

A SHORT HISTORY OF ZIONISM

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Israel in Italien (Berlin, 1909).

Jewish Life in Modern Times (1st edition, 1914; 2nd edition, revised, 1929).

The Ruhleben Prison Camp (1917)

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A Ghetto Gallery (1931).

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A SHORT HISTORY OF ZIONISM

by
ISRAEL COHEN

WITH A MAP OF ISRAEL

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TO THE MEMORY OF
NAHUM SOKOLOW
1861-1936

*Zionist leader, author, and historian,
President of the Zionist Executive, 1920-1931,
President of the Zionist Organisation and of
the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1931-1935
Honorary President of the Zionist Organisation,
1935-1936*

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this book is to give a concise and comprehensive history of the Zionist movement from its beginnings until the present day. It is based upon the knowledge derived from over fifty years' intimate association with the movement and of very many years of close contact with those responsible for its direction. I was fortunate to be present at the first public meeting in London addressed by Theodor Herzl in July, 1896, took part in the Conference in March, 1898, that led to the establishment of the English Zionist Federation, and have attended every Zionist Congress since that of 1903. For a period extending over thirty years, from the spring of 1910, I was in the secretariat of the Central Office of the World Zionist Organisation, working in constant co-operation with a long succession of Executives, first in Cologne, next in Berlin, and longest of all in London, where I was General Secretary for many years—an experience shared by nobody else. From the autumn of 1929 the London headquarters of the Zionist Organisation also formed the office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Despite this official connection, without which the writing of this book would have been extremely difficult, I have tried to maintain such a degree of objectivity as a historian can observe who writes a record of his own time and of a movement in which his own convictions are concerned.

Over one-half of this book covers the period during which Great Britain was associated with Palestine as the Mandatory Power. The prelude to that connection was the Balfour Declaration of 1917, and the sequel was the decision of the United Nations in 1947. The statesmen primarily responsible for the issue of the Declaration envisaged the ultimate establishment of a Jewish State, but it was the United Nations that decided upon its creation. The long and chequered course of events,

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at times heartening and at other disappointing and even tragic, which occurred between the conception and the realisation, is recounted in this book in sufficient detail to show why it was not Britain, but the United Nations that resolved to restore to the Jewish people its statehood on a part of its ancient homeland, and also why it was left to the Jews themselves to implement the resolution. Even if Britain had wished to accomplish this act herself, which would certainly have been preferable, the sanction of a higher and international authority would have been necessary—either that of the League of Nations before the war or that of the United Nations after it (although her unilateral elevation of the mandated territory of Transjordan to an independent kingdom has never been challenged). But despite Britain's attitude in the epoch-making decision of the United Nations, she has the gratification of looking back upon a notable record of civilising work in the Holy Land and of reflecting that it was under her ægis and administration that Jewish industry, skill, and enthusiasm have wrought such a remarkable transformation.

The earlier chapters of this book are largely based upon my previous work, *The Zionist Movement*, which was written in 1944, and which I have carefully revised for the purpose. I have tried here to narrate all subsequent events and developments of outstanding importance up to the present day, but as I am only a historian and not a prophet, I have made no attempt to forecast the future except very briefly, and in terms that I believe to be justified by the past and the present.

I. C.

LONDON.

January, 1951.

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“And I will turn the captivity of my people Israel, and they shall build the waste cities and inhabit them. . . . And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be plucked up out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord thy God.”

AMOS ix. 14-15.

“There is a store of wisdom among us to found a new Jewish polity, grand, simple, just, like the old—a republic where there is equality of protection. . . . Then our race shall have an organic centre, a heart and a brain to watch and guide and execute; the outraged Jew shall have a defence in the court of nations. . . . And the world will gain as Israel gains.”

GEORGE ELIOT, *Daniel Deronda* (1876).

“September 3rd, 1897.—If I were to sum up the Basle Congress in one word—which I shall be careful not to do openly—it would be this: at Basle I founded the Jewish State. If I were to say this to-day, I would be met by universal laughter. In five years, perhaps, and in any case in fifty, every one will see it. The State is already founded in essence, in the will of the people to have a State.”

THEODOR HERZL, *Tagebücher*, Vol. II, p. 24.

FORERUNNERS OF ZIONISM

1695-1882

THE ZIONIST IDEA

THE essence of the Zionist idea, the re-establishment of the Jews as a nation in Palestine, instinctively came into being immediately after the destruction of Judaea by the Romans. No sooner had the Jews lost their independence, which had lasted over 1,200 years, than they began to yearn and pray for its revival. The belief in the restoration of Zion acquired the position of a cardinal principle of the Jewish faith and became an all-pervasive element in Jewish life. Prayers for the rebuilding of Jerusalem not only recurred in the three regular services of the day and in the elaborate grace after every meal, but were interwoven in all parts of the liturgy. They were a familiar refrain throughout the year—on Sabbaths, on festivals, and on fast-days. No preacher ever concluded his sermon without the Hebrew invocation. "And may the Redeemer come unto Zion!" to which the whole congregation responded with a fervid "Amen!" No marriage ceremony was solemnised without expressing the wish that "soon may there be heard in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, the voice of joy and gladness!" No mourner was comforted without being reminded of "all those that mourn for Zion and Jerusalem." No house was dedicated without voicing the hope for the speedy dedication of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem. And twice a year, at the domestic celebration of the Passover and at the termination of the Day of Atonement, all who were loyal to the traditions of their people declared with sincere emotion: "Next year in Jerusalem!"

Throughout the centuries of their dispersion, the Jews not only prayed for the return to Zion, but longed for it with unabating fervour. That was why, on so many

occasions in the Middle Ages, Rabbis, poets, and other pietists, braving all the hardships and perils of the time, went on pilgrimages to the Holy Land, to spend their declining years in religious study and to be buried there. Few episodes in Jewish history are so moving as the last journey of Jehuda Halevi, that divinely gifted poet, whose sublime elegies on Zion are chanted in synagogues on the Fast of Ab, and whose fate after leaving Egypt for the haven of his desires is wrapped in mystery and crowned with legend. And it was also because of the impatient yearning for the return that whenever a false Messiah issued his call—and there were many during the first seventeen centuries after the fall of Judaea—Jews responded credulously and enthusiastically, glimpsing a glorious vision that was soon followed by the gloom of despair.

EARLY ADVOCATES OF RESTORATION

It was not until after the middle of the nineteenth century that the first practical steps were taken to convert the ideal into reality, for until then Jews had been unable, owing to political impotence and the difficulties of organisation, to engage in any concerted action. The mere fact that they bestirred themselves, after so prolonged an interval, to organise their return, was a testimony to the unconquerable ardour with which they clung to the idea and to their faith in the possibility of its realisation. Their initial attempts were preceded by the recurring advocacy of their return made by a number of both Jews and non-Jews of eminence. The earliest advocates were those Christian millenarians in this country in the days of Cromwell, who urged the readmission of the Jews to England, because they believed that the coming of the Messiah, who would lead the Jews back to their ancestral home and usher in the "Kingdom of the Saints" that would endure a thousand years, would not take place until the Jews were dispersed in all lands, and they must therefore be found in England too.

The first advocate of the idea on a purely secular basis was probably the Danish merchant, Oliger Paulli, who submitted elaborate schemes in 1695 to William III of England, Louis XIV of France, and other European monarchs. Similar proposals were made by the Marquis de Langallerie, who, in 1714, began negotiations with the Turkish Ambassador at The Hague; and later, in 1797, by the Prince de Ligne, who published a lengthy memorandum, in which he argued that the re-establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine would not only benefit that country and the Jews in it, but would also improve the position of the Jews in the Diaspora.

By far the most notable proposal before the end of the eighteenth century was that made by Napoleon Bonaparte in the course of his campaign against Egypt and Syria. After he began the siege of Acre, in April, 1799, he issued a proclamation to all Jews to rally under his banners "in order to re-establish ancient Jerusalem." He called them "unique nation" and "rightful heirs of Palestine," referred to the country as their "patrimony," and declared that the moment had come, which might not return for thousands of years, to claim their "political existence as a nation among the nations." But a month after the issue of this proclamation, Napoleon, without having entered Jerusalem or even penetrated to Acre, set out on his return to France, probably before his offer had reached any important Jewish community. In all probability he had been prompted to make his appeal by a letter addressed by a Jew to his brethren in the previous year. In this letter the anonymous writer¹ had pointed out that nine years after the issue of the Declaration of Human Rights, the hatred of the Jews by the nations had not lessened, and he argued that the yoke resting upon them would not be removed until they regained their rank as a nation among the other nations of the world by rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem.

¹ It is uncertain whether he was a French or Italian Jew. See N. Sokolow's *History of Zionism*, Vol. II, pp. 220-2, and N. M. Gelber, *Vorgeschichte des Zionismus*, pp. 38-41.

PHILO-ZIONISTS IN ENGLAND

In England the idea of the restoration found frequent championship from the beginning of the nineteenth century in the most varied circles—theological, literary, and political. Theologians wrote pamphlets in which they based their advocacy upon the Biblical promises and were partly moved by the hope that the Jews, on their return to Palestine, would be converted to Christianity. In the literary sphere the idea was popularised in the *Hebrew Melodies* of Lord Byron, who gave poignant expression to the homelessness of the Jews in the famous lines:

*The wild dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,
Mankind their country, Israel but the grave.*

Benjamin Disraeli, who had travelled in the Near East as a young man, revealed his sympathy with the Jewish national idea in two romances, *David Alroy* and *Tancred*, and George Eliot made it the central theme of her famous novel, *Daniel Deronda*.

MONTEFIORE AND SHAFTESBURY

Of the various personalities who began to show practical interest in the earlier half of the nineteenth century in the settlement of Jews in Palestine, the first and most distinguished was the great humanitarian, Sir Moses Montefiore, who made the first of his pilgrimages to the country in 1827. Between that date and 1874 when, at the age of ninety, he made his seventh and last visit to Jerusalem, he devoted much thought and energy to the social and economic betterment of the Jews in the Holy Land and provided funds for the purpose. Indeed, he was seriously concerned with their welfare to the end of his days, and his centenary was celebrated by the Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Committee by the erection of many houses and other buildings in Jerusalem.

Much more remarkable was the interest displayed by Lord Shaftesbury, the statesman and social reformer,

who, in 1838, pleaded for a Jewish settlement in Palestine under the guarantee of the Great Powers and wrote an article on the question in the *Quarterly Review*. In 1840, when there was a conference in London to discuss the future of Palestine and Syria, Lord Shaftesbury addressed a memorandum on the subject to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, and *The Times* wrote that "the proposition to plant the Jewish people in the land of their fathers" was "no longer a mere matter of speculation, but a serious political consideration." Palmerston was not unfavourable, but there was no Jewish organisation capable of dealing with so stupendous a problem, and he therefore manifested his sympathy by giving instructions to the British Consul in Jerusalem to accord official protection to the Jews in Palestine—a concession that may be regarded as the forerunner of the Balfour Declaration of 1917.

SIX NOTABLE ENGLISHMEN

Several other Englishmen took an active interest in the question. Colonel Charles Henry Churchill (grandson of the fifth Duke of Marlborough), an officer on the staff of the Allied Army which had compelled the Viceroy of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, to withdraw from Palestine, wrote a letter in 1841 to Montefiore, urging the resettlement of the Jews in the country; but the Jewish Board of Deputies of which Montefiore was President, instructed him to reply that the Board was precluded from taking action. Another British military officer, Colonel George Gawler, accompanied Montefiore on a visit to Palestine in 1849, and four years later renewed his proposals that Jewish settlements should be promoted there by England. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century four other Englishmen displayed an enthusiastic interest in the idea of the restoration. General Sir Charles Warren proposed the formation of a chartered company to obtain a concession from the Sultan for a Jewish settlement with eventual self-government. Colonel C. R. Conder spoke and wrote in support of the idea indefatigably for some

decades. Sir Edward Cazalet, who came of a Huguenot family (and whose grandson, the late Colonel Victor Cazalet, was chairman of the Parliamentary Palestine Committee), urged a large settlement of Jews under British protection and also suggested the establishment of a Jewish University in Jerusalem.

More notable than these was the writer and traveller, Laurence Oliphant (1829–1888), who projected a large Jewish settlement in Transjordan, but failed to obtain the Sultan's consent. He visited Palestine twice, accompanied by his Jewish secretary, Naphtali Herz Imber (1856–1909), the author of the Jewish national anthem, "Hatikvah," and took the keenest interest in the Jewish development of the country to the end of his days. Oliphant also went to Eastern Europe to distribute the money of the Mansion House Relief Fund among the Jewish victims of pogroms, and discussed Jewish questions with leaders of the *Hibbath Zion* ("Love of Zion") movement in Russia, Austria, and Rumania. His last years were spent at Haifa, where he was untiring in the help that he gave to Jewish settlers in the neighbourhood.

ADVOCATES IN FRANCE

In France, too, there were exponents of the idea. The historian, Joseph Salvador (1796–1873), who was the undisputed intellectual leader of French Jewry in the latter part of his life, published in 1860 a work entitled *Paris, Rome and Jerusalem*, in which he urged the holding of a Congress of the Powers for the reinstating of his people in their ancient land. Twenty years earlier there had appeared a book by the private secretary of Napoleon III, Ernest Laharanne, who pleaded for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine and emphasised the great cultural benefits that the Jews would confer upon the Near East. And the founder of the International Red Cross, Jean Henri Dunant, was likewise an enthusiast who, in 1876, created the first Palestine Exploration Society.

TWO AMERICAN CHAMPIONS

On the other side of the Atlantic, among the Jews in the United States, the idea of the restoration also found two notable champions before Zionism had become an organised movement. The first was Mordecai Manuel Noah (1795-1851), who had occupied various posts in the American Government service. He originally proposed a Jewish colony on Grand Island, near Buffalo, but after realising the impracticability of the scheme, he became an ardent advocate of the restoration to Palestine. In an address that he delivered in New York in 1844 he urged that it was the duty of Christians to help the Jews to regain the land of their fathers, and he received a letter from John Adams, the second President of the United States, who wrote: "I really wish the Jews again in Judaea as an independent nation." The other American advocate was the gifted poetess, Emma Lazarus (1849-1887), who, deeply stirred by the Russian pogroms and the influx of refugees into America, poured out her soul in a succession of poems, published under the titles: *Songs of a Semite*, *By the Waters of Babylon*, and *The Banner of the Jew*. She also wrote an *Epistle to the Hebrews*, in which she roused the religious and national consciousness of American Jewry, and her name is immortalised by her lines of welcome to the homeless refugees inscribed on the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbour.

While the idea of the resettlement of the Jews in their ancient land had numerous adherents in the Western world, a movement for its realisation began to develop among the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe from about the middle of the nineteenth century. These protagonists were more strongly moved than the advocates in England, France, or America, for they were impelled by more powerful motives: religious conviction, national consciousness, and personal experience of the intolerance to which their people were exposed in the Diaspora. For them the restoration to Palestine was not

a project for the benefit of some remote group of people, but a matter of vital concern to their own communities; they were not interested in the political advantages that might accrue to some Power, but wished to see the realisation of eighteen hundred years of prayer.

RABBI HIRSCH KALISCHER

The first and most distinguished of these advocates of practical activity was an orthodox Rabbi, Zevi Hirsch Kalischer (1795-1874). He occupied the position of Rabbi at Thorn (in East Prussia) for forty years without a salary, living principally on a shop kept by his wife. He was a Talmudical authority of great repute and author of commentaries on the Pentateuch and the *Shulchan Aruch*.¹ As early as 1830 he wrote to his former teacher, the famous Rabbi Akiba Eger, on the necessity of the return to Palestine, and several years later entered into correspondence on the subject with Baron Amschel Mayer Rothschild, Sir Moses Montefiore, and other notabilities. In 1843 he published his *Emunah Yeshara* ("The Right Faith") in two parts, in which he expounded his system of enlightened orthodoxy, and in 1861 he issued a third part, *Drishath Zion* ("The Quest of Zion"). The views concerning Palestine that Kalischer expressed in this book seemed so advanced to his contemporaries that it required much learning and dialectical argument to convince some Rabbis that his position was strictly orthodox. His three main theses, sustained by a great array of Biblical texts and Talmudical dicta, were: That the salvation of the Jews, as foretold by the prophets, can come only in a natural way by self-help, and does not need the advent of the Messiah; that the colonisation of Palestine should be advocated and undertaken without delay; and that the revival of sacrifices in the Holy Land at the present day was admissible. He urged that a society of rich Jews should be formed to undertake the colonisation of

¹ Authoritative religious code-book compiled by Rabbi Joseph Caro (1488-1575) in the sixteenth century.

Palestine; that many Jews from Russia, Poland, and Germany should be helped by the society to settle on the land; that a guard of able-bodied young Jews should be trained to protect the settlers from attacks by the Bedouin; and that an agricultural school should be founded in Palestine to educate Jewish boys and girls in farming and in secular subjects.

Kalischer convened a conference at Thorn of Rabbis and influential laymen, to whom he submitted his plan for practical work. One of its results was the establishment in 1861 of the first Zionist society, in Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, but as this society met with difficulties it was transferred in 1864 to Berlin, where it was organised as the "Society for the Colonisation of the Land of Israel." A more important result was the establishment in 1870, in response to the insistent requests of Kalischer, of the first Jewish agricultural school in Palestine. This school, called Mikveh Israel, was built near Jaffa by the Alliance Israélite, the French Jewish philanthropic organisation, which was founded in 1860. Its creation owed much to Charles Netter (1826-1882), a leading member of the Central Committee of the Alliance, who obtained the requisite permit from the Sultan, spent three years in supervising the organisation of the school, and died at Mikveh Israel. The school, which exists to the present day, disappointed first expectations, as most of its trained pupils emigrated to Egypt or America, but it has played a useful part in the agricultural education of the youth.

HESS'S "ROME AND JERUSALEM"

Another outstanding protagonist in Germany, but of quite a different character, was Moses Hess, who wrote the first critical exposition of the bases of Jewish nationalism. Born at Bonn in 1812, and brought up in a religious atmosphere, he threw himself at an early age into the maelstrom of political life as a journalist and speaker. From a National Liberal he became an advanced Socialist Democrat and a fellow-worker of Karl Marx,

aggressive in their anti-Rabbinic attitude and preached what was virtually assimilation. They largely influenced intellectual circles, especially university students, and their movement was in the ascendant when the vision which it had propagated was suddenly and brutally shattered by the pogroms of 1881-82. So far from the Jews in Russia having achieved emancipation through their pursuit of Westernisation, they had become the bleeding victims of Tsarist barbarism. The *Haskalah* had proved a will-o'-the-wisp, and the bitter reaction which resulted caused its followers to turn their thoughts seriously to the Jewish national idea.

DAVID GORDON AND PERETZ SMOLENSKIN

There were some *Maskilim*, however, who did not wait for massacres to be disillusioned: they had advocated the return to Zion many years earlier. The first was David Gordon (1826-1886), who was attached to the Hebrew paper *Hamaggid*, published in Lyck (East Prussia), and wrote a number of essays in it in 1860, in which he unfolded the basic principles of Jewish nationalism in connection with the renaissance of Palestine. He became the owner of the paper in 1882 and made it the principal organ of the *Hibbath Zion* movement.

A more influential champion of Jewish nationalism in the pre-pogrom days was Peretz Smolenskin (1842-1885), novelist and journalist, who began his literary career in the columns of *Hamelitz*, which was published in Odessa. After settling in Vienna, Smolenskin began to issue his monthly journal *Hashahar*, which attracted all the leading Hebrew writers of the day and rendered epoch-making services to the Hebrew language and its literature. He combated traditional orthodoxy and assimilation with equal vigour, assailed the Mendelssohnian view that the Jews were only a religious community and not a people, maintained that the principal means for preserving the Jewish people was the Hebrew language, and then espoused the Palestinian idea with

missionary fervour. In 1873 he wrote his *Am Olam* ("The Eternal People"), a reasoned exposition of Jewish nationalism, which produced a profound impression upon the Jews in Russia and other countries of Eastern Europe. He reinforced his writing by practical efforts: he discussed plans with Laurence Oliphant, helped to form the first Jewish students' nationalist society in Vienna under the name of "Kadimah" (which means both "Eastward" and "Forward"), and carried on a busy correspondence until cut off by consumption at Meran.

LILIEBLUM AND BEN-YEHUDAH

Smolenskin was staunchly supported by another leading writer, Moses Leib Lilienblum (1843-1910), who became a regular contributor to *Hashahar* from 1870, the two forming the most notable representatives of the transition from the *Haskalah* to the nationalist movement. Observing the flight of Jews from Russia to America after the pogroms of 1881, and realising that that was no proper solution of the Jewish question, Lilienblum threw himself into the campaign for the national idea with the utmost ardour, wrote a brochure on "The Rebirth of the Jewish People in the Land of its Ancestors," and continued an indefatigable fighter for the cause to the end of his life. Another contributor to *Hashahar* was Eliezer ben-Yehudah, whose original name was Perlman (1857-1922). He wrote articles in 1879 pleading not only for the return of the Jews to Palestine, but also for the revival of Hebrew as a living tongue, and he settled in Jerusalem two years later to become the pioneer in the use of this language as the vernacular.

