six Million who perished at the hands of the Nazis.

Life in Israel was not easy or placid. Economically it was harassed by shortages, and culturally it lacked the ripeness so dear to the heart of aesthetes. In every sphere of life the land was not in a state of being, but of becoming. But it throbbed with self-confidence and energy, the work of reclamation and upbuilding was making giant strides, and in the zest of creation hardships and privations became less onerous. The Third Jewish Commonwealth seemed firmly planted and striking ever deeper roots in a region of the earth where its stimulus was bound to be strong and salutary.

Zionism had come there not to dispossess or supplant; it had proved its ability to create new living space for itself and its neighbors alike. And if, contrary to its purpose, the pressures of war and, even more, the folly of the Arab leaders produced a serious refugee problem, Zionists were not happy about it, and recognized the obligation—which others shared with them—to aid in its solution.

§ 9

As historic movements go, Zionism had a speedy passage from inception to realization, whether we consider it to have begun with the meteoric appearance of Herzl in 1896, or with the upsurge of *Chibat Zion* in 1881. But those dates, like many others in history, are arbitrary: the inner and outer pressures that gave wings to the *Chibat Zion* of Rabbi Samuel Mohiliver and Baron Edmond Rothschild and the Political Zionism of Herzl and Nordau were born when the Romans destroyed the Second Jewish Commonwealth, and the modern Movement reaped what the centuries had sown. For in a wider and truer sense Zionism is the sum total of the thoughts, emotions and deeds to which the Jewish people the world over have been stirred by the land called Holy, the cradle and center of their national and spiritual life. And in that sense it may be safely affirmed that, whatever its forms and instruments, Zionism will not die but live.

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