

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





# ZIONISM

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

XI

Tel-Aviv University  
Hakibbutz Hameuchad  
Publishing House  
Printed in Israel 1986

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

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# SUMMARIES





## SUMMARIES

### FROM UNIVERSALISM TO PARTICULARISM: THE JEWISH NATIONAL QUESTION IN THE U.S., 1967-1973

*by* Yosef Gorni

Jewish student radicalism was a unique and short-lived social phenomenon in the U.S., mainly occurring during the years 1967 to 1973. Jewish radicalism should be distinguished from the activities of radical Jews, who had no connection with the former movement. Three groups, in Montreal, New York and California are considered. The Montreal group was influenced by provincial tension in Quebec between French and English Canadians. The New York group responded to Black anti-Semitism, and the California group was strongly influenced by the youth counterculture of the 1960s. The movement had neither a central organization nor a cohesive ideology, but lived in an ideological broth of Marx, Marcuse, the Bund, Borochoy, Rosenzweig and the Zionist pioneering movement. Adherents were American nationalists and Zionist radicals with a utopian imagination. They were within and also estranged from the Jewish community. Although the movement had a brief history, and its practical achievements were minimal, its influence was important in strengthening national and ethnic interest among young American Jews.

### THE BNEI MOSHE ASSOCIATION AND ITS RELATION TO THE HIBAT ZION MOVEMENT

*by* Esther Stein-Ashkenazi

Beginning in the 1880s, small organizations, which saw themselves as standard-bearers of the nationalist idea, sprang up in eastern and central Europe. These included Am Olam, Ness Ziona, Nezah Yisrael, the Bnei Moshe Association, and Mizrahi. All, except for Am Olam, were oriented toward settlement in Eretz Israel. Their leaders operated within the Hibat

Zion movement, while expressing their own interests and specific ideology. Bnei Moshe and Mizrahi, headed by Ahad Ha'am and Rabbi Shmuel Mohiliver, respectively, arose due to dissatisfaction with the form and state of the Jewish national movement in the 1890s. Bnei Moshe, a secret order, regarded itself as the most important element of the national movement. It established schools, printed and distributed materials on nationalism, collected books for libraries in Eretz Israel, published a newsletter and founded a publishing house. Ahad Ha'am established the association as an alternative opposed to Hovevei Zion, but he recruited active members of the Hibat Zion movement who did not understand or accept his approach. The association was attacked by religious elements, and experienced financial hardship and lack of leadership, but continued to function for at least six years after Ahad Ha'am retired. Mizrahi was similar to Bnei Moshe, despite differences in its attitudes toward religion. The leaders of the two associations supported each other. Neither succeeded in their principal mission, and with Herzl's appearance and the beginning of Zionism, they disappeared.

## MOSES MONTEFIORE AND PALESTINE—MYTH AND REALITY

*by Moshe Samet*

Despite his seven visits to Palestine, and despite the large charitable funds at his disposal, Moses Montefiore had only a limited impact on the economic development and well-being of the small Palestinian Jewish community. He ambitiously, but unsuccessfully, attempted to negotiate improved security for the vulnerable Jews with the authorities. He encouraged projects, such as a large hospital, which were directly under his sponsorship. But he discouraged investment in infrastructure and development in favor of direct cash dispensations of a charitable nature. Moreover, his ventures were costly, and he actively suppressed involvement by recipients in fund allocation, preferring to retain full control over expenditures himself.

INTERNAL ZIONIST COMPETITION OVER LAND ACQUISITION  
IN PALESTINE: THE ESTABLISHMENT AND ACTIVITIES  
OF THE "NEW SOCIETY FOR THE ACQUISITION  
AND SALE OF LAND," 1912-1914

*by Yosef Katz*

At the beginning of the 20th century, the number of Jewish organizations dealing with land acquisition in Palestine increased. Almost all Zionist organizations, public or private, agreed not to compete, on principle, with any other Jewish land purchasers, whether Zionist or non-Zionist. The only Zionist organization that excluded itself from this cooperation was the "New Society for the Acquisition and Sale of Land," a private company. Compared with other land purchasers, the "New Society" operated efficiently, basing itself only on financial interest. However, its competition with other Zionist bodies encouraged Arab landowners either to dramatically increase prices or to withhold land from sale for speculative reasons.