PINSKER'S "AUTO-EMANCIPATION"

The most powerful and resounding plea that came from Russia appeared in 1882 in the form of an anonymous pamphlet in German, called *Auto-Emancipation*, which was sub-titled "An Admonition to his Brethren,

by a Russian Jew." The author was an Odessa physician, Dr. Leon Pinsker (1821-1891). He was the son of a *Haskalah* writer, Simha Pinsker, and one of the founders of the "Society for the Dissemination of Culture among the Russian Jews," but the anti-Jewish policy of the Russian Government compelled him later to abandon the assimilationist standpoint and radically to revise his view of the Jewish future. His *Auto-Emancipation* was the most searching analysis of the Jewish situation that had yet been written, and by reason of its penetrating insight, breadth of outlook, and pregnant style, it produced a more deep and lasting impression and influenced a far wider circle than any previous advocacy of the same idea.

Pinsker summed up the helpless and humiliating position of the Jews in the following striking aphorisms:

"We do not count as a nation among the other nations, and we have no voice in the council of the peoples, even in affairs that concern ourselves. Our fatherland is an alien country, our unity dispersion, our solidarity the general hostility to us, our weapon humility, our defence flight, our originality adaptability, our future to-morrow. What a contemptible rôle for a people that once had its Maccabees!"

It was because the Jews were not a living nation, but everywhere aliens, wrote Pinsker, that they were despised. Civil and political emancipation was not sufficient to raise them in the estimation of other peoples. The only proper remedy was the creation of a Jewish nationality, of a people living on its own soil; that was the auto-emancipation of the Jews, their emancipation as a nation among nations by the acquisition of a home of their own. In order that they should not be obliged to wander from one exile to another, they must have an extensive and productive place of refuge, a gathering centre of their own, which their ablest representatives—men of finance, science, and affairs, statesmen and publicists—should combine to create. Existing organisations should convene a national congress or select a directorate, which should decide which was the more suitable territory—Palestine or America—"to allow the

settlement of several millions." Pinsker had an open mind at first on the question of territory, but soon became a convinced supporter of Palestine. He proposed that the suggested directorate, in conjunction with a group of capitalists, should form a limited company, which should buy a large tract of land. Part of this should be sold to individual Jews at a little above cost price, and the proceeds of the sales, together with the yield of a national subscription, should be used by the directorate as a fund for the settlement of poor immigrants. He fully realised that the success of the plan would depend upon the support of governments, but if that were obtained they would have a refuge politically assured. His pamphlet made history, for although it did not achieve its ambitious purpose, it led to the first practical efforts to realise the national idea.

CHAPTER II

THE "LOVE OF ZION" MOVEMENT 1882-1895

THE FIRST SOCIETIES IN RUSSIA

THE first response to the various appeals to return to Palestine was made by the Jews of Russia. The hopes in which many had indulged, that they would achieve civil equality and just treatment like their brethren in Western Europe, were blasted after the assassination of Alexander II in 1881, when a period of intensified reaction set in, accompanied by the first blizzard of pogroms that became a sinister feature of the Tsarist tyranny. This reign of terror, together with a further crop of restrictive laws, compelled thousands of Jews who had previously believed in the coming of better times to abandon that hope and to look for salvation in other directions. Large numbers hurriedly emigrated to the United States as a sure and quick way to freedom and safety, and hosts of others, made wise by bitter experience, turned to the Jewish national idea. The enthusiasm for "enlightenment" collapsed, and its place was taken by a new movement called *Hibbath Zion*, the "Love of Zion."

In a great number of Jewish centres societies were formed of *Hoveve Zion*, or "Lovers of Zion," who discussed the question of settling in Palestine as an immediate and practical problem and urged the study of Hebrew as a living language. These societies, which met in secret and at the risk of arrest by the police, were headed by resolute and influential personalities, mostly professional men, communal leaders and Rabbis, such as Leon Pinsker in Odessa, the writers Joseph Finn and Judah Leo Levanda in Vilna, the historian Saul Pinhas Rabinowitz ("Shefer") in Warsaw, Rabbi Samuel

Mohilever in Bialystok, and Dr. Max Mandelstamm in Kiev. The youth, and, above all, the students flocked to the movement with particular ardour.

THE "BILU"

A group of twenty-five Jewish students of the Kharkov University toured through Russia and recruited five hundred enthusiasts, fellow-students and others, who were eager to go out to Palestine at once as pioneers on the land, and to dedicate their lives to the realisation of the national ideal. They adopted as their motto the words from Isaiah,¹ *Beth Jacob lechu ve-nelcha* ("O house of Jacob, come ye and let us go forth"), and were called after the initial letters "Bilu." They transferred their committee from Kharkov to Odessa, and sent delegates to Constantinople to negotiate for the purchase of land in Palestine, but without any result. Efforts for the same purpose made by Sir Edward Cazalet and by Laurence Oliphant, who had met the would-be emigrants at Brody (Galicia) in the course of his relief mission to the victims of the pogroms, were likewise of no avail. The Turkish Government, fearing a Jewish invasion, issued a prohibition against immigration into Palestine, and the Russian Government forbade a continuance of emigration propaganda. The intended exodus was thus quashed, and only a small band of twenty young men, after having most of their money stolen on the way and other unpleasant adventures, succeeded in reaching Palestine.

PALESTINE THROUGH THE CENTURIES

These pioneers were not the only Jews in the country: on the contrary, there was then a Jewish population of about 20,000. It is a fallacy to imagine that Jews had ever entirely abandoned or deserted their ancestral land. From the day when it fell under the yoke of the Romans until the day of the arrival of the "Bilumim" there were

¹ Chapter ii. 5.

always Jewish communities in it. At times numerous and at others greatly diminished, suffering nearly always from poverty or persecution or both, yet upborne throughout by fortitude and faith, Jews were domiciled in Palestine, both in the towns and in the rural districts, through all the violent changes of fortune that overtook it. No governors, however ruthless, succeeded either in exterminating them or in stamping out their belief that they would survive their oppressors. Romans and Byzantines, Persians and Arabs, Seljuk Turks and Crusaders, Saracens and Mamelukes, Mongols and Ottoman Turks, they all in turn lorded it over the Holy Land at different periods and in different ways. Throughout all these eighteen hundred years and more after the conquest of Judaea no other polity was established to take the place of the ancient Jewish State.

On two occasions in the early centuries promises were made to the Jews by powerful monarchs to restore their independence. The first promise was made by Emperor Julian the Apostate, in the middle of the fourth century, but he was killed in fighting the Persians two years later. The second was by the Persian King Chosroes II, who, early in the seventh century, received the help of the Jews in his invasion of Palestine under the bond of a pledge that he would re-establish the Jewish State, but after he had captured Jerusalem he rewarded them with penalties and banishment. When the Arabs, under Caliph Omar, occupied Palestine in 637, there were said to have been between 300,000 and 400,000 Jews in the country. But they steadily dwindled in the succeeding centuries, and their lot was one of continued distress, relieved only by the consolation of faith. The various groups of Jews from Europe and North Africa who went to Palestine from time to time settled mainly in Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias, which were called the four Holy Cities; and as they were unable to maintain themselves they appealed to their brethren in the Diaspora for help. From the end of the sixteenth century funds were regularly collected and transmitted to them, and

as they were distributed among them these funds were called *Halukah*, which means "distribution."

THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS

The young "Biluim" who arrived in Palestine in 1882 belonged to a totally different type from all the Jews who had preceded them. They went there not to pray and die, but to live and work and rebuild the country. The first settlement, or colony, as it was called, which ten of them founded not far from Jaffa was named Rishon le-Zion ("First in Zion"); while other Russian Jews helped to restore the settlement of Petah Tikvah ("Gate of Hope") in the same district, which had been founded a few years earlier by some Jews of Jerusalem, who had abandoned it owing to an outbreak of malaria and afterwards returned. In the same year two agricultural settlements were established by Jews from Rumania, one at Rosh Pinah ("Head Corner-Stone"), near Safed, the other at Samarin, on the road to Haifa. They were followed the next year by some Polish Jews, who created the settlement of Yesod Hamaalah ("Foundation of Ascent") near Lake Huleh. Thus, within a very short time, a footing was secured in the four districts of Judaea, Samaria, and North and South Galilee, in which most of the Jewish settlements were subsequently concentrated.

But the pioneers were faced by a more formidable problem than they had anticipated. Ignorant of agriculture, unused to the climate and to hard physical labour, handicapped by the lack of proper housing and drinking water, and exposed to attack by the Bedouin, they found themselves saddled with what seemed a Herculean task. Moreover, they suffered from want of funds. They would therefore have probably been forced to give up their venture in despair but for the help that came from a noblehearted French Jew, whose interest was aroused by Rabbi Mohilever, Laurence Oliphant, and Joseph Feinberg (one of the founders of Rishon

le-Zion). Their saviour was Baron Edmond de Rothschild (1845-1934), of Paris, who, from the moment his enthusiasm was fired, played the part of a princely benefactor to the Jewish settlements for over fifty years until his death. He provided generous subsidies for the colonists, and founded a further settlement, called Ekron, in Judaea, on which he installed Jews from the agricultural colonies of Southern Russia. The settlers of Samarin showed their gratitude by changing its name to Zichron Jacob, in memory of Baron Edmond's father; and in the same year nine members of Rishon le-Zion left to found the new settlement of Katra or Gederah, in Judaea, which they wished to make self-supporting.

THE KATTOWITZ CONFERENCE

The leaders of the *Hoveve Zion* societies did not wish to let these practical developments in Palestine depend upon philanthropy, and therefore resolved to combine their forces so as to render effective aid themselves. Leon Pinsker, whose pamphlet and prestige made him the inevitable leader, with the energetic co-operation of Rabbi Mohilever and Rabinowitz, convened a Conference of representatives of the societies at Kattowitz. It met in November, 1884, and was attended by 34 delegates. The proceedings began on the hundredth birthday of Sir Moses Montefiore, and the Conference decided to name the federation of societies which they formed the "Montefiore Association for the Promotion of Agriculture among Jews and especially for the Support of the Jewish Colonies in Palestine." Pinsker, who presided, declared that the only land that would satisfy their purpose and fulfil their aspirations was Palestine. It was agreed to help the colonists financially, and also to send delegates to Constantinople to secure permission for the work in Palestine to be conducted without hindrance; but although the permission was not granted, the work was continued. Pinsker was elected President of the new Association, and Lilienblum Secretary, and the central

office was established in Odessa, where Pinsker was also President of the local *Hoveve Zion* society.

The Association held a second conference in 1887 at Drusgenik to improve and expand its organisation, and a third conference two years later in Vilna, at which thirty-five societies were represented. At last, in 1890 its statutes were legalised under the name of "Society for Support of Jewish Agriculturists and Artisans in Palestine and Syria." The first general meeting of the Society was attended by 182 delegates, who elected Pinsker as Chairman and confirmed the choice of Odessa as headquarters. But Pinsker lived only another year, and when he died in 1891 he was succeeded as Chairman of the "Odessa Committee," as the Society was popularly called, by Abraham Gruenberg, who held office until 1906. The next chairman was Menahem Ussishkin (1863-1941), who had become one of the leading figures in Russian Zionism and was destined to play a prominent part in the wider arena of world Zionism.

THE GROWTH OF THE "HIBBATH ZION" MOVEMENT

The *Hibbath Zion* movement soon spread to many parts of Europe and also to America. One of the first countries in which it secured a strong footing was Rumania, where a conference was held in 1882, attended by delegates from thirty-two societies. In Austria the movement received a stimulus from the prevalent Anti-Semitism, the first society, "Kadimah," being formed in Vienna by a group of Jewish nationalist students mainly from Eastern Europe. The leaders of this society were Peretz Smolenskin (1842-1885) and Dr. Nathan Birnbaum (1864-1937), and after the untimely death of Smolenskin the leading personality in Jewish nationalist circles in Vienna was Birnbaum, who has the credit of having coined the term "Zionism." He was a man of ardent but various and variable convictions. Beginning his career as a Marxist freethinker, he played a conspicuous part in the earliest phase of political Zionism and in Austrian

Jewish politics, and ended as a fervent adherent of the ultra-orthodox Agudath Israel. In 1885, at the early age of twenty-one, he founded a paper *Selbst-Emanzipation*, in Vienna, and eight years later published a pamphlet in which he proposed the convening of a congress for the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine. In Berlin, apart from a society of the *Hoveve Zion*, there was also a society of Russian Jewish students, founded by Leo Motzkin and Joseph Lurie, and including Chaim Weizmann, Shmarya Levin, and Victor Jacobson—all of whom were destined to play important parts in the movement. There were also groups of Jewish nationalist students, mainly from Russia, in Switzerland, particularly in Berne and Geneva.

SOCIETIES IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA

In England there was not only a *Hoveve Zion* Association, under the leadership of Colonel Albert Goldsmid and Elim d'Avigdor (father of the late Sir Osmond d'Avigdor-Goldsmid), with branches called "tents," but also independent societies in London and Manchester. In France the movement had the warm support of the Grand Rabbin Zadoc Kahn, but a Central Committee that was formed in Paris in 1890 to serve as a link between *Hoveve Zion* societies of all countries proved ineffectual, the real authority remaining in the hands of the Odessa Committee. In the United States the philo-Zionist movement was espoused from the early 'eighties by two different sections—immigrants from Russia who had received a traditional Jewish education and retained a strong Jewish consciousness, and several eminent Rabbis, such as Pereira Mendes, Benjamin Szold (father of Miss Henrietta Szold), Aaron Wise (father of Dr. Stephen Wise), Gustav Gottheil (father of Professor Richard Gottheil) and Marcus Jastrow. The first societies were established in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, and as early as 1882 a lecture was given on the "Bilu" by Joseph Bluestone, who had arrived in America three years before.

AHAD HA-AM'S "CULTURAL ZIONISM"

The *Hoveve Zion* societies on both sides of the Atlantic sent what money they could to the struggling settlements in Palestine and followed their slow progress with deep concern. But there was one member of the Odessa Committee who was more critically disposed than his colleagues and gave expression to his views in a trenchant article that caused a sensation. This article, which appeared in *Hamelitz* in 1889, was entitled *Lo zeh Haderech* ("This is not the way"), and was signed by a pseudonym, "Ahad Ha-am" ("One of the People"), which soon became famous. The writer was Asher Ginsberg (1856-1927), born in a village near Kiev, who, in addition to a Talmudical education, had studied modern subjects in Berlin and Vienna. He settled in 1886 in Odessa, where he soon came into close touch with the leaders of the *Hibbath Zion* movement. His first article was equally remarkable for the individuality of its views and the lucid style and cogent phrasing in which they were expressed; it signalled the appearance of a new thinker in Israel. Ahad Ha-am strongly criticised the methods adopted by the *Hoveve Zion* to realise the Jewish national rebirth in Palestine on the ground that they were based upon a wrong conception of what was necessary. He denied that Palestine was suitable for mass immigration and that Jews could become real farmers, and maintained that even if the country could absorb a large number it could not have any decisive influence upon the political position of the Jews, owing to the fewness and impotence of the settlers. He attributed the lack of success not to the *Halukah* system or the bad methods of the administrators of the colonies, but to the attempt to accelerate the growth of what should be allowed to undergo gradual evolution.

For Ahad Ha-am the primary problem was not the saving of Jews by ameliorating their physical existence, but the preservation and development of the Jewish spirit. He was concerned, not with the material needs of

Jewry, but with the critical condition of Judaism, by which he meant something more comprehensive than the Jewish religion; but although anxious about the conservation of the Jewish spirit, he was sarcastic about the so-called "mission of Judaism," which was advanced by the opponents of Zionism as a reason for their antagonism. In his view the spiritual disintegration of Judaism could be healed only in Palestine, which should form a home not for Jewry but for Judaism. There a cultural or spiritual centre should be created, from which currents of influence should radiate throughout the Diaspora, and thus all Jews would again be invigorated and unified. The full realisation of the national ideal must wait until, through the influence of the spiritual centre, the national will became sufficiently strong to bring it within the realm of possibility. This spiritual centre should be built up on the basis of *Hibbath Zion*, which must become the dominant factor in a select group of Jews. Ahad Ha-am recognised that even a spiritual centre must have a material or economic basis, but he attached more importance to quality than quantity. His system of thought, which he developed in succeeding years, was called Spiritual or Cultural Zionism.

THE ORDER OF "BNEI MOSHEH"

In order to realise his ideas Ahad Ha-am founded an Order of "Sons of Moses" ("*Bnei Mosheh*"), whose members should represent a high standard of ethical integrity and work for the national revival in a spirit of supreme disinterestedness. Most of the members of the Order were leading *Hoveve Zion*. He visited Palestine for the first time in 1891, on behalf of the Odessa Committee, and went there again in 1893. After these visits he wrote critical reports, in which he made proposals for the purchase of land, the cessation of subsidies to the colonists, and concentration on cultural work. A Bialystok group of "Sons of Moses," under the leadership of Rabbi Mohilever, founded the settlement of Rehovoth

in 1891. The Order also promoted Jewish national education by opening the first girls' Hebrew school in Jaffa and many Hebrew schools in the agricultural villages; and it founded the first two publishing firms for the issue of works of Hebrew literature in Russia, "Ahiasaf" and "Tushiyah." Owing to the clash of opinions and personalities the Order was dissolved in 1896. In that year Ahad Ha-am founded a Hebrew monthly review, *Hashiloah*, which he edited until 1902. It was devoted to Zionist and general Jewish questions, contained articles by all the leading Hebrew writers of the day, and exercised a formative influence upon the intellectual outlook of the Hebrew-reading public.

BARON EDMOND DE ROTHSCHILD'S ACTIVITIES

Meanwhile, thanks largely to the benevolent patronage of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, another five settlements were founded between 1890 and 1895. The most notable of these was Hedera, originally a swampy site in Samaria where the first settlers suffered severely and several died from malaria, until the marshy land was drained and improved by the extensive plantation of eucalyptus trees. In places where corn growing was unprofitable, French vines were planted under expert direction, and in Galilee horticulture and silk-worm cultivation were introduced. Large wine-cellars were built, the largest of all at Rishon le-Zion, and as there was no proper agency for the sale of the wine and the Baron had sometimes to buy the entire yield himself, the Carmel Wine Company was organised by the *Hoveve Zion* in 1896 and opened up markets in Europe and America as well as the Orient. The Baron also provided funds for the building, not only of houses, but also of synagogues and schools, hospitals and asylums for the aged. To supervise the settlements he appointed administrators, whose autocratic methods provoked irritation and criticism. They introduced a system of discipline and tutelage, which deprived the settlers of all spirit of independence and initiative; and

instead of regarding the farm villages as the foundation of the Jewish national revival they treated them merely as a philanthropic undertaking.

Moreover, most of the settlements were based solely upon wine-growing, so that if there was a failure of the vintage or of markets, the settlers required further relief. But the most serious blemish, from the Jewish point of view, was that the hired labour consisted entirely of Arabs, who worked for low wages, and it was impossible for Jewish workers to compete with them. The colonisation thus suffered from both economic and moral drawbacks, but the *Hoveve Zion*, who were unable to furnish more than £6,000 a year as against the Baron's millions of francs, were powerless to effect any proper improvement. Such a state of affairs was certainly discouraging after fifteen years of arduous struggle and after all the glowing visions that had been conjured up by writers and propagandists. Between 1880 and 1895 the Jewish population in Palestine had risen, by immigration and natural increase, from 20,000 to 50,000, but of this number only 3,000 had come from Eastern Europe to form the agricultural settlements.

THE DEFECTS OF "HIBBATH ZION"

There was therefore a feeling of despondency in the Odessa Committee regarding the outlook, but this feeling soon gave way to another, for a new and arresting figure now appeared upon the scene, whose advent indicated that the days of *Hibbath Zion* were over. The "Love of Zion" movement played a very useful and essential part in familiarising the Jewish world with the idea of the return to Zion and in recruiting the first bands of pioneers to begin converting the idea into a reality. But its methods were too slow and haphazard, its organisation too small and unrepresentative, and its resources too pitifully scanty, to be capable of achieving the grand objective. The bulk of its work depended upon the benevolence of a single man, and, no matter how

bountiful his generosity, or how self-sacrificing the toil of the pioneers, such a system was unworthy of a national cause, and its results were depressingly inadequate. Other methods and measures were needed, with a much larger organisation representative of the Jewish people as a whole, and these were now to be created by political Zionism.

CHAPTER III

THE HERZLIAN EPOCH 1895-1904

HERZL'S EARLY CAREER

IT is a rather singular fact that the founder of political Zionism had no previous knowledge of any of the writings and strivings of those who had preceded him in the cause of the national restoration of his people. Theodor Herzl was drawn to the problem as a result of his own experiences, reflections, and convictions. Born in Budapest on May 2, 1860, the only son of a well-to-do merchant, and brought up in an assimilationist *milieu*, he had only a superficial knowledge of Jewish affairs and Jewish culture, but personal experience took the place of a traditional education in rousing his Jewish consciousness. He studied law at the University of Vienna, where his parents settled in 1878, but after graduating in 1884, and practising at the bar for a year, he decided to devote himself to a literary career. Gifted with a talent for the writing of charming feuilletons and diverting plays, he soon attained a recognised reputation, which won him, at the age of thirty-one, the important position of Paris correspondent of the Vienna newspaper, the *Neue Freie Presse*, then the most influential organ in Central Europe.

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

Three years later began the trial of Captain Alfred Dreyfus on a trumped-up charge of treason, and Herzl, who had to report the affair for his paper, was suddenly jolted out of the carefree mood in which he had hitherto enjoyed the intellectual interests and social diversions of the French capital. He was a witness of all the dramatic proceedings that led to the degradation and banishment

of the martyred Jew, and of the accompanying outbursts of anti-Semitic hostility; and he was painfully moved by the tragedy which had sundered the French people into two opposing camps and evoked the consternation of the civilised world. A century after the French Revolution had given the Jews civil equality as part of the ideal programme of "liberty, equality, fraternity," Herzl saw that the Jews were threatened with a movement of reaction, and he was driven to cogitate on the position. He first embodied his thoughts in a play, *Das Neue Ghetto*, which he wrote in the autumn of 1894, but had to wait over three years before it was produced. The Dreyfus affair, however, was not the first episode that had outraged his Jewish feelings. He had been stung by an anti-Jewish speech of the fanatical Burgomaster of Vienna, Karl Lueger; he had been shocked on reading a book by a pioneer of Nazi ideology, Eugen Dühring; he withdrew from a University students' union because of its anti-Semitic attitude; and on two occasions some years later, while travelling in Germany, he heard after him the cry of the mediæval Jew-baiter, "*Hep, hep!*" But the drama enacted in Paris wounded his soul as no previous experience had done: it threw the grimmest light upon the Jewish problem and forced him to address his mind to a solution.

"THE JEWISH STATE"

Herzl set forth his views and proposals in a pamphlet, entitled *Der Judenstaat*, which he wrote in the summer of 1895. Throughout the weeks of its feverish composition, he felt in a state of spiritual exaltation. Somewhat similar ideas had already been expressed by Moses Hess and Leon Pinsker, but Herzl had not heard of them at the time, and when he was told of them later he said that if he had known of them he would never have written his own brochure. Seldom has a movement owed more than did political Zionism to the fact that its founder was totally ignorant of his predecessors. He based his plea for the creation of a Jewish State upon the conviction

that no matter how useful, patriotic, and self-sacrificing Jews might prove wherever they were, they would never be left in peace. The Jewish question, he argued, existed where there were Jews in perceptible numbers, and since they naturally moved to places where they were not persecuted they ended up by importing anti-Semitism through their migration. They might perhaps be able to merge themselves entirely among the nations surrounding them if they could be left in peace for two generations, but the nations would not leave them in peace. It was neither a social nor a religious question, but a "national question, which can be solved only by making it a political world question, to be discussed and settled by the civilised nations of the world in council."

The solution that Herzl proposed was that the Jews should be "granted sovereignty over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation." The rest they would manage for themselves, and for this purpose he suggested two agencies, a "Society of Jews," and a "Jewish Company," significantly using these English terms. The "Society" was to undertake all the preparatory work of organisation and political negotiation, and the "Company" was to attend to the manifold financial and economic questions. "The Jewish State is essential to the world," he wrote. "It will therefore be created." Like Pinsker, he did not commit himself to a particular territory. He proposed Palestine and Argentina as the two alternatives, but left it to Jewish public opinion and the "Society" to decide which it was to be. He had not long to wait for the answer. In the Introduction to his pamphlet he wrote that, with its publication, his task was done and he would not take up his pen again unless he were driven to it by the attacks of noteworthy antagonists. The attacks came fast and furiously.

THE SEARCH FOR SUPPORT

Herzl did not publish *The Jewish State* immediately. He first showed the manuscript to a journalistic friend.

who thought that he had gone out of his mind, but Herzl felt reassured when he correctly added up a column of telegram expenses which his colleague had failed to get right. Herzl then submitted the manuscript to Dr. Max Nordau (1849-1923), an eminent psychiatrist as well as a world-famed author; and Nordau not only vindicated the sanity of Herzl but declared himself willing to assist him. Nevertheless, Herzl still refrained from publication before attempting to secure influential support for his scheme. He first approached Baron Maurice de Hirsch (1831-1896), a multi-millionaire who had made a vast fortune from the building of railways in Russia and the Balkans, and founded the Jewish Colonisation Association (commonly called the "I.C.A.") in 1891 with an initial sum of £2,000,000, later increased to £10,000,000, primarily for the establishment of Russian Jews in agricultural settlements in the Argentine and other parts of America. But Baron de Hirsch believed only in philanthropic methods: he was opposed to any political solution of the Jewish question, and he died before Herzl had a second opportunity of discussing his proposals with him.

In September, 1895, Herzl returned to Vienna to take up the position of Literary Editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*, a post that he retained until his death; but although fully occupied by his newspaper duties and the writing of plays, he felt impelled to go ahead with his scheme. Nordau gave him an introduction to Israel Zangwill (1864-1926), and Herzl went to London in the hope of securing the interest of leading personalities in the Anglo-Jewish community. He expounded his views to the Maccabaeans, a club of professional men, but the response that he received from them, as well as from the pillars of the community, both lay and clerical, although friendly to him personally, was anything but encouraging. He therefore resolved to address himself to the Jewish public. On February 14th, 1896, *Der Judenstaat* appeared in Vienna, and English and French translations promptly followed.

OPPONENTS AND SUPPORTERS

The pamphlet aroused attention throughout the world and immediately produced a general discussion of the Jewish problem both in Jewish and in non-Jewish circles. It was debated in the Jewish Press for months and formed the subject of the keenest and even bitterest controversy. Its critics and assailants were more numerous and influential than its active supporters. They included the leaders of the Western communities on both sides of the Atlantic, who were wedded to the policy of assimilation, and saw in Herzl's proposals a reflection upon their local patriotism; a host of Rabbis (dubbed *Protest Rabbiner*) who denounced them as a contradiction of the Messianic doctrine; and a multitude of miscellaneous writers, who attacked Herzl on the ground that he was trying "to put the clock back," and that his scheme was utterly impracticable.

The supporters of the scheme were naturally far more numerous in Eastern Europe, but it also had vigorous champions in Central Europe and the Western world, particularly in academic circles. In reply to the opponents, they pointed out that half of the Jews in the world—that is, those in Russia and Rumania—were treated by their Governments as outlaws and pariahs, and it was therefore the sheerest irony to taunt them with lack of patriotism; that they were enjoined always to pray for the immediate ending of their exile, and not for its prolongation until some remote and unknown future, when the Messiah would appear; and that the scheme could be rendered practicable if only it received adequate support. The *Hoveve Zion* were at first divided in their attitude, partly because Herzl came from an assimilationist milieu, but still more because they feared that the Turkish Government would be alarmed and put a stop to further colonising activity in Palestine; but the bulk of them soon rallied to his side and many of the others followed. Herzl found keen supporters in the "Kadi-mah" and other Jewish student societies in Austria; he

was enthusiastically acclaimed at a public demonstration of Jews in the East End of London in the summer of 1896; and he received messages of allegiance from individual Jews and Jewish societies in various parts of the world, including Palestine.

FIRST POLITICAL STEPS

Before making any general appeal to the Jewish people, Herzl tried to secure political support. Thanks to the mediation of the Chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna, the Rev. William Hechler, he saw the Grand Duke of Baden, through whom he hoped to be able to approach the German Emperor; but he had to wait over a year before securing an audience. He then went to Constantinople, where he saw the Grand Vizier, but he was unable so soon to penetrate to the Sultan. A visit to Baron Edmond de Rothschild proved equally futile, for although this princely philanthropist continued to display generous interest in the resettlement of Palestine, he was apprehensive of any sort of political scheme. Herzl therefore realised that the only way in which he could hope to secure practical co-operation was the democratic method of calling a congress of representatives of the Jewish people. It was a bold and hazardous idea, for no such gathering had ever been held in all the centuries of the Dispersion. At first Munich was chosen as the meeting-place, but the heads of the local Jewish community and the Executive of the Union of German Rabbis protested so vigorously against what they regarded as a slur upon their loyalty, that the city of Basle was fixed upon instead. As a medium of propaganda, which was all the more necessary because of the hostility of so many Jewish papers, Herzl, with his own money, founded a weekly journal, *Die Welt*, which first appeared in June, 1897. It always had a yellow cover—the colour of the mediaeval badge of shame, now elevated to a symbol of national pride. He took this step despite the wishes of the Jewish proprietors and editor

of the *Neue Freie Presse*, who were hostile to the Zionist movement and rigorously excluded any mention of it from their paper throughout Herzl's life.

THE FIRST ZIONIST CONGRESS

After overcoming considerable obstacles Herzl succeeded in convening the first Zionist Congress, which opened on August 27th, 1897, and lasted three days. It was attended by 204 delegates from all parts of the world, constituting a veritable microcosm of the Jewish people, and comprising all shades of thought, all varieties of social strata, and a medley of physical types. The Congress was an inspiring assembly and a turning point in Jewish history, for it was the first time after eighteen hundred years of exile, that representatives of the Jewish people had come together to deliberate on the means of achieving their national rehabilitation. In his inaugural speech, Herzl made no reference to his pamphlet, nor were its contents discussed at that or at any succeeding Congress. He declared that Zionism had united the scattered limbs of Jewry upon a national basis and thus brought about the return to Judaism even before the return to the Jewish land. The return to their ancestral home should take place only in a legal manner, after the necessary guarantees had been obtained. The Ottoman Empire would be strengthened by the Jewish influx, and the lands of the Diaspora would be freed of anti-Semitism by the exodus of surplus Jews. The Jewish people, he concluded, had created for itself in the Congress an organ that it urgently needed for its life and would be of permanent duration.

THE BASLE PROGRAMME

Herzl was followed by Nordau, who gave a masterly review of the general situation of the Jews, emphasising their economic plight in the East and their moral distress in the West. Nordau was a brilliant speaker,

whose critical survey of the position of Jewry formed conspicuous feature of the opening session of several subsequent Congresses. The two main achievements of the first Congress were the formulation of the Basle Programme and the establishment of the Zionist Organisation. The Basle Programme, as it was called, was unanimously adopted in the following terms: "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law." In order to attain this object the Congress resolved upon the following means: systematically promoting the settlement in Palestine of Jewish agriculturists, artisans, and craftsmen; organising Jews in their respective countries; strengthening the Jewish national consciousness; and taking preparatory steps for obtaining whatever Government assent was necessary. The Zionist Organisation was to comprise Federations of local societies in different countries, and each Federation should stand in direct communication with the Central Office in Vienna. The government of the Organisation was entrusted to the General Council (Greater "Actions Committee") and also to a Central Executive (Smaller "Actions Committee"), whose members all lived in Vienna, the residence of Herzl, who was elected President. Every person was to be regarded as a Zionist who subscribed to the Basle Programme and paid the small annual tax of a shekel (one shilling or its equivalent) to provide the Executive with their working fund. The payment of the shekel conferred the right to vote for a delegate to Congress, which was to be the supreme controlling organ of the movement.

After he had returned to Vienna Herzl made the following entry in his diary, which he kept from the time that he wrote *The Jewish State* until his last days: "If I were to sum up the Basle Congress in one word—which I shall not do openly—it would be this: at Basle I founded the Jewish State. If I were to say this to-day, I would be met by universal laughter. In five years, perhaps, and certainly in fifty, every one will see it. The State is already

founded, in essence, in the will of the people to the State."

The Congress gave a powerful impetus to propaganda in all parts of the world, and numerous adherents were won over to the Basle Programme. Most of the *Hoveve Zion* societies that had hitherto held aloof, especially those in England and the United States, now declared their adhesion. The Zionist Federation of Great Britain and the Zionist Organisations of the United States and Canada were all founded in 1898. In that year Zionist societies multiplied eightfold, and each succeeding Congress recorded a growth of numbers or an extension into new and remote regions, from Singapore to Winnipeg, and from Nairobi to Wellington.

THE ZIONIST BANK

There were only five more Congresses in Herzl's lifetime, all of which were also held in Basle, with the exception of the fourth, which took place in London. The Second Congress, which was held in 1898 and attended by nearly twice as many delegates as the first, decided to establish a bank, which should serve as the financial instrument of the Organisation. It was founded as a joint stock company in London, under the name of the Jewish Colonial Trust (for Herzl attached the highest importance to creating Zionist institutions with firm foundations in England). It had a nominal capital of £2,000,000 in £1 shares, but it took three years before the sum of £250,000 was subscribed by 140,000 shareholders in all parts of the world. The laborious task of floating the bank was largely the work of David Wolffsohn, a well-to-do merchant in Cologne, and Jacobus Kann, a banker of The Hague, both intimate friends of Herzl, who had to fight against the opposition of the wealthier section of Jewry, and especially of the financiers, who decried the undertaking.

INTERVIEWS WITH THE KAISER

While the bank was in the process of creation, Herzl took an important political step. He was radically opposed to any gradual infiltration into Palestine and was bent upon obtaining a Charter from the Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey for an autonomous settlement. He aimed at gaining the support of the German Emperor William II, for this project, and, thanks to the friendly offices of the Grand Duke of Baden, he secured an audience, in the autumn of 1898, in Constantinople, with the Emperor, who was then on the way to Palestine. But the hope that Herzl based on that interview was dispelled at the following one, a fortnight later, in the vicinity of Jerusalem, when the Kaiser merely made an evasive reply.

At the Third Congress, in 1899, Herzl announced that the immediate aim of Zionist policy was to obtain a Charter for an autonomous settlement in Palestine, but nearly two years elapsed before he succeeded in opening negotiations with the Sultan on the matter. In the interval the Fourth Congress was held in London, in 1900, serving the purpose of making the movement better known in the English-speaking world and arousing the interest of the British public. In his inaugural speech Herzl, in an inspired moment of prophecy, exclaimed: "England the great, England the free, England, with her eyes roaming over all the seas, will understand us and our aims. From this place the Zionist idea will take a still further and higher flight: of this we may be sure."

THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

Internal differences were rather pronounced at the Fifth Congress (1901), at which a compact group, mainly of Russian Zionists, disciples of Ahad Ha-am, and called the "Democratic Zionist Fraction," insisted upon greater attention being devoted to Jewish national culture. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, one of the leaders of the

group, proposed the establishment of a Jewish University; but the group itself, which was the first party to arise in the Movement, soon dissolved, though its demand for practical work in Palestine was energetically advanced at subsequent Congresses. A more notable outcome of this Fifth Congress was the resolution to establish the Jewish National Fund for the acquisition of land in Palestine as the inalienable possession of the Jewish people. A new constitution of the Organisation was adopted, and it was decided that future Congresses should be held every two years instead of annually.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SULTAN

Herzl was mainly concerned with the political aspect of the movement. He was of the opinion that such matters as national culture and colonising work should be deferred until after the requisite political guarantees had been obtained for an autonomous settlement. He had his first audience with the Sultan of Turkey in May, 1901, thanks to the friendly mediation of Arminius Vambery, the famous Hungarian Jewish traveller. Herzl wanted to secure a Charter, and as the Ottoman Treasury was at that time in a tottering condition, he proposed to buttress it by an annual tribute, which the Sultan could use as interest for a loan that the Jewish Colonial Trust would arrange on his behalf. The negotiations dragged on over 12 months, in the course of which Herzl submitted other proposals in interviews with Abdul Hamid and also made anxious inquiries in London, Paris, and other financial centres, as to the possibility of raising the large sums that would be needed. But all his efforts were in vain, for although in the final interview, in July, 1902, he offered the Sultan £1,600,000 the only concession that the impecunious potentate was willing to give was for the Jews to colonise in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Anatolia, but not in Palestine. "A Charter without Palestine! I refused at once," wrote Herzl in his diary.

ALIEN IMMIGRATION COMMISSION AND "ALTNEULAND"

Foiled in his efforts in Constantinople, Herzl turned to London. A couple of weeks before his last audience with the Sultan, he gave evidence in London before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, which had been appointed in consequence of the agitation against the large influx of Russian Jews into the East End of that city. He emphasised persecution as the cause of this migration, pointed out that anti-Semitism was thus carried by the emigrants to another country, and maintained that Zionism was the only solution of the problem. During this stay in London he broached to Lord Rothschild, the head of the Anglo-Jewish community and a member of the Royal Commission, the idea of creating a Jewish colony in British territory—either in the Sinai Peninsula or in Cyprus.

While waiting for this idea to receive official consideration, he published a romance, *Altneuland*, in which he attempted to forecast the conditions in Palestine 20 years later. The book was strongly criticised, especially by Ahad Ha-am, because it failed to portray a background of Jewish cultural life in Palestine, with Hebrew as the national tongue. But it nevertheless achieved a measure of popularity and was translated into several languages, while the motto on its title-page: "If you wish it, this is no fairy tale," became an oft-quoted maxim in the Zionist world.

THE SINAI PENINSULA PROJECT

Herzl's desire to discuss the question of a Jewish settlement in British territory with a member of the British Government was at length realised. Through the mediation of Leopold J. Greenberg¹, an English member of the Actions Committee, he had an interview on October 22nd, 1902, with the British Colonial Secretary,

¹ Born in Birmingham 1862, died in London 1931. Editor of *The Jewish Chronicle*, 1907-1931.

Joseph Chamberlain, who told him that a Jewish settlement in Cyprus would be opposed by the local population and that the question of the Sinai Peninsula must be discussed with the Foreign Secretary. The next day Herzl was received in the Foreign Office by Lord Lansdowne, who favoured the idea of a Jewish settlement at Wadi el Arish in the Sinai Peninsula, and agreed to give Greenberg a letter of introduction to Lord Cromer, the British Proconsul in Egypt, for the purpose of negotiation. A technical commission was sent out to investigate the territory, but found that it would be unsuitable unless adequately irrigated. Anxious to leave nothing undone in the interest of the project, towards the financing of which the Jewish Colonisation Association was prepared to give £1,000,000, Herzl also went out to Cairo, after Greenberg had left, to continue the negotiations with Lord Cromer. But the Egyptian Government rejected the scheme on the ground of the impossibility of sparing sufficient water from the Nile for irrigation, although it was known that it was also opposed for political reasons.

THE EAST AFRICAN OFFER

The failure of the El Arish project was immediately followed by an offer of territory by Chamberlain in British East Africa, which he had recently visited. Herzl hesitated at first to consider this, but the news of the terrible pogroms in Kishinev and other cities in Russia, which horrified the world in April, 1903, swiftly brought about a change of attitude. The plateau near Nairobi, the territory in question, lacked the redeeming feature of the Sinai Peninsula—namely, close proximity to Palestine—but the offer was rendered attractive by the promise of autonomy under a Jewish governor. Besides, it was of great political importance to receive a formal offer of territory from the British Government. The discussion as to details was left in the hands of Greenberg, as Herzl suddenly decided to visit Russia for two purposes—to secure the cancellation of a secret decree

forbidding all Zionist meetings and collections, and to obtain the Russian Government's friendly intervention with the Sultan (for he still hoped that Abdul Hamid might become amenable).

VISIT TO RUSSIA

In August, 1903, he went to St. Petersburg, where the all-powerful Minister of the Interior, Von Plehve, promised that he would allow Zionist activities as long as they were concerned only with the creation of a Jewish centre in Palestine and with mass emigration from Russia, but any nationalist propaganda would be suppressed. Von Plehve also promised to support Herzl's efforts in Constantinople, and the Finance Minister, Witte, agreed to the opening of branches of the Jewish Colonial Trust in Russia. From St. Petersburg Herzl went to Vilna, to see for himself the life of Russian Jewry, and it was while in that citadel of Jewish culture and poverty that he received a document from the British Government. It was the letter containing the formal offer of territory in East Africa, in which the Jews would enjoy autonomy under a Jewish governor, subject to a Commission of Inquiry being sent out to investigate the land and finding it suitable for settlement.

HERZL'S LAST CONGRESS

When Herzl, at the end of August, 1903, faced the Sixth Congress, the last over which he presided, he met with violent criticism. He was upbraided for having spoken with Plehve, whom the Jews in Russia regarded as the instigator of the latest pogroms, and even more bitterly attacked because of the East African project, which its opponents disparagingly referred to as "Uganda." In submitting the proposal, he declared that the venture must be regarded only as an emergency undertaking, that the Jewish people could not have any other objective but Palestine, and that his views on the

land of his fathers were unchangeable, but that the Congress should make use of the offer to alleviate the condition of the Jewish people. Nordau sought to influence the Congress by pointing out that East Africa was intended only as a *Nachtsyl*, a shelter, in which the Jews could be trained as a nation for their future mission in Palestine. But all arguments failed to convince or mollify the opponents, who largely belonged to the Russian delegation. The issue put to the Congress was not that the offer should be accepted, but that a Commission of Inquiry should be despatched to investigate the territory, on the definite condition that the cost should not be defrayed by the Zionist Organisation or the Jewish Colonial Trust.¹ When the resolution was adopted, the Russian opponents immediately withdrew to a separate hall, where many of them wept as if they had lost Palestine for ever. But after Herzl pleaded with them and assured them again of his unalterable attachment to Zion, they returned to the Congress.

THE CONCLUDING PHASE

A few months later a number of prominent Russian Zionists, under the leadership of Menahem Ussishkin, held a conference in Kharkov and sent a delegation to Vienna to present Herzl with an ultimatum. This was to the effect that unless he undertook in writing to abandon the East African scheme and to confine himself to Palestine, the Russian Zionists would cease to remit their shekel contributions to Vienna and would convene an opposition Congress. Herzl refused to comply with the ultimatum, and after the deputation returned to Russia he set out on his last political journey. He went to Rome, where he had an audience with the King of Italy, who was sympathetic to the idea of Zionism, and also with Pope Pius X, who expressed himself in unfriendly terms. The unrest within the movement continued, and a

¹ The cost of the expedition, amounting to £2,000, was defrayed by the Hon. Mrs. E. A. Gordon, a Christian friend of the Zionist movement. See the author's *Journal of a Jewish Traveller*, p. 153.

special meeting of the Greater "Actions Committee" was therefore held in Vienna on April 11th, 1904, to allay the conflict. Herzl succeeded in convincing his opponents that he was and would remain faithful to Palestine, and the stormy proceedings concluded with a resolution of conciliation and confidence. It was the last discussion in which he took part, for his end was approaching. Owing to a prolonged heart affection, aggravated by an attack of pneumonia, he passed away, at the early age of forty-four, on July 3rd, 1904. His death was mourned by Jews throughout the world, and his funeral was attended by thousands.