THE ZIONIST EXECUTIVE AND "HEVRAT HAOVDIM" -  
THE ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH ECONOMIC AND  
ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERNS IN LABOR ENTERPRISES  
DURING THE 1920S

*by Yitzhak Greenberg*

During the 1920s, the foundations of most of the institutions and enterprises of the labor economy were laid. The main obstacle blocking economic initiative and development was the lack of independent capital, which compelled institutions and enterprises to request funds out of national capital, forcing them thereby into a dependent relationship on the World Zionist Organization. To assure accountability, the Zionist Executive became involved in the everyday operations and policies of its beneficiaries, a tendency disapproved of by Hevrat Haovdim. The Zionist Executive's demand for economic efficiency clashed with the expansive approach of Hamashbir, and the Office for Public Works (and its successor, Solel Boneh). Conflict also emerged over the question of the

independence of the labor economy, notwithstanding the fact that the Zionist Executive was not adamant in its demands and tended to compromise. Moreover, the economic institutions were sometimes less than scrupulous in carrying out reforms they had agreed to fulfill. The leadership of the Histadrut and the institutions were also willing to compromise, but only when they were in need of national capital. Despite the conflicts, however, the overall relationship contained a large degree of mutuality, both acknowledging each other's significance in the Zionist endeavor.

### THE JOINT PALESTINE SURVEY COMMISSION, 1927-1928

*by* Mordechai Naor

In 1927, Chaim Weizmann signed an agreement to establish a Joint Palestine Survey Commission, which would visit Palestine, investigate the current state of development of the Yishuv, and formulate plans. The commission would consist of four leading Jewish figures, and twenty international experts in fields such as immigration and settlement, finance, cooperatives, medicine and labor. In the spring of 1928, the Commission's report was given for approval by the Zionist Executive in Berlin. The report was extremely critical of cooperative settlement efforts, the role of the Histadrut, and the national land purchases carried out by the Jewish National Fund. The report was attacked by both the left Zionists and Revisionists, although the center generally accepted its main points. Weizmann supported the approach adopted in Palestine by the Labor Movement, but also wanted to involve American non-Zionists. After extensive discussion, during which Weizmann threatened to resign, the Zionist Executive agreed to support the reports's main points, but nullified the highly critical sections pertaining to settlement and national land purchases. The affair strengthened both Weizmann and the Palestinian worker's movement. Work continued along the lines the labor leaders had adopted, and within a few years they became the leaders of the Zionist Movement.

## THE MANDATORY POLICY TOWARD THE TENANTS OF WADI HAWARITH, 1929-1933

*by* Raya Adler

The 1929 acquisition of Wadi Hawarith (Emek Hefer), constituting about 30,000 dunams in the coastal plain, was an important achievement for the Jewish National Fund (JNF). It became, however, an "affair", because of the refusal of some 1,200 Bedouin tenants to leave the tract, despite reconfirmation of JNF ownership and a legal evacuation order. Fearing that forcible eviction would reinforce agitation by the Palestinian national movement, neither the High Commissioner nor the JNF enforced the order, and this group of tenants remained nearly four additional years. During this period the Palestine government, trying to arrange an out-of-court settlement, suggested that the tenants resettle in Beisan Valley (Tel a-Shuk), within the framework of a resettlement scheme for "landless Arabs." Despite economic advantages the Bedouins insisted on remaining in Wadi Hawarith; the government thereupon expelled them. Although the Bedouins were among the poorest Arabs in Palestine, their weakness, in the socio-political context of the early 1930s, was transformed into a source of power. The tenants' refusal to leave ancestral land reflected their unity and attachment to that particular land immanent in their social existence.