Within the short space of eight years Theodor Herzl had wrought a revolution in Jewish life and thought. He had secured recognition for the Jewish question as a serious international problem. He had negotiated with sovereigns and statesmen, who acknowledged the competence of the Zionist Organisation to establish a Jewish State. He was the first Jewish statesman produced by his people after eighteen hundred years of exile who dedicated himself entirely to its national revival, and he left an imperishable legacy of incalculable value to be developed by his followers.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL AND PRACTICAL ZIONISM 1905-1914

REJECTION OF THE BRITISH OFFER

WHEN the Seventh Congress met on July 27th, 1905, it had to deal with two important questions—the report of the scientific commission that had explored the proffered territory in British East Africa and the future leadership of the Movement. The Commission was divided in its views, for while the two Jewish members reported that the land was quite unsuitable, its non-Jewish leader was of opinion that it could be developed to accommodate 20,000 agriculturists. The Congress by a large majority declined the British offer. It adopted a resolution declaring that the Zionist Organisation adhered to the fundamental principle of the Basle Programme and rejected any colonising activity outside Palestine; it thanked the British Government for its offer and its desire to help in bringing about a solution of the Jewish question; and it expressed the hope that the Zionist movement would be favoured by Britain's good offices in some future project that would be in accordance with the Basle Programme. That event came twelve years later.

THE "I.T.O."

The delegates who were in favour of the British offer immediately withdrew from the Congress and seceded from the Organisation. Their leader was Israel Zangwill, who at once created the Jewish Territorial Organisation, which adopted as its programme the establishment of a Jewish autonomous settlement in any part of the world. This new body was commonly called (after its initials) the "I.T.O.," and its adherents were known as

“Territorialists” or “Itoists.” Over a period of years it conducted negotiations with various Governments and carried out explorations in Cyrenaica and Angola with negative results, and a few years after the First World War it was dissolved by Zangwill himself.

“POLITICAL” AND “PRACTICAL” ZIONISTS

The problem of the leadership of the Zionist movement was solved by the election as President of David Wolffsohn (1856-1914), the most intimate friend of Herzl, who was born in a Lithuanian townlet and had become a prosperous timber merchant in Cologne. The headquarters of the movement were accordingly transferred from Vienna to that city. The new Executive consisted of six other members, who belonged to two different schools of thought which resulted from the liquidation of the East African question and the absence of any prospect of fruitful negotiation with the Ottoman Government. Whilst all Zionists were agreed upon the political objective formulated in the Basle Programme, there were some who strongly emphasised the need of beginning work in Palestine without waiting for any political guarantees and who were called “practical Zionists,” while the others who consistently stressed the prior need for such guarantees were known as the “political Zionists.” Between the “politicals” and the “practicals” here was a protracted struggle that ended some years later in the victory of the latter. Even Herzl himself, although opposed to any colonisation in Palestine being undertaken before the coveted Charter was secured, had agreed to a scientific commission investigating the economic resources of Palestine, and the Seventh Congress accordingly resolved that, while unsystematic or philanthropic colonisation should be avoided, suitable measures should be taken for the furtherance of agriculture and industry and for the intellectual improvement of the Jews in the country.

Apart from the division into “politicals” and

“practicals,” two parties had already been formed in the movement. A group of orthodox adherents in Russia, who wished to emphasise that Zionism should be realised on the basis of Jewish religious law and tradition, founded the “Mizrachi”¹ in Vilna in 1902. The other party, the “Poale Zion” (Workers of Zion), consisted of those who wished to combine the Zionist programme with the principles of Socialism. It was formed in Austria in 1903, and in other countries during the next three years, and held its first general conference in The Hague in 1907. These two parties, constituting the Right and Left wings of the movement, always endeavoured to assert their specific standpoint particularly at Congresses.

WOLFFSOHN'S LEADERSHIP

Wolffsohn was the President of the Zionist Organisation for six years (1905–1911) and devoted himself to its development and consolidation with great zeal and energy, and with unsuspected gifts of leadership and force of character. He enjoyed the valuable assistance of Nahum Sokolow (1861–1936), a polyglot scholar and editor for many years of the Warsaw Hebrew daily, *Hatzefrah*, who was appointed General Secretary. The movement continued to be exposed to a great deal of antagonism, which was no longer confined to the assimilationists and the ultra-orthodox, but was supplemented by the “Itoists,” who for several years conducted a sort of vendetta against the parent Organisation. Nevertheless, Zionism made steady progress, furthered by an increasing consciousness of the hopelessness of the situation in Central and Eastern Europe. It gained its largest following in Russia, which then contained about six million Jews, and provided a separate political platform in the desperate struggle against the tyranny of the Tsardom. The Zionists put up their own candidates in the elections for the first Russian Parliament (Duma) in

¹ Abbreviated compound of the Hebrew term, *Merkez Ruhani* (“Spiritual Centre”).

1905 and succeeded in having five returned among the 14 Jews elected; but in the second Duma, two years later, only six Jews were returned, of whom only one was a Zionist. In the Austrian Parliament, too, there were Zionists, four having been returned in the general election of 1907, although in the next election, four years later, owing to the combined opposition in Galicia of Poles, Socialists, and Jewish assimilationists, only one Zionist was returned.

BRUSSELS AND ST. PETERSBURG

Although Wolffsohn did not engage in the same kind of diplomatic activity as Herzl, he had to concern himself with matters that called for action of a political or quasi-political nature. Soon after his election to the Presidency there was a fresh outbreak of pogroms in Russia, lasting several months, and causing a renewed flood of Jewish emigration to the lands of the West. The Zionist Executive therefore invited the leading Jewish philanthropic organisations to a Conference in Brussels, in order to organise joint measures for regulating emigration and caring for the refugees, tasks which had hitherto been done separately by different bodies. The Conference, which was held in January, 1906, and was attended by delegates of the Anglo-Jewish Association, the "I.T.O.," and the "Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden,"¹ adopted well-meaning resolutions but achieved no lasting results. Not only did the Tsarist régime cause an unceasing exodus of Jews, but it also repressed various forms of Zionist activity. Zionist workers were often arrested for conducting propaganda on behalf of the Jewish National Fund, and editors of Zionist papers for publishing nothing more revolutionary than a Shekel appeal. The position became particularly serious in the summer of 1908, when Wolffsohn found it necessary to visit St. Petersburg, to have an interview with the

¹ German Jewish Relief Organisation, founded in Berlin in 1901, dissolved by the Nazi Government before the Second World War.

Premier, Stolypin; but although the latter repeated the assurance given by Plehve to Herzl, that there would be no interference with the Zionists as long as they confined themselves to the Palestine programme, the Russian authorities continued their policy of repression.

THE TURKISH REVOLUTION

It was in the same year that an event occurred in Turkey, which, it was hoped, would hold out some promise for the Zionist cause. This was the revolution of the Young Turks, who deposed the old Sultan and established a constitutional government; but it was not long before it became quite clear that the new régime was just as jealous of the sovereignty and integrity of the Ottoman Empire as Abdul Hamid himself. The Young Turks were firmly opposed to the fostering of separate nationalisms within the confines of the Empire, and their antipathy to Jewish nationalism was stirred up by a small clique of assimilationists, who maligned the aims of Zionism not only in their own Judæo-Spanish papers but also in the Turkish Press. In order to counteract this campaign of misrepresentation the Zionist Executive appointed a political representative in Constantinople in the person of Dr. Victor Jacobson.¹ He carried out his diplomatic mission as manager of a branch of the Jewish Colonial Trust, which was opened in the Ottoman capital under the name of the Anglo-Levantine Banking Company. Dr. Jacobson devoted particular attention to the Press, and, with funds provided by the Zionist Executive, he founded two French papers—a daily for the general public and a Zionist weekly. Efforts to win the local Jewish community over to the Zionist cause met with the hostile resistance of the Haham Bashi (Chief Rabbi), but they were more successful in the more Jewish *milieu* of Salonika, where they were ardently championed by its Chief Rabbi, Jacob Meir.

¹ Born at Simferopol (Crimea), 1869, died at Geneva, 1934.

In consequence of the Young Turks' revolution, it was considered necessary, at the Ninth Congress (which was held in Hamburg at the end of 1909), to affirm the absolute compatibility of Zionism with loyalty to the Ottoman Empire. Wolffsohn declared that the objects of the movement would be pursued in complete harmony with the spirit of the Ottoman Constitution. But there was one point in Herzl's policy which had now become questionable—namely, the need for a Charter. Nordau, who was President of the Congress, stated that the Charter idea had outlived its day and would be relegated to the archives of the movement. There was no need, he said, to alter the Basle Programme, since this made no mention of a Charter. But despite these declarations and explanations, there was no change of attitude on the part of the Turkish Government, which was blind to the valuable services that could be rendered by an organised Jewish settlement in Palestine.

“SYNTHETIC ZIONISM”

Throughout Wolffsohn's six years of office the Zionist camp was divided into “practicals” and “politicals,” who constantly debated the question of the advisability of pressing forward with work in Palestine. There was a particularly notable discussion on the matter at the Eighth Congress (which was held in 1907 at The Hague). The speeches revealed a narrowing of the gap between the two sides, since the political protagonists were not in principle opposed to work in Palestine, but only wished that it should not be allowed to obscure the ultimate political objective; and, on the other hand, several spokesmen advocated the policy of a synthesis of political and practical activity.¹ The outcome of the discussion

¹ The idea of a synthesis of different trends in Zionism was first expressed by Herzl in 1898. At the Eighth Congress the only speaker who used the actual expression “Synthetic Zionism” was Rabbi Dr. Niemirower. Dr. Weizmann said: “We want an honest synthesis of the two trends. And if I felt certain that both sides were trying to reach an honest synthesis, then I would also be for it. But I have no such certainty.”—See Dr. Oskar K. Rabinowicz, *Fifty Years of Zionism*, pp. 100-101.

was the decision to establish in Jaffa a Palestine Office, which was placed under the direction of Dr. Arthur Ruppin (1876-1943), an economist who had specialised in questions of Jewish sociology. The Congress also resolved that Hebrew should be recognised as the official language of the movement and be gradually introduced into its controlling organs, and that the President of future Congresses should not be either the President of the Organisation or a member of the Executive.

TRANSFER OF HEADQUARTERS TO BERLIN

The conflict between the "practicals" and the "politicals" was marked by renewed intensity at the Ninth Congress, which re-elected Wolffsohn as President and his two previous colleagues in the Executive, Jacobus Kann (1872-1944), and Professor Otto Warburg (1859-1938), of Berlin. In this triumvirate the only representative of the "practicals" was Warburg; and as Sokolow's sympathies were with that side, he resigned the position of General Secretary. But at the Tenth Congress (which was held at Basle in 1911) the "practicals" at last triumphed by securing the election of an Executive consisting solely of adherents of their own school. It comprised Professor Warburg, who became President, Nahum Sokolow, Dr. Schmarya Levin (a former member of the Duma), Dr. Victor Jacobson, and Dr. Arthur Hantke (a Berlin lawyer). In consequence of this change the Central Office was transferred to Berlin, together with the official organ, *Die Welt*, but the head office of the Jewish National Fund remained in Cologne.

The same Executive was re-elected at the Eleventh Congress (which was held in 1913 in Vienna), with the addition of Dr. Yehiel Tschlenow (1864-1918), a Moscow physician, also of the "practical" school, who shared with Ussishkin in the leadership of the Russian Zionists. It was the first Congress from which Nordau absented himself. He sent a message clearly implying

support for the "politicals," who still retained control of the Jewish Colonial Trust and successfully resisted the efforts of the "practicals" to oust them from that key position. Cultural questions occupied a prominent place at this Congress, for not only was it preceded by a World Conference of Hebraists, but an entire session was conducted in Hebrew; and after an address by Dr. Weizmann on the founding of a Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the Congress enthusiastically agreed to the appointment of a commission to make the preliminary investigations for this purpose. Little did those who took part in that gathering dream that it would be eight years before the Zionist Parliament met again, when the prospects and problems of the movement had assumed a far wider range and a totally different character.

BEGINNINGS OF ZIONIST COLONISATION

Despite the lack of progress in the political sphere, various efforts at colonisation in Palestine were undertaken by the Zionist Organisation before the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Those efforts were not substantial in scope and volume, but they were significant and epoch-making in character. During the twelve years that elapsed between the publication of *The Jewish State* and the beginning of Zionist colonisation, comparatively little progress was made by the first groups of Jewish settlers in the country. Owing to the conflicts between the colonists and his "administrators," Baron Edmond de Rothschild, in 1900, transferred the control and management of all his settlements to the Jewish Colonisation Association, but continued to take an interest in them and to provide further help whenever necessary. Many Jewish farmers had fair-sized holdings, on which they employed cheap Arab labour, so as to counteract the effect of heavy Government taxation—a system that did not favour the development of a Jewish national community. The *Hoveve Zion*, under the general direction of the Odessa Committee, continued their

modest effort, but with little material result. The spirit of heroism and self-sacrifice that distinguished the *Biluim* seemed to have evaporated; the former idealists found it difficult to avoid using Arab labour; no further large colonies were established; and many sons of the pioneers left the country owing to the apparently unpromising prospects. There was no improvement in the situation until the Zionist Organisation began practical work itself.

The first step taken by the Organisation was the establishment of a bank in Jaffa in 1903. It was a subsidiary of the Jewish Colonial Trust and was called the Anglo-Palestine Company, a name changed later to the Anglo-Palestine Bank. This was the first bank to introduce Western conceptions of credit into the Holy Land, and its success was proved by the fact that within a few years it opened branches in five other cities in Palestine as well as one in Beyrout. The next step was in the field of education. A modern secondary school was built in 1905 by an English Zionist, Alderman Jacob Moser, on a site on the border of Jaffa provided by the Jewish National Fund. It was called the "Herzl *Gymnasium*" (used in the German sense of higher-grade school) and was the first modern educational establishment in which all subjects were taught in Hebrew. The Organisation also founded an institution for applied arts and crafts in Jerusalem, called the Bezalel, which was a contribution to solving the problem of poverty among those dependent upon the *Halukah*. The Bezalel taught carpet-weaving, basket-making, Damascus metal-work, and other crafts, and it settled at Ben-Shemen a group of Yemenite Jews, who combined the making of carpets and filigree ornaments with market-gardening and poultry-rearing.

ACTIVITIES OF THE PALESTINE OFFICE

The systematic development of colonisation in Palestine by the Zionist Organisation began in 1908 with the

establishment of the Palestine Office in Jaffa under the direction of Dr. Ruppin. The first undertaking promoted by this office was the building of a Jewish residential suburb on the border of Jaffa with the help of a loan of £10,000 given by the Jewish National Fund. The suburb was named Tel-Aviv ("Hill of Spring") and grew into the most populous city in the country. The next creation was the Palestine Land Development Company, whose purpose was to facilitate the purchase, sale, and development of land. The P.L.D.C. took over the management of two plots of the Jewish National Fund on the Sea of Tiberias, Kinnereth (1908) and Degania (1909), where farmsteads were established for the training of Jewish workers under expert direction. The first training farm for girls devoted to poultry-rearing and market-gardening was also established at Kinnereth.

ORIGINS OF COLLECTIVE SETTLEMENTS

From the year 1905 there was a new wave of Jewish immigration into Palestine, the Second Wave (*Aliyah*). It consisted of young workers from Russia, who, after the pogroms of that year and the suppression of the Revolution, had abandoned all hope of freedom under the Tsardom and resolved to devote themselves to the revival of their ancestral country. They were animated by Socialist ideals, they wished to see Jewish land cultivated only by Jewish hands, and they were looked at askance by the older generation of colonists, who employed Arab labour. They found that Jewish settlements were being protected from attacks on the part of Bedouin marauders by unreliable Arab watchmen, and so they took over the task of protection themselves. They created an organisation of mounted watchmen, *Hashomer*, many of whose members died heroic deaths in lonely patrols at night. They were not concerned about their own material advancement; they wished to become farmers, not in their own personal interest but in the national interest of their people. A new form of colonisation was therefore

created to suit their ideals: the co-operative or collective farm, called *Kvutzah* (or "group"). All the members of the group shared in the ownership of the estate and drew the same remuneration; any profit that was produced belonged to all in common and was devoted to the further development of the farm for the equal benefit of all.

The first co-operative farm was established in 1909, on Jewish National Fund land at Degania, on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias. It yielded good results and was soon followed by the formation of other co-operatives in other parts of the country. Most of them proved successful, but a notable exception was that founded at Merhavia, on J.N.F. land in the Valley of Jezreel, by Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, who was introduced to the Congress of 1903 by Herzl. Merhavia failed to pay its way, and after the First World War it was divided between two groups of settlers. The Zionist Organisation also promoted the agricultural development of the country in other ways. It helped afforestation by planting olive trees at Hulda and Ben Shemen; it provided agrarian credits; and it helped in the establishment of an Agricultural Experiment Station (financed by American Jews) near Haifa. By the year 1914 there were altogether 43 Jewish agricultural settlements, of which 14 were directly due to Zionist effort.

HEBREW SCHOOLS AND LANGUAGE CONFLICT

But it was not only in the economic field that the Zionist Organisation laid the foundations of the future Jewish National Home. It also performed an invaluable service in the cultural field. In the schools maintained by Jewish organisations from England, France, and Austria, the language was English, French, and German respectively. But in all the schools in the agricultural settlements, as well as in the other institutions established under Zionist auspices, the language of instruction was Hebrew. When the German *Hilfsverein* opened some schools it

also adopted Hebrew in most of them. But in 1913, when a Jewish Technical Institute was being built at Haifa on land of the J.N.F., with funds provided partly by the Hilfsverein and partly by other Jewish organisations and individuals, the Hilfsverein representatives, who had a majority on the Board of Governors, insisted that German should have the priority over Hebrew in the Institute. The result was that most of the teachers and children left the Hilfsverein schools and entered new schools that were promptly opened with the support of the Zionist Organisation and the Jews of Palestine, and in which Hebrew was the sole medium of instruction. It was an impressive demonstration of attachment to the Jewish national tongue, which caused the German representatives to agree to the demands of the Zionist Governors of the Institute. But the compromise arrived at proved unnecessary, as this language conflict was swept away by a far greater struggle, the First World War, which led to the advancement of Jewish national aspirations in a manner hitherto undreamt of even by the most optimistic Zionist.

CHAPTER V

PALESTINE AS BRITISH TRUST 1914-1920

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

A GREAT and fundamental change in the fortunes of the Zionist movement was brought about by the First World War. We have seen that until 1914, although a number of Jewish agricultural settlements and schools had been established in Palestine, there was not the least prospect of any possible approach towards the achievement of the Jewish national ideal owing to the inflexible opposition of the Ottoman Government. The war resulted in the liberation of Palestine from Turkish rule by British arms, and the way was thus opened, under British administration, for the possibility of the systematic advance of the ideal towards the stage of fulfilment. The period of transition was one of suffering in the country itself, and of anxious and strenuous effort outside it, but the hardships and worries of a few years were quickly effaced by the hopes aroused by the dawn of a new era.

TURKISH OPPRESSION OF YISHUV

No sooner had Turkey thrown in her lot with the Central Powers than the Generalissimo in Palestine, Djemal Pasha, began a policy of ruthless oppression against the Jews. He issued a manifesto against "the subversive element aiming at the creation of a Jewish government in the Palestinian part of the Ottoman Empire." He ordered the Anglo-Palestine Bank to be closed and the watchmen's organisation, "Hashomer," to be dissolved. He forbade the use of Hebrew for street names and shop-signs in Tel-Aviv, and threatened those who put Jewish National Fund stamps on their letters with the penalty of death. All Jews who were subjects of any of the Allied Powers were offered the alternative

either of becoming Ottoman citizens and serving in the Ottoman Army or of leaving the country. Some thousands got away safely to Egypt, but hundreds were deported to Syria amid serious privations that caused many deaths. Many Jews, officials, and others, were arrested and tried on charges of espionage or siding with the enemy; some were tortured, and others languished in jail for months. One of the heroic figures of that time was a young woman, Sara Aaronson, of Zichron Jacob, who bravely refused under torture to divulge anything about the intelligence that she had conveyed at night to a British submarine that used to call near Athlit, and took refuge in suicide. When the Allied forces began their offensive against the south of Palestine, all the Jews of Tel-Aviv and the neighbouring area—about 5,000 in all—were evacuated to the north, and many died from exposure. Moreover, the Jewish population also suffered from hunger and disease, aggravated by a locust plague in 1917, and death would have made even more extensive ravages but for the material relief despatched by the Jews of America.

The Zionist world was divided into three parts—the countries of the Allied Powers, those of the Central Powers, and the neutral countries. The headquarters were then in Berlin, and in order to maintain relations between the constituent bodies of the Zionist Organisation a special Bureau was opened at Copenhagen. The head office of the Jewish National Fund was removed from Cologne to The Hague.

THE JEWISH REGIMENT

Among the Palestinian refugees in Egypt there soon arose the desire to fight on behalf of the Allied Powers. The leading spirit was Captain Joseph Trumpeldor (1880-1920), a brave, adventurous Russian Jew, who had lost an arm while fighting in the Russian Army against the Japanese at Port Arthur. He raised a contingent called the Zion Mule Corps, which played a

useful part in the Gallipoli campaign, until it was dissolved in March, 1916. The agitation for the formation of a Jewish regiment was then conducted in London by Vladimir Jabotinsky (1880-1940), with the result that two battalions of Jewish volunteers were organised. "The Judaeans," as they were called, were recruited from young Russian Jews in England, as well as from Jews in the United States, Canada, and the Argentine, in addition to the remnant of the Zion Mule Corps. They arrived in Palestine in February, 1918, two months after General Allenby's victorious entry into Jerusalem, and thereupon many local Jews eagerly enlisted to form a third battalion, bringing up the total strength to 5,000. About one-third of this total took part in the pursuit of the Turkish troops into Transjordan, and acquitted themselves with such distinction that they were mentioned in despatches. The country was completely cleared of Turkish troops in the following September, and thus was brought to an end the Ottoman régime that had lasted over 400 years.

FIRST NEGOTIATIONS WITH BRITISH STATESMEN

Long before this event a group of Zionists in England, besides many other people, began to envisage the defeat of the Central Powers as the prelude to the realisation of the age-long yearnings of the Jewish people. There was no member of the Zionist Executive in England at the outbreak of the war. The initiative was therefore taken by Dr. Chaim Weizmann (born 1874), a member of the Greater "Actions Committee," who was then a lecturer in chemistry at the Manchester University. Thanks to the friendly offices of C. P. Scott, the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, who was a convinced believer in Zionism, Dr. Weizmann was introduced, at the end of 1914, to two leading members of the British Cabinet, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Herbert (now Viscount) Samuel, from both of whom he received a sympathetic hearing. Dr. Weizmann first met Mr. Lloyd George at

a time when there was a serious shortage of acetone, which was essential for the production of shells. Mr. Lloyd George, who was Chairman of the War Munitions committee, explained the situation, and shortly afterwards Dr. Weizmann elaborated a process for the making of acetone. Mr. Lloyd George, in his *War Memories*, relates that when he proposed to Dr. Weizmann that he would like to recommend him for some honour in appreciation of his great services to the State, the Zionist leader replied that he wanted nothing for himself but wished something to be done for his people. "He then," continues the account, "explained his aspirations as to the repatriation of the Jews to the sacred land they had made famous. That was the fount and origin of the famous declaration about the National Home for Jews in Palestine." This somewhat picturesque version must be read in the light of the following sober facts.

Early in 1915, Mr. Herbert Samuel submitted to the Cabinet what Lord Oxford, then Prime Minister, described in his Diary as "a dithyrambic memorandum," urging that in the carving up of the Turks' Asiatic dominions Great Britain should take Palestine, "into which the scattered Jews would in time swarm back from all quarters of the globe, and in due course obtain Home Rule." A year later, in the spring of 1916, the British Government was giving the question serious consideration, for among the State Papers published by the Soviet Government a few years after its establishment there is a document showing that the British Ambassador in Petrograd was requested by Sir Edward Grey to ascertain from the Russian Government its considered view on the matter. Discussion of the question with a leading member of the British Government was facilitated, when, also in 1916, Dr. Weizmann received an appointment in London as Director of the Admiralty Laboratories. In this capacity he came into contact with Mr. Arthur (later Lord) Balfour, at that time First Lord of the Admiralty, who evinced a keen interest in the idea of the Jewish resettlement in Palestine. Dr. Weizmann

had already been joined in London by two members of the Zionist Executive, Dr. Tschlenow¹ and Mr. Nahum Sokolow, of whom the latter played an important part in the developments that followed.

PRELIMINARY ZIONIST PROPOSALS

It was not until October, 1916, that the Zionist leaders first put forward a "proposal for a new administration of Palestine and for Jewish resettlement of Palestine in accordance with the aspirations of the Zionist movement." The principal features of this programme were "the recognition of a separate Jewish nationality or national unit in Palestine," "autonomy in exclusively Jewish matters," and "the establishment of a Jewish chartered company for the resettlement of Palestine by Jewish settlers." The informal conversations with individual statesmen gave place to discussion of a more formal character after Mr. Lloyd George had become Prime Minister and Mr. Balfour Foreign Secretary. The turning point came on February 7th, 1917, when a number of representative Zionists first met Sir Mark Sykes, who was in charge of the Middle Eastern Department of the Foreign Office. Sykes had already negotiated on behalf of Great Britain, in May, 1916, the Anglo-French Agreement known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which did not become known to the Zionist leaders until some time afterwards. According to this Agreement, which was subsequently scrapped, Palestine was to be divided into three parts: the northern part to go to France, Haifa and Acre to Britain, and the southern part and the Holy Places to be under the control of an international régime. Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow were introduced to Sykes before the end of 1916 by Mr. James Malcolm, a British Armenian and member of the Armenian National delegation to the Peace Conference of 1919.

As the matter entailed negotiations with the French

¹ Died in London, January 31st, 1918.

and Italian Governments, Mr. Sokolow went to Paris and Rome and obtained expressions of sympathy with Zionism from them both as well as from the Pope. The Zionist leaders both in Russia and in the United States were kept informed of the course of the negotiations, and when Mr. Balfour visited America in the Spring of 1917 he discussed the question with President Wilson, and also with Justice Louis D. Brandeis, of the Supreme Court, who was Chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs (a body intended to act temporarily for the Executive of the World Zionist Organisation).

After the discussions had made some progress the Presidents of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association published a letter in *The Times* of May 24th, 1917, in which they publicly dissociated themselves from the Zionist proposals. Their letter was an attack upon the fundamental principles of Zionism and an attempt to discredit the Zionist leaders. It provoked a storm of indignation in the Anglo-Jewish community, as it was obviously intended to frustrate the efforts to obtain a declaration of sympathy with Zionist aspirations from the British Government. The result was a revolt on the part of the majority of the Board of Deputies, who brought about the election of a new President, Sir Stuart Samuel (1856-1926), and other honorary officers of pro-Zionist sympathies.

THE FORMULATION OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

In July, 1917, the Zionist leaders submitted to the Government a formula embodying "the principle of recognising Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people" and postulating "as essential for the realisation of the principle the grant of internal autonomy to the Jewish nationality in Palestine, freedom of immigration for Jews, and the establishment of a Jewish National Colonising Corporation for the resettlement and economic development of the country." The Cabinet, which

had received antagonistic representations from certain prominent English Jews, modified the Zionist draft and submitted their own version to representatives of both sides with a covering letter, requesting their views in writing. Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow accepted the revised version, which contained the phrase, "the establishment in Palestine of a National Home," though they would have preferred, as being in stricter consonance with the traditional hope of Israel, "the reconstitution of Palestine as the National Home." The Chief Rabbi, Dr. J. H. Hertz (1872-1946), and Sir Stuart Samuel, were fundamentally in agreement with the Zionist point of view, but the anti-Zionist leaders took objection to the formula, particularly to the word "national." The result was that the Cabinet made further modifications of the formula, and there was delay in giving official approval to the final text, partly owing to opposition in its own circle, especially from Edwin S. Montagu (1879-1924), the Jewish Secretary of State for India. To expedite matters, Justice Brandeis approached President Wilson, who sent a personal message to the British Government, intimating his agreement with the idea of a pro-Zionist pronouncement. At last, on November 2nd, 1917, Mr. Balfour addressed a letter to Lord Rothschild, containing the following declaration:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours 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."

MOTIVES OF THE DECLARATION

In promulgating this historic statement, henceforth known as the Balfour Declaration, the British Government were clearly animated by both ideal and material considerations: whilst willing to help the Jews to achieve their national aspirations, they certainly also took into

account the effect which such a Declaration must produce upon the Jews in other countries, especially America, where sympathy at a critical stage in the war was of considerable value. Indeed, Mr. Lloyd George, Prime Minister at the time, told the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937, that the launching of the Balfour Declaration was "due to propagandist reasons." He said that "it was believed that Jewish sympathies or the reverse would make a substantial difference one way or the other to the Allied cause. In particular, Jewish sympathy would confirm the support of American Jewry." He further 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 kept their word."

INTERPRETING THE DECLARATION

The Declaration was hailed by Jews all over the world with a jubilant and almost frenzied enthusiasm, as though it betokened the imminent end of their exile and the veritable fulfilment of Biblical prophecies. Its terms and phrases were variously commented upon, but all agreed that it marked a turning-point in the destinies of Jewry. The expression "National Home" was unknown in political terminology, but it had been taken from the Basle Programme and therefore needed no definition. As for the two provisos, they were designed to silence the objections in two possible quarters—among the Arabs in Palestine, who might fear a curtailment of their rights, and among Jews outside Palestine, who might be apprehensive about their own political status in the future. The proviso in regard to the Jews clearly implied that the National Home would be invested with specific political rights of its own, for if it were merely intended that Jews should settle on the same footing as immigrants of any other nation, such a proviso was unnecessary. The

Government derived the maximum benefit from the Declaration by carrying out an extensive propaganda campaign through a specially created Jewish Department of the Ministry of Information, which cabled news items to friendly or neutral centres, whence they were transmitted to the capitals of the Central Powers. According to the Royal Commission's Report, millions of leaflets "were dropped from the air on German and Austrian towns and widely distributed through the Jewish belt from Poland to the Black Sea."

COUNTER-ACTION BY CENTRAL POWERS

The Balfour Declaration was not issued until both the French and Italian Governments had signified their approval, and it was also endorsed by the other Allied Powers. President Wilson likewise expressed his approval, and in 1922 both Houses of the United States Congress unanimously adopted a resolution in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. The Central Powers were moved to counter-action. The Austrian Government announced that it would use its influence in favour of Zionism with the Turks when the war was over. The Turkish Grand Vizier, Talaat Pasha, promised free immigration for Jews into Palestine, liberty of economic opportunity, the possibility of local self-administration, and free development of Jewish culture, but he stipulated that "all immigration must, of course, be kept within the natural limits of the absorptive capacity of the country for the time being." This Turkish declaration was officially endorsed on January 5th, 1918 by the German Government through the medium of the Deputy-Secretary of its Foreign Office.

ULTIMATE ESTABLISHMENT OF JEWISH STATE

Now, what was the meaning of the Balfour Declaration? According to the Royal Commission, who examined all the records bearing on the question, "the words 'the

establishment in Palestine of a National Home' were the outcome of a compromise between those Ministers who contemplated the establishment of a Jewish State and those who did not." Mr. Lloyd George stated in evidence that "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 Commonwealth."¹ Declarations to this effect had been made by Viscount Cecil, a member of the Cabinet at the time, by General Smuts, a member of the Imperial War Cabinet, and by President Wilson, all within the first two years after the Declaration was issued. Mr. Winston Churchill envisaged "in our own lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise three or four millions of Jews,"² and Mr. Herbert Samuel spoke of "the promotion . . . of Jewish immigration and of Jewish land settlement, . . . and the fullest measure of local self-government, in order that with the minimum of delay the country may become a purely self-governing Commonwealth under the auspices of an established Jewish majority."³ Leading British newspapers were equally explicit in their comments on the Declaration.

THE ZIONIST COMMISSION

The first step taken in furtherance of the objects of the Declaration was the departure of a Zionist Commission from England, under the leadership of Dr. Weizmann, to Palestine, after the southern part of the country had been redeemed by General Allenby's forces. It consisted of representatives of the Jews of Great Britain, France, and Italy, who were joined at a later stage by American and Russian Zionists. The principal objects of the Com-

¹ *Report of Palestine Royal Commission*, p. 24.

² *Illustrated Sunday Herald*, February 8th, 1920.

³ *The Zionist Bulletin*, November 5th, 1919.

mission were to act as the medium between the British authorities and the Jewish population, to organise and administer the relief work, to assist in restoring the Jewish colonies, to help the Jewish organisations and institutions to resume their former activities, and to aid in establishing friendly relations with the Arabs and other non-Jews. The Zionist Commission, which reached Palestine in April, 1918, was faced by a formidable task, as the Jews had suffered severely from hunger and disease and from the requisitioning of their crops and cattle by the Turks. After the entire country had been delivered it was found that the Jewish population had been reduced to about 55,000.

The Commission was at first able to do little more than distribute relief to the Jewish population and co-operate in the recruiting of volunteers for the third Jewish battalion. It was hampered in its activities by the Military Administration, styled Occupied Enemy Territory Administration, which took no official note of the Balfour Declaration and was opposed to the laying of the foundation stones of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The Foreign Office had therefore to send a special instruction to ensure the holding of this ceremony. The event took place within the sound of guns, in the summer of 1918, on Mount Scopus, in the presence of General Allenby, representatives of the French and Italian contingents in the army of liberation, and the heads of the various religious communities. It was a symbolic act of inspiring significance, but seven years had to elapse before the inauguration of the University could be celebrated.

ARAB REPRESENTATIONS TO PEACE CONFERENCE

As one of the objects of the Zionist Commission was to help in establishing friendly relations with the Arabs, Dr. Weizmann, accompanied by Major W. Ormsby-Gore (now Lord Harlech), who was attached to the Zionist Commission as Political Officer for the Government,

went to Akaba in June, 1918, to meet Emir Feisal, a son of Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca. Hussein had revolted against the Turks after a correspondence in 1915 with Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, who, on behalf of the British Government, had promised independence after the war to those Arab territories that gave assistance to the Allies. The area within which independence was to be recognised was geographically defined and did not include Palestine, apart from which the Arabs of that country neither revolted nor assisted the Allies.¹

Feisal fully understood that Palestine was excluded from the promise, for when he came to London in the following winter he signed an agreement on January 3rd, 1919, as the representative of "the Arab State," with Dr. Weizmann as representing Palestine, clearly showing that he regarded this country as reserved for Jewish settlement, and stipulating for the help of the Zionist Organisation in the economic development of "the Arab State." Nearly five weeks later, on February 6th, Feisal appeared as the head of a Hedjaz Delegation before the Peace Conference, at which he asked for the independence of the Arabic areas enumerated in his memorandum, with the explicit exception of Palestine. A week later the Peace Conference received a Syrian Delegation, the head of which, Chekri Ganem, made a long statement, in the course of which he said, with regard to the Zionists' claim: "Let them settle in Palestine, but in an autonomous Palestine, connected with Syria by the sole bond of federation. . . . If they form the majority there, they will be the rulers. If they are in the minority, they will be represented in the Government in proportion to their numbers."²

¹ The exclusion of Palestine was confirmed by Sir Henry McMahon in a letter to *The Times*, July 23rd, 1937, and was borne out by T. E. Lawrence in his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1935 edition, footnote to p. 276). See also the Churchill White Paper of 1922.

² D. Hunter Miller, *My Diary of the Peace Conference*, Vol. XIV, pp. 389-415, quoted in *The Truth about the Peace Treaties*, by D. Lloyd George, Vol. II, p. 1,057.

ZIONIST PROPOSALS TO PEACE CONFERENCE

The Zionist leaders submitted their demands to the Peace Conference in a detailed statement, dated February 3rd, 1919. Its main proposals were that "the historic title of the Jewish people to Palestine and the right of the Jews to constitute in Palestine their National Home" be recognised; that the sovereignty of the country be vested in the League of Nations and the government entrusted to Great Britain as Mandatory of the League; and that "Palestine shall be placed under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment there of the Jewish National Home, and ultimately render possible the creation of an autonomous Commonwealth." This document was signed not only by Mr. Sokolow and Dr. Weizmann, as the heads of the Zionist Organisation, but also by representatives of the Zionists of America and Russia, as well as of the Jewish population of Palestine. Three weeks later the requests in that document were reinforced by the speeches made by the two Zionist leaders, by Mr. Ussishkin (who spoke in Hebrew), on behalf of the Jews of Russia, and by Mr. André Spiers, who represented the Zionists of France, at a session of the Peace Conference at which Mr. Balfour and Lord Milner were the British representatives. Thereupon Feisal wrote a letter to Professor Felix Frankfurter (now a judge in the United States Supreme Court of Justice), a member of the Zionist Delegation, in the course of which he said: "Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organisation to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through; we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home." But Palestine was only one of a multitude of questions with which the victorious Powers had to deal, and more than a year elapsed before its future was decided upon.

FIRST OUTBURST OF ARAB HOSTILITY

This delay was most unfortunate, as the Military Administration continued to ignore the Balfour Declaration and to maintain an attitude of hostility to Jewish aspirations. The effect upon the Arabs was so prejudicial that Mr. Balfour despatched a detailed instruction to Jerusalem on August 4th, 1919, to remind the Military Administration of the Government's policy and of their duty. The note stated that the American and French Governments were equally pledged to the support of the establishment of the Jewish National Home and that this should be emphasised to the Arab leaders at every opportunity. But it produced only a transient effect, as the mischief had already gone too far. There was an Arab National Committee in Damascus, which was opposed both to Syria coming under a French mandate and to Palestine under a British one; and at its instigation a band of Bedouin made an armed attack on March 1st, 1920, upon Metulla and Tel Hai, isolated Jewish settlements in the extreme north of Palestine. A heroic fight was put up by Captain Trumpeldor and his little band of comrades, but after he and six others were killed both places had to be temporarily abandoned. The Damascus Committee then proclaimed Feisal, who was in the city, King of Syria and Palestine, and thereupon followed anti-Jewish demonstrations in Jerusalem and Jaffa. The unrest increased, and upon the approach of Easter there was a three days' attack (April 4th-6th) by Arabs upon Jews in Jerusalem, in which six Jews and six Arabs were killed. The military authorities had been warned of the probability of the outbreak, but took no precautions. On the contrary, they arrested the organisers and members of the Jewish self-defence corps and sentenced them to long terms of imprisonment (which, however, were quashed later by the Army Council).

CONFERMENT OF PALESTINE MANDATE

These events precipitated the eagerly awaited decision. On April 24th, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference (on which Great Britain was represented by Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Balfour, and Lord Curzon), met at San Remo, and resolved that the Balfour Declaration should be incorporated in the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, and that the Mandate for Palestine should be allotted to Great Britain. The way was thus cleared for the termination of military rule in Palestine and its replacement by a Civil Administration. "What you want in Palestine," said Mr. Lloyd George to Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow, who were awaiting the decision, "is men who really care for the National Home policy." Mr. Herbert Samuel was also present, as he was on his way back from Palestine, to which he had gone at the invitation of General Allenby to give advice on matters of administration and finance. An understanding was soon reached that Mr. Samuel, who had shown a keen interest in the Zionist question for some years and taken part in the framing of the Zionist proposals, should be appointed as the first High Commissioner in Palestine. His appointment was announced shortly afterwards, and on July 1st, 1920, he landed, as Sir Herbert Samuel, at Jaffa from a British warship to inaugurate what the Jewish people hoped would be not only a new, but a better era.

CHAPTER VI

EXPANSION OF THE MOVEMENT

1917-1925

JEWRY AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Now that we have followed the sequence of military and political events that led to the setting-up in Palestine of a British Civil Administration, whose primary obligation was to promote the establishment of the Jewish National Home,¹ let us survey the course of developments within the Zionist movement. It was a tragic paradox that the First World War, which had resulted in giving the Jewish people the right to reconstitute itself as a nation in Palestine, had rendered large sections of it unable to avail themselves of that right or unable to help in its realisation, owing either to political changes or to economic conditions. The Jews of Russia, previously the mainstay of the Zionist cause, were now sundered in two. Those under the rule of Soviet Russia, numbering nearly three million, were completely cut off from any association with the Jews in the rest of the world, and were forbidden, under penalties of imprisonment and deportation, to take any part in Zionism, which was proscribed as a "counter-revolutionary movement." On the other hand, those who found themselves within the frontiers of the Polish Republic, as well as those in the other lands liberated from the Tsarist yoke, namely, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, and also Bessarabia (annexed by Rumania), were freely able to engage in Zionist activities; but their material plight made it impossible for them for some years to render any appreciable contribution, except in respect of manpower, to the fulfilment of their national aspirations. Jews in Germany and other parts of Central Europe

¹ *Palestine Royal Commission Report*, pp. 38-9.

were in a similar position. Thus, the brunt of the task was inevitably shouldered by the Jews of the West, particularly by those in the English-speaking countries.

The Balfour Declaration gave a powerful incentive to the growth of Zionist societies and the creation of new ones in all parts of the world where Jews were free to profess their adherence to the Zionist idea. The greatest progress was made in Great Britain and the British Dominions, but the movement also underwent immediate expansion in the United States and other parts of America, as well as in the lands of the Orient and North Africa. In all these different parts of the globe Jews began to look upon the Zionist ideal as capable of achievement in some measure, although many still remained indifferent or opposed. The only countries in which, apart from Soviet Russia, the movement was actually forbidden were Turkey, because Palestine had formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire, and Iraq, owing to local sympathy with the Palestine Arabs.

ESTABLISHMENT OF ZIONIST HEADQUARTERS IN LONDON

In order to provide the machinery for conducting the political work necessary for obtaining the Balfour Declaration, a Zionist Bureau was opened in London in July, 1917. It was under the direction of Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow, who took steps, soon after the war, to convene a Conference in London of delegates from all Allied and neutral countries. This Conference, which was held in February, 1919, elected Dr. Weizmann on the Zionist Executive in place of Dr. Tschlenow, who had died a year before. The Zionist leaders delivered their reports on the proposals that they had submitted to the Peace Conference, and the delegates empowered them to continue their efforts. The Conference decided upon the establishment of the Central Office of the Zionist Organisation in London to take the place of the provisional Bureau, and increased the representative character of the Zionist Commission in Palestine.