## JEWISH SETTLEMENT ATTEMPTS IN THE ARAVA AND GULF OF EILAT DURING THE MANDATE PERIOD

*by* Gideon Bieger and Shimon Rubinstein

Although the Arava and Gulf of Eilat were settled by Jews only after the establishment of the State, this important area was the object of interest by various Jewish elements throughout the period of the Mandate. The most important plans were those of Moshe Rozengratt for the establishment of fisheries in the early 1930s and of Shmuel Holtzman, for the founding of agricultural settlements in the Arava at the same time. Rozengratt's plan won British support, but was turned down by the Zionist institutions, who argued that it was economically unviable;

Holtzman's plan won Zionist approval, but was given no practical aid. In the late 1930s and 1940s, the Zionist Executive sent research teams to examine prospects for fishing and agricultural development in the area. Despite British support, however, nothing was achieved.

THE QUESTION OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN THE  
"HEHALUTZ" MOVEMENT IN POLAND BETWEEN  
THE TWO WORLD WARS

by Israel Oppenheim

In the 1920s, the Hehalutz movement constituted itself with a distinctive ideology and structure. Hehalutz stopped being an amorphous movement and became part of the Zionist-Socialist labor and Kibbutz movement, especially close to Hakibbutz Hameuchad. The different stages in this process were reflected in its cultural and educational activities, the most important being a permanent *Hachsharah* (training settlement). The life-style of the *Hachsharot* encompassed all existential, cultural and educational activities in an original way. In the 1930s, this process became even more difficult, because the Hehalutz movement included thousands of members motivated by a desire to leave Poland, for whom ideological considerations were secondary. Efforts of the leadership to imbue this mass *Aliyah* with ideology stimulated conflict between the leadership and activists on the one hand, and the large numbers of new members on the other. As the possibility for *Aliyah* decreased later in the 1930s, many left the movement, and Hehalutz again became a small and homogeneous youth organization.

## THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT AND ARGENTINE SOCIETY, 1935-1943

*by* Silvia Schenkolewski (Tractinsky)

During the period 1935-1943, power in Argentina was held by conservatives who, despite the influence of anti-Semitism, did not adopt a hostile position toward the Jewish community. Concomitant with the opposition of liberal public opinion to anti-Semitic trends in the country, the Zionist Federation and the Poalei Zion party saw Argentina as a democratic state, and challenged anti-Semitism on a juridical and constitutional basis. The Zionist Federation took political positions pertaining only to matters of Jewish and Zionist importance, and opposed political activity on other issues, while the Poalei Zion party strove to become a political body within the Argentine Socialist Party. Although Poalei Zion was not admitted to the Socialist Party, it continued to support the Party, while also proposing creation of an Argentine Jewish Congress. Both the Zionist Federation and the Poalei Zion party reacted to events in Palestine and Europe in accordance with directives from the World Zionist Organization. The Zionist movement failed to implant itself in the consciousness of non-Jewish Argentine society. As Argentina had no special interest in the Mideast, and had no strong economic relationship with England, the Zionists had little influence. After the outbreak of war, this lack of influence continued, largely because Argentina was a neutral country.

## THE FAILED ALLIANCE: THE REVISIONIST MOVEMENT AND THE POLISH GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE, 1939-1945

*by* David Engel

The relationship between the Revisionist movement and the Polish government-in-exile during the Second World War is examined. Contacts between the two represented a continuation of Revisionist contacts with the prewar Polish regime. From 1935 until 1939, the Polish government had pursued a policy of inducing large numbers of Jews to leave the country, and had sought the cooperation of Zionist circles in achieving this

goal. Most Zionists rejected cooperation with what they regarded as an anti-Semitic regime. The government-in-exile, founded in September 1939, secretly sympathized with the prewar regime's approach to the Jewish question. Thus, this government expressed considerable interest in cooperation with the Revisionists. Following the entry of the Soviet Union into the war on the Allied side in June 1941, Polish leaders hoped that the Revisionists, along with other Jewish organizations, might help win Western public opinion for the Polish side in the Polish-Soviet dispute. Against this background, Polish military authorities in Palestine agreed to a Revisionist plan to send Jewish soldiers of the Polish Army, who had been interned in Russia, to the U.S., to conduct pro-Polish propaganda. The Revisionists had proposed this idea mainly as a ruse to free Menachem Begin from the Polish Army, so that he could assume command of the "Irgun". This became the principal practical outcome of Polish-Revisionist contacts during the war.