THE QUESTION OF JEWISH RIGHTS

The Conference also devoted serious consideration to the position of the Jews in the various countries of Central and Eastern Europe, as it was anxious that they should receive not only the rights of citizenship but also those of a national minority. In most of these countries Jewish National Councils had been formed immediately after the war to safeguard the civil status of the Jewish population, and delegations were sent to Paris for the purpose of formulating proposals to the Peace Conference. The Zionist Conference accordingly decided to send a delegation to Paris in order to organise these various delegations as a single body; and there was thus set up, under the leadership of Sokolow and Leo Motzkin, the Committee of Jewish Delegations, which co-operated with Jewish representative organisations of Western Europe and America in securing minority rights for millions of Jews. These rights (which were also granted to other racial, religious, and linguistic minorities) were primarily intended to enable the Jews to use their own language in private or public, to maintain their own charitable, religious, social, and educational institutions, and also, in towns where they formed a considerable proportion, to receive an equitable share of the public funds devoted to such institutions. The League of Nations was entrusted with the duty of watching over the implementation of these rights, but, unfortunately, owing to its inadequate machinery and cumbersome procedure, they were flouted by most of the States that had promised to observe them. Thus, the hopes that the Jews had reposed in the Minorities Treaties were largely disappointed.

THE CONFERENCE OF 1920

The Conference of 1919 was followed by a much more important one, also in London, in July, 1920. This was the most representative Zionist gathering since the

Congress of 1913, it was attended by over 250 delegates from all parts of the world, and it afforded the first opportunity of a free and full exchange of views on all questions resulting from the new political situation. Justice Brandeis, who headed a large delegation from the United States, was elected Honorary President of the Zionist Organisation, Dr. Weizmann was made President, and Mr. Sokolow, Chairman of the Executive. The Conference, of which Dr. Max Nordau was the Honorary President, adopted a great number of resolutions both on questions of policy and on the measures necessary for the translation of policy into practice. These resolutions affirmed the determination of the Jewish people in Palestine to live in peace and friendship with the non-Jewish population, declared that the fundamental principle of Zionist land policy was that all land on which Jewish colonisation took place should eventually become the common property of the Jewish people, and designated the Jewish National Fund as the organ for carrying out this land policy in town and country.

The Conference also dealt with the question of immigration into Palestine, which had now become a practical problem of particular urgency. It was decided that a Central Immigration Office should be established in Jerusalem without delay, and that Palestine Offices should be opened in all countries expected to furnish contingents of young settlers, who were called *Halutzim* (pioneers). These Offices were to be controlled by local committees representative of the various Zionist parties (and composed in proportion to their numbers), and they were to ensure that those selected had received adequate training (called *Hachsharah*) either as agriculturists or as artisans, that they were able to speak Hebrew, and were physically fit.

ESTABLISHMENT OF KEREN HAYESOD

The nature of the fund by means of which the great work of colonisation, apart from the purchase of land,

was to be financed, gave rise to a serious controversy between the Zionist Executive and a group of the American Zionists. Besides the Jewish National Fund, which was devoted principally to land purchase, another fund, called the Preparation Fund, had been created in July, 1917, and its name was subsequently changed to the Palestine Restoration Fund (*Keren Geulah*). The purpose of this fund was to finance the work in London and in Paris and especially the activities of the Zionist Commission in Palestine, and during the first three years of its existence it had yielded over £600,000. It was now considered necessary to create a much more substantial and permanent fund, entailing some sacrifice on the part of the contributors. This "immigration and colonisation fund" was named Keren Hayesod, or Foundation Fund. The Conference aimed at raising £25,000,000 in one year from Jews contributing on the basis of a tithe of their capital, and also of their income. At least 20 per cent. of the money collected was to be given to the Jewish National Fund, and of the remainder not more than a third was to be spent on immigration, education, and other social services, and two-thirds "invested in permanent national institutions or economic undertakings."

But the Administration of the Zionist Organisation of America were strongly opposed to this arrangement, which they called a "commingling of funds." They insisted that the whole income of the Keren Hayesod should be devoted solely to the communal or social services, and that the financing of commercial undertakings should be left to private investors, as they thought that economic enterprises would suffer if they were dependent on donation funds. The Conference, however, decided that the Keren Hayesod should be established and devoted to both social services and economic undertakings. The consequence was that Justice Brandeis and his supporters refused to co-operate or to serve on the Executive. But at the American Zionist Convention in the following year in Cleveland a new

Administration was elected which was pledged to support the Executive and the Keren Hayesod.

The London Conference of 1920 also appointed a Reorganisation Commission, mainly in response to American criticism, for the purpose of adjusting the administrative apparatus in London to the Organisation's income, and also of overhauling the machinery of the Zionist Commission. The Central Office was reorganised so as to consist of five departments—Political Affairs, Organisation, Finance, Immigration, and Publicity—and some changes were also made in the office and the composition of the Zionist Commission.

THE TWELFTH ZIONIST CONGRESS

The two London assemblies, however, were only preparatory stages towards the Twelfth Zionist Congress. This, the first Congress since 1913, met in what was then the liberal and congenial atmosphere of Carlsbad, in September, 1921. It was much larger, more imposing, and more animated than any Congress that had preceded it; but it was also different in composition. Far more countries were represented, but Russia was not among them, and Palestine had sent a bigger delegation than ever before. The British Ambassador in Prague attended the festive inaugural session to convey a message of good wishes from his Government and to repeat the terms of the Balfour Declaration, which were received with enthusiastic and prolonged applause.¹ The deliberations were rendered all the more difficult by the great concourse of delegates and the limited time within which the business had to be completed, but by transferring all technical problems and business details, as well as the drafting of all resolutions, to a number of committees composed of representatives of all parties, and by continuing some debates until the small hours of

¹ All subsequent Congresses were greeted at the opening session by a diplomatic representative of the British Government until 1937. The White Paper of 1939 would have made such a ceremonial act at the Congress of that year embarrassing for even the most accomplished diplomatist, and the atmosphere of the Congress in December, 1946, was certainly unfavourable.

the morning, the Congress completed its stupendous labours in a fortnight. There were present 445 elected delegates (besides many *ex officio* delegates), representing 770,000 Shekel-payers (compared with 130,000 in 1913). The delegates were divided into three main groups: 306 General Zionists, 97 of the Mizrachi, and 38 of the Labour parties. The General Zionists occupied the centre of the hall, the Mizrachi sat facing the right of the President, and the Labour delegates were on his left—an arrangement observed at all subsequent Congresses, although from 1923 there were additions to the “wings,” as the parties on either side of the centre were called.

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

The Congress adopted an elaborate programme of work, embracing all phases of the new life in the Land of Israel, as well as the related activities in the Diaspora. It approved of the large land purchases, 62,000 dunams¹ in extent, that had recently been made by the Jewish National Fund in the Valley of Jezreel, at a cost of £282,000, and decided that the head office of the Fund should be transferred from The Hague to Jerusalem. It resolved upon an intensification of agricultural activity under the authority of a Colonisation Department, to be directed by a member of the Executive. It endorsed and elaborated the decisions of the London Conference regarding the organising of immigration into Palestine, and undertook to subsidise the occupational training of *Halutzim*, towards which the local Zionist bodies were also required to contribute. It assumed the obligation of maintaining all schools in Palestine that accepted the authority of the Zionist Organisation, declared that Jewish religious laws must be observed in all institutions subventioned by the Organisation, and authorised the increase of the capital of the Anglo-Palestine Bank to £1,000,000. It also called upon all Jewish scholars, teachers, and writers in the Diaspora to dedicate their

¹ 1 dunam = $\frac{1}{4}$ acre.

energies to the advancement of Hebrew literature and the furtherance of Hebrew as a spoken language, and decided that an official organ be published in Hebrew.

AN AMBITIOUS BUDGET

To cover the cost of all these and other activities in the ensuing year, the Congress adopted a budget of £1,500,000, of which two-fifths was primarily for agricultural colonisation, immigration, education, and other social services; one-third was for house building and economic undertakings; and the rest was to go to the Jewish National Fund. It was an ambitious budget, based upon an optimistic estimate of the Keren Hayesod, which, however, failed to be realised. The target of £25,000,000 to be reached in a year, or even in five years, was abandoned as impracticable (although years later Hitler, by his own methods, showed that it was not unattainable). The fixing of contributions to the Keren Hayesod on the basis of the traditional tithe was retained as an ideal, but the "self-taxation" of most contributors fell far short of this. An agreement had been concluded in 1920 between the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund as to their respective methods of collection; but the arrangement whereby the Keren Hayesod was to give 20 per cent. of its receipts to the J.N.F. soon lapsed, as those receipts did not attain the expected level and the J.N.F.'s own income increased. The total amount raised by the Keren Hayesod in the first 18 months of its existence, from April, 1921, to September, 1922, was a little over £600,000. Consequently the budgetary arrangements had to be seriously scaled down.

CONSTITUTION AND EXECUTIVE

Three other important matters were dealt with by the Congress—the political situation, the constitution of the Zionist Organisation, and the election of a new Executive. The Congress voiced a solemn protest against the

Arab riots that had taken place in the preceding May, expressed the resolve to live with the Arabs in Palestine on terms of concord and mutual respect, and requested the Executive to secure an honourable entente with them in strict accordance with the Balfour Declaration. In consequence of the numerical growth of the Organisation, several changes were made, such as raising the number of Shekel-payers necessary for the election of a delegate to Congress from 200 to 2,500, and increasing the number of members necessary for the recognition of a Separate Union (that is, a body of Zionists subscribing to a particular social, religious, or political principle within the movement, such as the Mizrachi and the Poale Zion) from 3,000 to 20,000. The concluding act of the Congress was the election of an Executive of 13, headed by Dr. Weizmann as President of the Organisation, and Nahum Sokolow as President of the Executive. It was a "coalition" Executive, as it included representatives of all parties. Six of the members (including Ussishkin) were to constitute the Executive in Jerusalem (thus replacing the Zionist Commission) and to take charge of affairs in Palestine.

ZIONIST OFFICES AND PRESS

The Organisation was now equipped with all the principal organs, institutions, and offices essential for the new era of widely ramified activity. The Central Office in London had two main functions—to look after political affairs by keeping in contact with the Colonial Office and to watch over Zionist activities in all parts of the world—and it was also in constant communication with the office in Jerusalem for the purpose of mutual information and co-ordinated action. In order to safeguard Zionist interests in connection with the work of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, to which the British Government was answerable as the Mandatory for Palestine, a political bureau was opened in Geneva in 1925. The official organ in English, from

July, 1919, was a weekly journal, *The Zionist Bulletin*, which was discontinued towards the end of 1920; but from September, 1924, the Executive began to issue *The New Judea*. The Hebrew organ of the Executive, *Haolam*, which first appeared in Cologne in 1907, was revived in London in 1919. In addition to these official journals there were, during the period between the two World Wars, at least one hundred Zionist or pro-Zionist newspapers published in different parts of the world, from New York to Cairo, from Buenos Aires to Bombay, and from Paris to Johannesburg.

FEDERATIONS AND PARTIES

The Organisation now comprised some thousands of societies throughout the world, which were either united in Federations in countries with a large Jewish population or existed as active units in isolated outposts like Shanghai or Singapore. Relations between the Central Office and this multitude of affiliated constituents were maintained by an ever-growing correspondence in various languages, and also by periodical visits of members of the Executive and officials, who travelled to the most distant parts of the globe, enlightening all Jewish communities on the aims and ideals of the movement and collecting funds for their realisation.

There were developments not only among the Zionists in general, or the General Zionists, but also among those devoted to some distinguishing principle in the movement, such as the orthodox Mizrachi or the adherents of different shades of Socialism. Before 1914 the two main Socialist parties in Palestine were the Poale Zion and Hapoel Hatzair ("The Young Worker"). But in Eastern Europe there arose another Socialist party, Zeiré Zion ("Youths of Zion"), who based themselves rather upon the lower middle class than the proletariat, and were particularly active in advocating the principle of *Halutzit*—training for pioneering work in Palestine. These three Socialist parties combined with one another

at different stages, and by 1932 they were all united in one single body, commonly known as the Poale Zion. But in 1934 there was formed another Socialist group, Hashomer Hatzair ("The Young Watchman"), which differed from the Poale Zion in more strongly emphasising Marxism and favouring a bi-national State in Palestine.

THE W.I.Z.O.

Zionism, as a democratic movement, knows no sex distinction, and women can be elected to all positions. Nevertheless, in 1920 there was established the Women's International Zionist Organisation (commonly called the W.I.Z.O.) for the purpose of making a specific contribution to the National Home—the maintenance of infant welfare centres, girls' training farms, and domestic economy schools. Although not under the authority of the Zionist Executive, the W.I.Z.O. co-operated harmoniously and most usefully in the work in Palestine. Before the Second World War it had a membership of over 80,000 in 44 countries.¹ In the United States the women Zionists have their own organisation, the Hadassah, which is affiliated to the World Zionist Organisation.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

There is also an extensive Zionist youth movement on both sides of the Atlantic, embracing different schools of thought, and including many societies of university students. Before the war the leading position was maintained by "Hehalutz" ("The Pioneer"), an organisation (with headquarters in Warsaw) whose members, numbering over 100,000 and distributed over many countries, devoted themselves to technical and cultural preparation for settlement in Palestine. Unfortunately "Hehalutz" was among the countless Jewish casualties of the Second World War. Its members, like those of all other Jewish

¹ By the end of 1950 the membership of the W.I.Z.O. had increased to 140,000 in 54 countries, and the membership of Hadassah had increased to 300,000.

youth organisations on the Continent, played heroic parts in the Resistance movements in various lands against the barbarous Nazi invaders. Most of them were denied the wish to dedicate their energies to the rebuilding of their ancestral home, for they sacrificed their lives in the bitter struggle. But both those who perished and those who survived, they all alike bravely upheld the honour of their people and shed undying glory upon the Jewish name.

CHAPTER VII

PALESTINE UNDER MANDATE

1920-1928

THE FIRST HIGH COMMISSIONER

THE selection of a Jew as the first High Commissioner in Palestine inspired the hope that the hostility to Jewish national aspirations that had marked the Military Administration would cease. It also strengthened the belief that the British Government was resolved to carry out its historic promise in both the letter and the spirit. Subsequent events will show to what extent that hope was realised and that belief was justified. Soon after his arrival Sir Herbert Samuel addressed an assembly of officials and leading representatives of all sections of the population, announced that the Allied and Associated Powers had decided that measures should be adopted "to secure the gradual establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people," and gave an assurance that the civil and religious rights and the prosperity of the general population would not in any way be affected. The gratification felt by the Jews at the official promulgation of their national charter was temporarily enhanced when the High Commissioner attended the synagogue in the Old City of Jerusalem on the Sabbath after the Fast of Ab, and read the heartening message from Isaiah: "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people." But the early enthusiasm had soon to give way to a sober and watchful attitude.

CHARACTER OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

In organising the Civil Administration, the High Commissioner chose as his Chief Secretary, Sir Wyndham Deedes, who was known to be in perfect sympathy with Zionism, but Sir Wyndham remained in Palestine only three years. Unfortunately, a good proportion of the officials of the Military Administration were retained,

many of whom had little or no understanding of, or sympathy with, the policy that they were required to serve. Some of them made no secret of their views, and their attitude inevitably had a prejudicial effect upon the Arabs. The few Jews appointed to senior positions were unable to neutralise that influence, and their number dwindled as time went on. Apart from the Administration there was created an Advisory Council, over which the High Commissioner presided. This Council was composed of 12 official and 10 non-official members, the latter consisting of four Moslems, three Christians, and three Jews. It afforded the opportunity of consultations between the Government officials and representatives of the three religious communities, who were able to criticise the drafts of Ordinances that the Government proposed enacting, and also to raise questions that they wished to have considered.

At an early stage in the deliberations of the Advisory Council two fundamental decisions were taken, bearing upon the status of the Jews as a nation. All Government ordinances and official notices were to be published in Hebrew as well as in English and Arabic; in areas containing a considerable Jewish population the three languages were to be used in the local offices and municipalities as well as in Government departments; and written and oral pleadings in the courts might be conducted in any of the three languages. The other decision concerned the Hebrew name of the country. The Jewish members of the Council objected to the Hebrew transliteration of the word "Palestine," on the ground that the traditional name was "Eretz Yisrael," but the Arab members would not agree to this designation, which, in their view, had political significance. The High Commissioner therefore decided, as a compromise, that the Hebrew transliteration should be used, followed always by the two initial letters of "Eretz Yisrael," *Aleph Yod*, and this combination was always used on the coinage and stamps of Palestine and in all references in official documents.

JEWISH COMMUNAL ORGANISATION

In both the Jewish and Moslem communities important steps were taken in regard to their internal organisation. The Jews had elected a provisional representative committee (*Ha-Vaad Hazmani*) soon after the liberation of Jerusalem, but it was not until a few months after the establishment of the Civil Administration that they were able to convene a Constituent Assembly, called *Asefath Hanivharim*, which elected a *Vaad Leumi* (National Council) as the official representation of Palestinian Jewry. A change was also made in the spiritual leadership. Hitherto there had been only one Chief Rabbi, chosen by the Sephardic section of the community; but now, owing to the growing importance of the Ashkenazim, it was agreed that they too should have a Chief Rabbi. The two Chief Rabbis were assisted by six associate Rabbis, and they formed together a Rabbinical Council.

THE MUFTI OF JERUSALEM

The appointment of a head of the Moslem community proved to be of concern also to the Jews, for the person elected became the ambitious leader of Palestinian Arab nationalism and the most aggressive enemy of Zionism. Early in 1921 the office of Mufti of Jerusalem fell vacant, and as the position of Mayor of Jerusalem was held by a member of the Nashashibi family, the Government thought it desirable that the vacancy should be filled by a representative of the rival family of Husseini. The candidate was Haj Amin el Husseini, a half-brother of the late Mufti, who had studied without distinction in Cairo, and fought as an artillery officer in the Turkish Army. After the British occupation of Palestine he indulged in anti-Zionist agitation, delivered an incendiary speech at the time of the Jerusalem riots in 1920, fled to Transjordan, and was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment *in absentia*; but on receiving an amnesty from the High Commissioner he returned to Jerusalem. This was

the individual whom the Government caused to be elected Mufti of Jerusalem.¹ In the following year he was elected President of the Supreme Moslem Council, and thus acquired control over large charitable endowments and the Moslem religious courts, as well as the authority to appoint preachers in all the mosques in Palestine. He steadily consolidated his influence and wielded it for many years to sabotage the policy of the Mandate.

THE DETACHMENT OF TRANSJORDAN

The Jews did not then realise what a fanatical enemy of theirs had been placed in a position of power. They suffered the gravest disappointment from another event—the detachment of the territory east of the Jordan from the land in which their National Home was to be established. Early in 1921, Abdullah, a son of Hussein, King of the Hedjaz, moved into Transjordan with a band of guerrilla Arabs, declaring that he intended to recover Syria, from which his brother Feisal had been ejected by the French in the previous year. The British Government therefore decided to placate Abdullah at the expense of the Jewish National Home. Palestine had been transferred from the care of the Foreign Office to that of the Colonial Office, and Mr. Winston Churchill, as Colonial Secretary, accompanied by T. E. Lawrence (the famous “Lawrence of Arabia”), went to Cairo to deal with Transjordan and other affairs of the Near East. Sir Herbert Samuel also attended this conference in March, after which all three went to Jerusalem. Abdullah was then invited to meet Mr. Churchill, who told him that he would be recognised as Emir of Transjordan on condition that he did not march against Syria, and that he would be provided with a British adviser and an annual subsidy from Britain. Abdullah promptly accepted, with the result that the articles of the Mandate relating to the Jewish National Home were declared to

¹ For the mode of the Mufti's election and his activities, see *Report of Palestine Royal Commission*, pp. 177–81, and Maurice Pearlman's *Mufti of Jerusalem*.

be inapplicable to Transjordan. It was officially explained that this separation of Transjordan was in accordance with the terms of the McMahon pledge, but it is curious that this discovery was not made and revealed until it became necessary to appease an Arab chieftain. Thus was the land of the Jewish National Home reduced to one-third of Biblical Palestine.¹

ARAB DEMANDS AND DISORDERS

While he was in Jerusalem, Mr. Churchill received an Arab deputation, who demanded the abolition of the principle of the Jewish National Home, the stoppage of Jewish immigration, and the creation of a National Government. Mr. Churchill rejected these demands. He declared that it was right that the Jews should have a National Home, reminded the Arabs that they owed their liberation to British arms, and said that if the Jews succeeded their success would be of benefit to all people in the country. He also received a Jewish deputation, who stressed their desire to promote cordial relations with the Arab nation. But this desire was not reciprocated. At the beginning of May, 1921, there were violent attacks by Arabs upon Jews in Jaffa and the neighbouring Jewish colonies, in which 48 Arabs and 47 Jews were killed, most of the Arab casualties being due to action by the British troops. The immediate result of this second outbreak of savagery was a temporary suspension of Jewish hopes. The Commission of Inquiry, under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice of Palestine, Sir Thomas Haycraft, which investigated the disorders, attributed them to a feeling among the Arabs of discontent and hostility to the Jews, "due to political and economic causes, and connected with Jewish immigration, and with their conception of Zionist policy." The

¹ In his evidence before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on European Jewry and Palestine, on January 30th, 1946, in London, Mr. L. S. Amery, who was Secretary to the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917, stated that at the time when the Cabinet decided to issue the Balfour Declaration they regarded Transjordan as being within Palestine. On March 22nd, 1946, the British Government signed a Treaty with Emir Abdullah recognising the independence of Transjordan.

Arab ringleaders were fined, many of the culprits were sent to jail, and improvements were made in the maintenance of law and order.

In order to reassure the Arabs the High Commissioner addressed a meeting of leading citizens on June 3rd, 1921, to explain that the policy of the Jewish National Home did not mean that Britain proposed to set up a Jewish government over an Arab majority. But the Arabs were not satisfied. They sent a delegation to London—the first of several during the next 18 years—for the purpose of conversations with the Colonial Office, and certain London newspapers encouraged their agitation. The Government rejected the Arab demands and offered to replace the Advisory Council by a Legislative Council. The Arabs refused this proposal and also rejected the basis of the Mandate as far as it involved recognition of the Jewish National Home. Their agitation succeeded to such a degree that the question of abandoning the Mandate was discussed in both Houses of Parliament in the summer of 1922. The first debate was in the House of Lords, where, despite the eloquent advocacy of Lord Balfour, a motion was adopted to postpone acceptance of the Mandate: but fortunately this decision was of no practical effect.

THE WHITE PAPER OF 1922

The Government thereupon published a document containing its correspondence with the Arab delegation and the Zionist Organisation, and a statement setting forth its policy. This document, which was issued under the authority of Mr. Churchill as Colonial Secretary, came to be known as the Churchill White Paper. It rejected the Arab demands for the abandonment of Britain's declared policy; but, on the other hand, it showed that the agitation of the Arabs and their friends had not been without effect. Its definition of British policy in Palestine was very far removed from the early glosses on the Balfour Declaration. It stressed the fact

that this Declaration did not "contemplate that Palestine, as a whole, should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded *in* Palestine." It said:

"When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people, as a whole, may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognised to rest upon ancient historic connection."

For the fulfilment of this policy, the White Paper prescribed that Jewish immigration must continue, but "cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals." It also contained a formal assurance from the Zionist Organisation, which it was requested by the Government to give, that "it accepted the policy as set forth in the statement, and was prepared to conduct its own activities in conformity therewith." The Zionist Executive gave this assurance with great reluctance and under a feeling of duress, as they considered this interpretation of the Balfour Declaration to be an abridgment of the aspirations which they had believed the Jewish people would be allowed to achieve. Their views were strongly endorsed by Jews throughout the world, who assailed the White Paper with a barrage of indignant criticism. The Government, however, were glad to have the Organisation's reply, and in the debate in the House of Commons they defeated the opponents of their Palestinian policy by an overwhelming majority.

RATIFICATION OF THE MANDATE

The White Paper and the parliamentary debates formed a prelude to the passing of the Mandate instrument by the Council of the League of Nations, which took place at a meeting in London on July 24th, 1922. The text of the Mandate was the result of three years' discussion between the Government and the Zionist Organisation, during which various drafts were made, amended, and revised. In its final form, the Mandate, in a preamble, embodied the terms of the Balfour Declaration and stated that "recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their National Home in that country."

The body of the Mandate consisted of 28 articles, of which the most important bearing upon the establishment of the Jewish National Home may be summarised as follows:

Palestine is to be placed under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the development of self-governing institutions. The Zionist Organisation is to be recognised as a Jewish Agency for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration in matters affecting the Jewish National Home, and is to take steps to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in its establishment. Jewish immigration, under suitable conditions, is to be facilitated, and close settlement by Jews on the land, "including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes," is to be encouraged. A nationality law shall be enacted, including provisions to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who settle in the country permanently. English, Arabic, and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine, and the holy days of the respective communities shall be recognised as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

Of all the passages in the text of the Mandate that had formed the subject of frequent discussion, the one in which the final change proved of most fateful significance was that in the middle part of Article 2. This article was originally composed as an amplification of the Balfour Declaration, and the phrasing of the middle part, as provisionally agreed upon between the Zionist Organisation and the Political Section of the British Peace Delegation at the beginning of 1919, was "secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the development of a self-governing Commonwealth." It was obviously intended to mean that the Jewish National Home was to develop into a self-governing commonwealth, even though the term "commonwealth" was not qualified by the word "Jewish." But over three years elapsed before the final text of the Mandate was fixed, and by then the promise held out concerning the ultimate status of the Jewish National Home was whittled down to "the development of self-governing institutions." This phrase was subsequently advanced in support of the Arab demand for an independent Palestine, to which the British Government gave way in the White Paper of 1939.

On September 16th, 1922, the Council of the League, at the request of the British Government, passed a resolution stating that the provisions of the Mandate relating to the establishment of the Jewish National Home were not applicable to the territory known as Transjordan.

ARAB POLICY OF NON-CO-OPERATION

After the ratification of the Mandate, the Palestine Administration made repeated attempts to secure the co-operation of the Arabs. In place of the old Advisory Council it proposed to set up a Legislative Council of 22 members, the 12 non-official members to consist of eight Moslems, two Jews and two Christians. The Jews agreed to the scheme, but the great majority of the Arabs were

opposed, so it had to be dropped. The Government then proposed to create a new Advisory Council with Moslem, Jewish, and Christian representatives; but owing to Arab opposition this scheme was also abandoned. Finally, the Government offered to establish an Arab Agency which should occupy a position analogous to that accorded to the Jewish Agency; but this proposal, too, was rejected by the Arabs. Consequently, the legislative, as well as the executive functions, had to be exercised entirely by the High Commissioner and officers of the Administration; but public criticism of the measures proposed could be made by representations after the publication of the Bills in the *Government Gazette*.

THE MANDATES COMMISSION OF THE LEAGUE

The administration of Palestine as a mandated territory was made subject to the scrutiny and approval of the Council of the League of Nations. The British Government was required to make an annual report to the Council as to the measures taken to carry out the provisions of the Mandate. The report was examined by the Permanent Mandates Commission, which first dealt with Palestine in 1924. From that year the British Government rendered an annual report on the steps that it took to carry out its obligations, and its representatives attended the meetings of the Mandates Commission in Geneva to give any verbal explanations necessary, and were often subjected to severe cross-examination. The Zionist Organisation (from 1930, the Jewish Agency) furnished the Mandates Commission with an annual report upon the development of the Jewish National Home, and the report was usually accompanied by a covering letter from the President, containing observations on any matters to which he found it necessary to direct attention.

BRITISH-AMERICAN CONVENTION

The close interest taken by both the people and the Government of the United States in the fortunes of the

Holy Land found public and official expression. In September, 1922, the American Congress passed a joint resolution of the Senate and the House of Representatives in favour of the establishment of the Jewish National Home. Although not a party to the grant of the Mandate, the United States gave formal assent to the administration of Palestine by Great Britain in a Convention with the British Government, which was ratified in 1925. This instrument provided for the application to American subjects of the rights accorded to other foreigners in the mandated territory, and also permitted them freely to establish and maintain their educational, philanthropic, and religious institutions.

INAUGURATION OF HEBREW UNIVERSITY

The most notable event in Sir Herbert Samuel's last year of office was the inauguration of the Hebrew University by Lord Balfour on April 1st, 1925. The impressive open-air ceremony was witnessed by an assembly of 7,000 people, and was attended by a large number of distinguished scholars and scientists representing many leading universities in different parts of the globe. After the conclusion of the ceremony, which sent a thrill throughout the Jewish world, Lord Balfour visited the principal cities and made a journey through the Jewish agricultural settlements of the coastal plain, the Valley of Esdraelon, and the district of Galilee. He delivered several striking addresses and was everywhere acclaimed with joyous enthusiasm by the settlers, especially at Balfouria, the village founded in his name by an American Jewish corporation.

PROGRESS UNDER THE SAMUEL RÉGIME

When Sir Herbert Samuel terminated his period of office at the end of June, 1925, he issued a report on his five years' administration, in which he gave a survey of the progress that had taken place. This progress was

largely in the economic field, though many improvements in other directions had also taken place. The Jewish population had doubled from 55,000 at the end of 1918 to 103,000, mainly by immigration, and the area of agricultural land owned by Jews had likewise been doubled. Urban developments had also been striking, for the Jews in Tel Aviv had increased from 2,000 to 30,000, and those in Haifa from 2,000 to 8,000. Of great benefit to the country in general had been the supply of electric power by Pinhas Rutenberg, a Russo-Jewish electrical engineer, who had been granted two concessions, one for utilising the waters of the River Auja near Jaffa, and the other for harnessing the waters of the upper Jordan and its tributary, the Yarmuk. The first power station had been constructed at Tel Aviv and the first hydro-electric power station was soon to be erected. These undertakings brought about a veritable transformation in the ancient land, not only by facilitating the expansion of industry, but also by supplying the amenities necessary for social comfort and general progress.

The Zionist Executive, in paying a tribute to the first High Commissioner, referred to "occasional differences of opinion between them on various practical questions relative to the establishment of the Jewish National Home." Perhaps the most serious was in connection with the article of the Mandate that required the Administration to "encourage . . . close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes." There was a large area (over 100,000 acres) of such State lands between the southern end of the Sea of Galilee and Beisan, a considerable part of which might have been made available for Jewish settlement. But it was allotted in such generous measure to a number of Arabs who were squatters on a part of it, that there was no land left. This caused profound disappointment to the Jews, who were by no means silent about their justified grievance. Their only consolation was that they were able to buy some of this

land, though at enhanced prices, as the Arabs had been given more than they needed and were unable to pay the requisite fees. But despite the differences due to this and other matters, the Zionist Executive placed on record their deep appreciation of the courtesy and sympathetic consideration that Sir Herbert Samuel had always shown them, and of "his unflinching devotion to the welfare of Palestine and its people."

LORD PLUMER'S ADMINISTRATION

The appointment of Field-Marshal Lord Plumer as the next High Commissioner caused a certain disillusionment among the Jews, as many of them had believed that the position would again be given to one of their own people. It produced a temporary elation among the Arabs, who thought that it signified a change of policy in their interest. But both soon revised their views: the Arabs, when they found that there was to be no change, and the Jews, when they began to experience the sympathy, concern, and sense of justice that Lord Plumer invariably applied to all his tasks. He certainly inspired the Arabs with a healthy respect for his authority. His term of office was marked by a number of legislative measures and administrative changes. The Citizenship Order-in-Council enacted that any person could acquire citizenship who had lived in the country for two years, had a knowledge of one of the official languages, and intended to remain there permanently, but Jews were not compelled to avail themselves of this law. As a logical development, a law for municipal elections was made in 1926, which prescribed that only Palestinian citizens could vote or be elected, subject to their paying a certain amount of Government land-tax or municipal rates. The first elections for municipal councils were held early in 1927, and from that time the Government exercised financial supervision to prevent municipal bodies falling into debt.

Impressed by the tranquillity of the country, which

was mainly due to his own presence, Lord Plumer reorganised the forces of security on a simpler and smaller scale. He was also prompted by the wish to relieve the British taxpayer of the greater part of the small contribution that Britain still made to the cost of defence in Palestine. The Palestinian Police was reconstructed as the sole Civil Force, the Gendarmerie was disbanded, and a regular military force, called the Transjordan Frontier Force, was created for service along the eastern frontiers. This reduction of the forces, although welcomed as a good sign, was a serious mistake, as was proved by the troubles in 1929.

FURTHERANCE OF ECONOMIC WELFARE

The interests of the agricultural population were furthered, both by the steady development of agricultural productivity and by enacting a law for the protection of agricultural tenants. Previously such tenants had been liable to be turned out at any time, but the new ordinance required that they should be given a full year's notice before they could be removed from the land; and if they were removed they might secure compensation for improvements, and, in the case of long terms, additional compensation for eviction. Both Jews and Arabs benefited by a bequest of £100,000 from Sir Ellis Kadoorie, a Jewish philanthropist of Hong Kong, as the money was devoted in equal parts to the establishment of an agricultural school for each of them. Lord Plumer showed concern for the social and economic welfare of the population in many ways—by issuing ordinances for giving workmen compensation for accidents, and for the protection of women and children in industry, by ordering public works for the relief of unemployment, and by providing aid for the sufferers from the earthquakes in 1927. The country quickly recovered from the disasters, and it was a sign of economic progress that the first Palestine Loan, amounting to £4,500,000, was floated in the following autumn.

Throughout Lord Plumer's administration, which lasted three years, the Arabs showed commendable restraint and indulged in little concerted political action. But in the summer of 1928, after holding a Palestinian Arab Congress, the Arab Executive handed the retiring High Commissioner a memorandum embodying the unanimous resolution of the Congress, demanding the establishment of parliamentary government in Palestine. He took only formal note of this demand, which was repeated at intervals and with increasing insistence during the following decade.

CHAPTER VIII

BUILDING THE NATIONAL HOME

1919-1929

ESTABLISHING THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME

Now that we have traced the principal political events in connection with Palestine during the first eight years of its civil administration, we can proceed to describe the efforts made for the establishment of the Jewish National Home. The Mandate required that the Mandatory should place Palestine under such conditions as would secure that objective, but the actual work necessary to achieve it had to be provided by the Jewish people. To this task the Zionist Organisation devoted itself with all its energies and resources, on a constantly increasing scale, and with the material aid furnished by supporters in all parts of the world. The work was carried out primarily under the guidance and direction of the Palestine Zionist Executive (merged from 1929 into the Executive of the Jewish Agency) by means of an elaborate administrative apparatus. This consisted of separate departments for political affairs, immigration, labour, agricultural colonisation, trade and industry, and other matters. There were also departments for education and public health until 1932, when these services were transferred to the jurisdiction of the *Vaad Leumi*. Members of the Executive, in accordance with Article 4 of the Mandate, had consultations from time to time with the High Commissioner and other high officials of the Palestine Administration on current questions of importance; and there was always a regular interchange of correspondence between the Executive in Jerusalem and their colleagues in London, in addition to the exchange of visits from one city to the other, in order to secure co-ordination of policy and harmonious co-operation in all activities.

The two basic factors in the creation of the Jewish National Home were immigration and land. Article 6 of the Mandate required that the Administration shall "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions" and also "encourage . . . close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes." The Administration interpreted the former obligation by enacting various ordinances from time to time for the strict regulation of immigration in accordance with what it deemed to be the economic requirements of the country. As for the land factor, the total cultivable area of State domain that it gave to the Jews, during a period of twenty-five years, was only 17,450 dunams¹ (or 4,350 acres), and this land could not be used for close settlement, as it consisted of small and scattered tracts. In glaring contrast to this was the area of 100,000 acres given to the Arabs. All land had, therefore, to be bought by the Jewish National Fund.

STRICT REGULATION OF IMMIGRATION

The regulation of immigration by the Palestine Government underwent various changes from time to time, but was always marked by bureaucratic severity. The first Immigration Ordinance, issued in September, 1920, authorised the Zionist Organisation to introduce 16,500 immigrants per annum, on condition that it was responsible for their maintenance for one year. About 10,000 Jews were admitted in the first twelve months, but as the ordinance was found unsatisfactory, new regulations were issued the following year for the admission of a number of categories, the principal ones being persons of independent means, professional men, persons with definite prospects of employment, persons of religious occupation, and small tradesmen and artisans. After the publication of the Churchill White Paper, which laid down the rule that immigration must

¹ 4 *dunams* = 1 acre.

not exceed the economic capacity of the country to absorb new arrivals, the Government granted permits to groups of artisans and labourers selected by the various Palestine Offices. At first the number of such permits or certificates was fixed every three months, but from 1925 it was fixed every six months. From 1927 until the outbreak of war the admission was mainly according to the following categories:

- A. (i) Persons with not less than £1,000 and their families.
 - (ii) Professional men with not less than £500.
 - (iii) Skilled artisans with not less than £250.
 - (iv) Persons with an assured income of £4 per month.
- B. (i) Orphans destined for institutions in Palestine.
 - (ii) Persons of religious occupation whose maintenance was assured.
 - (iii) Students whose maintenance was assured.
- C. Persons who had a definite prospect of employment.
- D. Dependent relatives of residents in Palestine who were in a position to maintain them.

The regulations regarding professional men and skilled artisans were always applied with particular rigour and occasionally suspended for varying periods. But the most frequent and serious differences between the Government and the Zionist Executive were in regard to the workers with a definite prospect of employment, for whom a schedule was prepared every six months. No matter how detailed the estimates drawn up by the Executive, no matter how carefully compiled and factually justified, according to branches of labour and different localities, they were generally and drastically reduced by the Government. Its niggardly policy often produced a shortage of Jewish labour, which seriously hampered economic development and caused a drift of workers from rural settlements to the towns in search of better-paid employment.

THE HALUTZIM

The immigrants were drawn from all parts of the world. They came mainly from Eastern and Central Europe, but also from lands as varied and as remote from one another as Siberia and South Africa, Argentina and Persia, England and the United States. In the so-called third *Aliyah* (wave of immigration) of 1920-2, the younger element predominated. Soon after the First World War societies of *Halutzim* (pioneers) sprang up in Eastern and Central Europe for the purpose of giving their members, young men and women, a training in agriculture or in some manual craft and a knowledge of Hebrew. Many were university students, who broke off their academic career in order to engage in the laborious toil of rebuilding their ancestral land; and all were medically examined before receiving immigration permits from the local Palestine Office. Upon their arrival in Palestine, the newcomers were welcomed by officials of the Zionist Immigration Department, looked after in hostels, and then directed to an agricultural settlement or found employment in their respective trades.

IMMIGRATION FLUCTUATIONS AND LABOUR DEPRESSION

The number of Jewish immigrants rose steadily from 7,000 in 1920 to nearly 13,000 in 1924, when the Fourth *Aliyah* began, containing a large proportion of persons from Poland, some with capital. This influx gave a strong impetus to the economic development of Palestine, caused land values to rise, and resulted in extensive building activity, particularly in Tel Aviv. But after reaching the record total of nearly 34,000 in 1925, not only did the number of immigrants sink to 13,000 in 1926, but more than half of that number left the country. In 1927 there was a further and more serious decline of immigration to 2,700, while the volume of emigration was nearly twice that number; but in 1928 there was some improvement, as, although there were only a little

over 2,000 new arrivals, the number of departures was about the same. The decline of immigration in the years 1926 to 1928 was due to a labour depression brought about by a variety of causes, the chief of which were delays in the arrival of new settlers and the economic crisis in Poland. Unfortunately the certificates under the labour schedule were not issued in time to enable the recipients to reach Palestine for the beginning of the working season, and so many of them fell a burden upon the labour market. On the other hand, those who had come from Poland with some money and engaged in the building industry were hit by the economic crisis in Poland and found themselves short of the additional capital necessary for the completion of their undertakings. The result was extensive unemployment, which caused the Zionist Executive the very gravest concern. It was first relieved by the payment of "doles" by the Executive, and afterwards by the promotion of public works by the Government, various municipalities, and the Executive itself. Not until the spring of 1928 did the economic position improve and the "dole" system disappear.

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF JEWISH LABOUR

The interests of the Jewish workers were looked after mainly by the Labour Department of the Zionist (or Jewish Agency) Executive and the *Histadruth Ha-Ovedim* (General Federation of Jewish Labour), usually called the *Histadruth*.¹ The Labour Department found employment for the workers in their respective trades, organised industrial training, provided loans for house-building, watched over labour legislation, subsidised labour exchanges, and took the initiative in settling strikes. The *Histadruth*, founded in 1920, comprises not only a number of trade unions, the most important being those of the agricultural and building workers, but also a very large number of co-operative settlements, several co-operative societies, a workers' sick benefit fund (*Kupath*

¹ At the end of 1950 the total membership of the *Histadruth* was 311,000.

Holim), a youth organisation, a travelling theatre (*Ha-Ohel*), and a sports association (*Ha-Poel*). Its principal co-operatives are a central wholesale consumers' society, a central marketing co-operative, a building co-operative, and a contracting society for agricultural work. It also has a bank of its own, besides a chain of loan and saving societies, a Labour Fund, an insurance society, an immigration bureau, labour exchanges, and a special committee to look after Labour schools. Moreover, it has tried to foster co-operation between Jewish and Arab workers by helping to create Arab unions as well as joint unions in undertakings where Jews and Arabs worked together.

AGRICULTURAL COLONISATION

The branch of labour to which Jewish workers have primarily devoted themselves is agriculture, since cultivation of the soil was from the very beginning regarded as a fundamental basis of the National Home. The two leading agencies for the establishment of agricultural settlements were the Zionist Organisation (or Jewish Agency) and the P.I.C.A. (Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association), a company formed in 1925 to administer the estates of the I.C.A.¹ in Palestine, mainly those previously founded by Baron Edmond de Rothschild. The Zionist settlements are distributed over various parts of the country, the most important district being the Valley of Jezreel, commonly called the *Emek* (Valley), which extends from the foot of Mount Carmel to the hills of Lower Galilee. They went in largely for mixed farming, which included not only the growing of crops and vegetables, dairy farming, poultry breeding, and cattle rearing, but also fruit plantations. By far the most extensive development took place in the cultivation of citrus fruit (oranges, lemons, and grape fruit), which soon provided the country's most important export.

¹ See page 43.