MOSHE SHARET, DAVID BEN-GURION, AND THE  
"PALESTINIAN OPTION", 1948-1956

*by* Ilan Pappé

During the years immediately following the establishment of the State, the government of Israel supported the partition of what had been Palestine. According to this principle, the cease-fire agreement was signed between Israel and Jordan. Moshe Sharett, then Foreign Minister, was the only leader to dispute the Hashemite-Jewish solution. Sharett argued in favor of negotiations with Palestinian Arabs for the establishment of an independent political entity in the West Bank. Sharett was involved in contacts with King Abdallah before statehood, and supported an agreement with the King; however, after hostilities ended, Sharett tended toward a solution which would include an independent West Bank entity. The ensuing confrontation with Ben-Gurion led to Sharett's dismissal from the negotiations with Jordan.



POLITICAL ASPECTS OF MASS ALIYAH INTEGRATION AT THE  
TIME OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE

by Dvora Hacohen

The mass *Aliyah* that came to Israel in the first years following independence transformed the demographic character of the society, and potentially threatened the political system that was constituted during the period of the pre-State Yishuv. The mass *Aliyah*, unlike immigration during the Mandatory period, was not only different in quantity, but also in composition. Most of these later immigrants did not affiliate with the existing political organizations, which attempted to mobilize their support. The new immigrants, most without economic means and confronted with a lack of jobs and permanent housing, were placed in large camps, and were dependent on the authorities for all their needs. This dependence focused the political struggle to come. Conflict arose between the political leadership of Israel and the Zionist Organization over responsibility for resettlement, in which the State prevailed. This worked to the advantage of the Mapai party, already dominant in the government. The presence of the religious parties in the government coalition, following the departure of Mapam, stimulated further conflict.

THE DIARIES OF DAVID BEN-GURION, 1915-1929,  
AS AN HISTORICAL SOURCE

by Jeshayahu Yelinek

The diaries of David Ben-Gurion will be published in stages by the Ben-Gurion College in Sde Boker; the first volume will appear in 1986. The earliest diaries, 1900-1915, were lost during the First World War. The original manuscript of the 1915-1920 diaries were also lost, and the typewritten transcripts contain numerous errors. Ben-Gurion's diaries are a multi-faceted primary document. They served their author as an administrative and archival aid, as a tool for communicating with his colleagues, as a method of clarifying ideas, and as an historical chronicle. They reflect Ben-Gurion's private and public life, and constitute a mass of detail on the life of the Yishuv and the Zionist movement in the Diaspora, as well as on his own activities.

THE POPULAR PUBLICATIONS OF JOSEPH KLAUSNER,  
1937-1959, WITH SUPPLEMENTS

by Jehoshua Barzilai (Fulman)

A continuation of the bibliography published by B. Schochetmann and B. Elizefek (Klausner) in "Klausner Book" (Tel Aviv, 1937, p. 465-528), and of the Barzilai bibliography of Klausner published in "Kirijath Sepher," vol. 41 (1966, p. 107-116). The latter includes the 1937-1959 scientific publications of Klausner; the current bibliography includes publications of those years that appeared mainly in the daily newspapers "Ha'Boker," "Ha'Mashkif" and "Heruth," as well as in other periodicals.

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Also: E. Mendelson, *Zionism in Poland, the Formative Years, 1915-1926*, Yale University Press, 1981, reviewed by Shlomo Netzer

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# תמצית המאמרים באנגלית