MAIN TYPES OF SETTLEMENT

There were at first three main types of rural settlement—the *Moshava* or “colony,” the communal or collective settlement, and the smallholders’ settlement. The distinguishing feature of the “colonies,” which were largely the foundations of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, is that the land is the private property of the settlers. The result of this system, based on the pursuit of profit, was the growth of social disparities in the village community, which were out of harmony with the idealism that had originally inspired its founders. A radical change was brought about by the Zionist Organisation and the Jewish National Fund, for the Jews whom they settled on the soil were primarily actuated by the desire that the land should remain permanently in Jewish possession, and they considered it essential to this end that it should always be cultivated by Jewish labour. They formed groups whose members all belonged to the Histadruth, and each group was allotted by the J.N.F., on a 49 years’ lease and at a very moderate rental, only as much land as it could cultivate itself. The settlement was based on four cardinal principles: (1) Jewish national ownership of the soil; (2) “self-labour,” which meant the rigorous exclusion of hired labour; (3) mutual assistance; and (4) co-operative buying and selling. These settlements, many of which were provided by the Keren Hayesod with the money for their buildings, cattle, and general farming equipment, consisted at first of two main types—the *Kvutzah*, or collective settlement, and the *Moshav Ovedim*, or workers’ smallholders’ settlement.

COLLECTIVE SETTLEMENTS

The *Kvutzah* is the collective property of the group and is conducted on strictly co-operative principles. All its members share alike in both the work and its proceeds, but receive no wages. They eat in a communal hall, obtain their clothing from the communal store, and

receive a limited weekly allowance for such amenities as cigarettes or a visit to the nearest cinema. Whatever profits are made go into the common treasury for the improvement of the settlement. Only those able to discipline themselves, to deny themselves privacy and personal convenience, can live amicably in such a form of society. For those who cannot adjust themselves to this rigid régime, the *Moshav Ovedim* was devised, combining the advantages of the colony with those of the co-operative settlement. Here the settlers have each a small-holding, just large enough to be worked by one family; they have each a cottage and farm and enjoy the privacy of family life; and, as in the other settlements, they practise the principles of "self-labour," mutual assistance, and the joint purchase of requirements and sale of produce.¹

FUNCTIONS OF J.N.F. AND KEREN HAYESOD

The Jewish National Fund not only bought land for agricultural development, but improved the soil wherever necessary by draining swamps, regulating streams and water-courses, clearing the ground of stones and weeds, and building roads. It planted hundreds of thousands of trees in once-wooded areas that had been denuded; and it bought urban and suburban land for residential quarters, as well as large plots for public institutions. The Keren Hayesod co-operated with the J.N.F. in agricultural colonisation by providing the money for everything besides land needed for the settlements. But its sphere was very much larger, as it not only furnished the finance for all the varied activities—social and economic, political and cultural—of the Zionist Executive, but also participated in important enterprises, such as Rutenberg's electrification scheme and the extraction of the mineral deposits of the Dead Sea.

¹ Later types of settlement are described in Chapter XII., p. 172.

URBAN DEVELOPMENTS AND INDUSTRIES

There was also a considerable development in the urban districts. The Jewish population rapidly increased in the principal cities, giving a vigorous stimulus to the building industry. The most striking expansion occurred in Tel Aviv, where the population grew from 2,000 in 1914 to 40,000 in 1929. Before the British occupation the only industries in Palestine consisted of the manufacture of wine, soap, and olive-wood articles; but the Jews wrought a remarkable transformation by introducing numerous trades previously unknown in the country. Factories, mills, and workshops multiplied enormously. A census of Jewish industries taken in 1926 showed that there were 558 establishments employing nearly 6,000 persons, comprising the following eight main categories: building materials, textiles, leather, wood, chemicals, paper, metals, and foodstuffs. There were also other products that could not be classified within these categories, such as cigarettes, umbrellas, and artificial teeth. The factory for artificial teeth, established by an American Jew in Tel Aviv, was a notable instance of an enterprise based upon imported materials, and the good quality of its products was proved by the fact that they were exported mainly to England. By the year 1930 there were over 2,000 Jewish urban enterprises, employing nearly 10,000 persons, and manufacturing goods worth over £1,600,000 a year.

An important part in the development of these industries was played by the Palestine Electric Corporation, which operated the concessions granted to Pinhas Rutenberg for the production of electric power from the Jordan and the Auja. Other leading enterprises were cement works, a factory for oils and soap, and large flour mills, all situated at Haifa. The wine trade produced in 1929 about 30 million litres of wines and spirits worth £80,000. All these industries gave an incentive to the motor transport trade in the form of buses and lorries, which was largely promoted by Jewish enterprise.

GROWTH OF COMMERCE

The industrial advancement of the country was reflected in the expansion of commerce and the growth of trade relations with other countries. The Jewish banks actively co-operated in these developments. A number of English Jews, in 1921, created the Economic Board for Palestine, under the chairmanship of the first Lord Melchett,¹ for the promotion of commerce and industry, and a similar body was formed a few years later by some American Jews under the name of the Palestine Economic Corporation. The interests of workshops on a co-operative basis were effectively looked after by the Central Bank of Co-operative Institutions and the Workers' Bank.

HEBREW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Great as was the progress made in all fields of economic activity, it was paralleled by the achievements in the spheres of education and health. The Zionist Executive took over the maintenance of the Hebrew schools in Palestine (forming about 80 per cent. of all the Jewish schools) as naturally as the Government took under its care the Arab schools, for the Hebrew schools constituted the fundamental cultural basis of Jewish national life. They played no small part in the Hebraisation of the parents and of the Jewish population in general. By the year 1928 the Zionist educational net-work embraced over 220 schools, with nearly 20,000 pupils, and had an expenditure of £120,000, towards which the Government gave a grant of £20,000. The Keren Hayesod contributed £70,000, and the balance was provided by the *Yishuv*² and the P.I.C.A.

The Zionist educational system comprises all grades—

¹ Lord Melchett (1868-1930), formerly Sir Alfred M. Mond, Bart., Member of House of Commons (1906-28), member of British Government (1916-22), and first Chairman of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd.

² Collective term meaning literally "settlement," used for the Jewish population of Palestine or Israel.

kindergarten, elementary, and secondary schools, as well as trade schools and teachers' seminaries. Owing to ideological differences, there are three kinds of schools—general, Mizrachi, and Labour, a system that has been subjected to much criticism, but for the simplification of which no proposal has yet proved acceptable. In the general schools there is instruction in the Bible and prayer-book, while the question of religious observance is left to the parents; but in the Mizrachi schools religious observance is taught by the teachers and the curriculum includes purely religious subjects, like the Talmud. The schools in the Labour settlements also have their own curriculum, as the parents wish their children to be brought up in their own ideology.

TECHNICAL INSTITUTE AND UNIVERSITY

Technical training of an advanced character is provided at the Haifa Technical Institute, which now comprises a College of Technology, a Technical High School, and a Nautical School. The crowning feature of the edifice of Jewish education is the Hebrew University, which was originally conceived as a centre of research and post-graduate study but became a teaching institution a few years after it was opened. Its first faculty comprised Institutes of Jewish and Oriental Studies and held general courses in philosophy, but gradually there were added faculties of humanities, mathematics, science and medicine, until the University became the most notable academic centre throughout the Near and Middle East. Not only its students but the general public made the fullest use of the Jewish National and University Library, which, by the year 1929, already had 250,000 volumes.

JEWISH HEALTH SERVICES

In the interests of the physical welfare of the Jewish population, the Zionist Executive set up a Health

Council (*Vaad Habriuth*) for the purpose of co-ordinating and supervising all Jewish institutions and organisations concerned with health work and co-operating with the Public Health Department of the Government. The Hadassah Medical Organisation and the *Kupath Holim* were the bodies mainly responsible for the Jewish Health Service, to which the Government made a small grant. The Hadassah Organisation, which was founded and supported by Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organisation of America, began its activity in Palestine in 1918. It established and maintained a number of hospitals, clinics, and laboratories in the principal Jewish centres, as well as a nurses' training school in Jerusalem; and it also organised an excellent maternity and child hygiene service in most of the large cities and in a number of the bigger villages.

The *Kupath Holim*, the Sick Benefit Society of the Jewish Labour Federation, had its own hospitals, outpatient departments, and convalescent homes, whose cost was covered chiefly by membership dues and partly by contributions from employers and grants from the Zionist Executive and the Hadassah. Thanks to the systematic efforts of the Hadassah and the *Kupath Holim* the prevalence of such diseases as tuberculosis, malaria, trachoma, and typhoid, which previously had sorely tried the Jewish (and still more the Arab) population, was very considerably reduced and health conditions were greatly improved.

Such then were the results of the efforts and activities of the Jews who returned to the home of their ancestors from the widely scattered lands of the *Galuth* (diaspora) during the first 10 years of the British occupation. Such were the main features of the Jewish National Home as planned and developed under the direction or with the aid and advice of the Zionist Executive. The progress achieved was impressive; but it would have been far greater if the Palestine Administration had been more actively helpful and if the prosperous Jews outside Palestine had co-operated more generously. But the

foundations of the National Home were now well and truly laid, as was proved in the coming years of strife and stress, of assault and bloodshed, which so sorely tried the struggling *Yishuv*, but left it materially unshaken and spiritually invigorated.

CHAPTER IX

CONGRESSES AND COMMISSIONS

1929-1935

A DECADE OF UNREST

THE Zionist movement passed through a very agitated period during the ten years from 1929 until the outbreak of war. It was a decade that was ushered in by the third Arab assault upon the Jewish National Home and closed with a three-year Arab rebellion. It was a period punctuated by frequent visits to Palestine from enquiry commissions, one even exalted by the title of "Royal," and all of them bent upon seeking the causes of the recurring disorders, but failing to find any effective remedy. It was the period in which, at one stage, there was held out the promise of an independent Jewish State, only to be succeeded shortly afterwards by the threat of the creation of an Arab State, in which the Jews would be doomed to be a permanent and helpless minority. It was also a period in which there were serious internal differences and a secession. The prelude to this memorable decade was the consolidation of the Zionist movement by the extension of the Jewish Agency; its epilogue was provided by the chaos and carnage of the Second World War.

EXTENSION OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

It was not long after the issue of the Balfour Declaration that it was realised in responsible Zionist circles that the establishment of the Jewish National Home would prove too formidable a task for the unaided efforts of the Zionist Organisation, and that it would be necessary to obtain the active co-operation, on as large a scale as possible, of Jews who remained outside the Organisation. Apart from the material reasons for enlisting the co-operation of non-Zionists, there was also the injunction

contained in Article 4 of the Mandate. This Article stated that "an appropriate Jewish Agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine." It expressly recognised the Zionist Organisation as such agency and required that the Organisation "shall take steps, in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government, to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home."

The question whether this co-operation should be sought, and, if sought, how it should be organised and maintained, formed the subject of the keenest controversy for six years. It constituted one of the main features of the four Zionist Congresses held between 1923 and 1929, until agreement was eventually achieved. The most energetic and determined advocate of the extension of the Jewish Agency by the inclusion of representatives of non-Zionist Jewry was Dr. Weizmann. Between 1924 and 1927 he visited the United States for the purpose a number of times and addressed Jewish conferences under the chairmanship of Mr. Louis Marshall,¹ President of the American Jewish Committee and the recognised leader of American Jewry. For the Jews in the United States were able to make a far more substantial contribution to the development of Palestine than those of any other country, and it was therefore essential to gain their adhesion before enlisting that of other communities.

RADICAL AND REVISIONIST OPPOSITION

Within the Zionist ranks bitter opposition to seeking this adhesion was waged primarily by two parties that now emerged. The first was the Radical Party, headed by Isaac Gruenbaum, a leader of Polish Jewry and a

¹ Born at Syracuse, United States, 1856, died at Zurich, 1929.

member of the Polish Parliament. The Radicals, who first appeared at the Congress of 1923, insisted that the enlarged Jewish Agency should be based on the results of democratic elections, as they feared that a body containing selected representatives, or "notables," as they sarcastically called them, would ignore the principles of Zionism. They were joined at the Congress of 1925 by the new party of Revisionists created by Vladimir Jabotinsky. This party was so called because its founder advocated a "revision" of Zionist policy in the sense of a return to Herzl's original conception of a Jewish State. Jabotinsky contended that the direction of Zionist policy could be entrusted only to Jews with strong nationalist convictions, and that it would be prejudicial to Zionist ideals to allow "assimilationist notables" to take part in exercising the rights of the Jewish Agency. Despite this joint opposition (reinforced by a group of General Zionists) the Congress of 1925 decided in favour of the establishment of a Council of the Jewish Agency consisting of an equal number of Zionists and non-Zionists, provided that the activities of the Agency were conducted on the following "inviolable principles"—namely, a continuous increase in the volume of Jewish immigration, the redemption of the land as Jewish public property, agricultural colonisation based on Jewish labour, and the Hebrew language and Hebrew culture. It was also laid down that the Jewish community of the United States should provide 40 per cent. of the non-Zionist section, and that the President of the Zionist Organisation should be the President of the enlarged Agency.

JOINT PALESTINE SURVEY COMMISSION

Early in 1927 Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Marshall signed an agreement for extending the Jewish Agency in accordance with the terms of the Palestine Mandate and along the general lines of the Congress resolutions. The Agreement also provided for setting up a Joint Palestine

Survey Commission for the purpose of investigating the economic resources and possibilities of Palestine and framing a long-term programme of constructive work. This Commission, which consisted of the first Lord Melchett, Dr. Lee K. Frankel and Mr. Felix Warburg, of New York, and Mr. Oscar Wassermann, a Berlin banker, was assisted by a distinguished group of technical experts, and after concluding their work in Palestine they issued, in 1928, a voluminous report with important practical recommendations. At length, after six years of discussion and negotiations the Sixteenth Congress, held at Zurich in 1929, decided by an overwhelming majority in favour of enlarging the Jewish Agency. In addition to the conditions previously adopted, it was agreed that all lands acquired with money of the Jewish Agency should be the property of the Jewish people and subject to all the principles of the Jewish National Fund, that settlers should have the right to choose their form of settlement, and that the principle of Jewish labour must be safeguarded in all undertakings furthered by the Jewish Agency.

CONSTITUENT MEETING OF JEWISH AGENCY COUNCIL

The Congress was immediately followed by the constituent meeting of the Council of the enlarged Jewish Agency. The various communities, on both sides of the Atlantic, that had agreed to participate were represented by 100 non-Zionist members of the Council, and there was an equal number of Zionist members elected the previous day by the Congress. It was a gathering of unique significance and a demonstration of Jewish solidarity far more impressive than the First Zionist Congress held 32 years before. Side by side with Dr. Weizmann, who presided over the proceedings, and his veteran colleagues, Sokolow and Ussishkin, sat eminent personalities like Sir Herbert Samuel, Professor Albert Einstein, Leon Blum, the French statesman, and Lord Melchett, the leader of British industry. In addition to

the Council of 200 members, the Constitution provided for an Administrative Committee of 40, and a small Executive, each body to be composed of an equal number of Zionists and non-Zionists. The Council, corresponding to the Congress, was to meet once in two years, and the Administrative Committee, corresponding to the Zionist General Council, was to meet (as far as circumstances permitted) once in six months. Dr. Weizmann was elected President of the Jewish Agency, Mr. Louis Marshall was elected Chairman and Lord Melchett Associate-Chairman of the Council, and Mr. Felix Warburg Chairman of the Administrative Committee. The Keren Hayesod was declared to be the main financial instrument of the Agency for covering the budget, and the organisation and status of the Jewish National Fund and its relations with the Zionist Organisation were left intact.

The assumption by the Jewish Agency of the principal activities connected with the establishment of the Jewish National Home did not, in practice, appreciably diminish the sphere or volume of activity of the Zionist Organisation, as the major part of the burden continued to rest upon it, and it continued to devote itself to Zionist propaganda, the furtherance of Hebrew culture, and the raising of funds. Having yielded its rights under the Mandate to the reconstituted Jewish Agency, the Zionist Organisation addressed an inquiry to the Colonial Office to ascertain whether, in the event of a dissolution of the partnership, it could recover those rights. After the lapse of twelve months, owing to a sequence of disasters, there came a reply that, in the case of such dissolution, the British Government would, provided that its organisation and constitution were at that time appropriate, again recognise the Zionist Organisation as the Jewish Agency for the purpose of Article 4 of the Mandate.

THE WESTERN WALL INCIDENT

The sense of joy felt throughout the Jewish world at the union of non-Zionists with Zionists in the task of restoring the ancient homeland was soon overclouded by tidings of a catastrophe in the land itself. Little more than a week after the memorable assembly in Zurich was over, a fresh outburst of Arab brutality against the Jews took place. It lasted longer and was much more serious in its consequences than the attacks of 1920 and 1921, for the victims that it claimed were 133 Jews killed (over 60 in Hebron alone) and 339 wounded. This outrage was not a sudden or spontaneous outburst, but the result of premeditated action, preceded by agitation that had been simmering for twelve months. The incentive came from an incident in connection with the Day of Atonement service at the Western Wall in 1928. A temporary screen that had been placed against the Wall to divide the male from the female worshippers, in accordance with strict orthodox practice, was forcibly removed during the service by a British police officer, because of a complaint from the guardian of the *Wakf* (Moslem charitable endowment) that the screen constituted a violation of the Moslem rights of property. The consequence of this incident, which aroused a storm of protest throughout the Jewish world, was that the Moslem authorities felt emboldened to make various structural alterations quite near the Western Wall, which was part of the exterior of the Haram al-Sherif, the sacred area containing the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of El Aksa. These alterations, together with the holding of a cacophonous ceremony in an adjoining room, made it almost impossible for the Jewish worshippers to engage in their devotions.

The Jews petitioned the Government in Jerusalem and in London, with the result that a White Paper was issued, stating that the Jewish community had the right of access to the Western Wall for prayer, but could bring to it "only those appurtenances of worship which were

permitted under the Turkish régime." No definition, however, was given of these appurtenances. The Government stopped the Moslem nuisance near the Wailing Wall for a short time, but the Arabs began an inflammatory propaganda, in which they accused the Jews of designs upon the Mosque of Omar itself. The agitation was conducted by a "Society for the Protection of the Moslem Holy Places," which was founded and controlled by the Mufti and the Arab Executive in general. The object of the Mufti was to mobilise on a religious issue the public opinion of the Moslems, which he had been unable to arouse on purely political grounds, and at the same time to secure for himself the united support of all sections in the retention of the office of President of the Supreme Moslem Council, to which he had been appointed for only a limited number of years. In such an atmosphere only a spark was needed to cause a conflagration. It broke out on August 23rd, 1929.

THE DISORDERS OF 1929

An orgy of savagery, murder, and looting spread from Jerusalem to a number of small settlements and even to Haifa, though the most horrible attacks were upon men, women, and children in Hebron and Safed. Troops were hurried to the scene from Egypt and Malta, and in suppressing the riots they and the police killed 116 Arabs and wounded 232. The High Commissioner, Sir John Chancellor, who had been on a visit to England, hastily returned to Palestine, and shortly afterwards he was followed by a Commission of Enquiry despatched by the British Government. This Commission consisted of Sir Walter Shaw as chairman, and of one representative of each of the three principal political parties. In announcing its appointment, the Colonial Secretary, Lord Passfield (formerly Sidney Webb) reaffirmed the statement previously made by the Foreign Secretary (Arthur Henderson) that the enquiry was "limited to the immediate emergency" and would not "extend to considerations

of major policy." But when the Commission's Report appeared in March, 1930, it was found that the Commission had trespassed far beyond their instructions.

THE SHAW REPORT

The Report stated that the outbreak "was from the beginning an attack by Arabs on Jews, for which no excuse in the form of earlier murders by Jews had been established." The majority of the Commission apportioned "a share in the responsibility for the disturbances" to the Mufti, and blamed Mufti and Arab Executive for failure to make any attempt to control their followers. But Mr. (later Lord) Snell, the Labour member of the Commission, in a long note of Reservations, attributed to the Mufti "a greater share in the responsibility for the disturbance" and dissociated himself from the general attitude of his colleagues towards the Palestine problem as well as from some of their criticisms and conclusions. He blamed the Palestine Government for not having issued an official communiqué denying that the Jews had designs on the Moslem Holy Places; stated that what was required was less a change of policy than a change of mind on the part of the Arab population, who had been encouraged to believe that the Jewish immigrants were a permanent menace to their livelihood and future; and recommended that any land found to be unexploited should be made available to the Jews. The Commission found that the fundamental cause of the riots lay in the Arabs' "disappointment of their political and national aspirations and fear for their economic future." Its main recommendations justified the worst fears of those who had been anxious that the Commission should not trespass beyond its terms of reference. Despite the assurances given by the Government, the Report dealt with questions of immigration, land, and constitutional development, and culminated in the proposal that the Government should issue a new statement of policy.

SIR JOHN HOPE SIMPSON'S REPORT

In order to allay Zionist anxieties, the Prime Minister (Ramsay MacDonald) stated in the House of Commons that the Government would "continue to administer Palestine in accordance with the terms of the Mandate. . . . That is an international obligation from which there can be no receding." But a few weeks later the Government despatched Sir John Hope Simpson to Palestine to enquire into the whole question of immigration, land settlement and development. His Report was published in October, 1930, together with a White Paper containing a fresh exposition of British policy. The Report was a disappointment, as it gave a much lower estimate of the cultivable area of the country than had hitherto been accepted; it implied that Jewish colonisation had resulted in the displacement of a large number of Arab peasants; and it declared that, apart from the lands held by Jews in reserve, there was "with the present methods of Arab cultivation no margin of land available for agricultural settlement by new immigrants." The Jewish Agency challenged the Report on its facts and figures, and the British Government assured the Permanent Mandates Commission that these were in dispute and called for further investigation.

THE PASSFIELD WHITE PAPER

The accompanying White Paper was much more alarming and objectionable. This document, issued under the authority of Lord Passfield, the Colonial Secretary, and consequently designated by his name, was a disquieting sequel to the Churchill White Paper of 1922, for it went much further in whittling down the meaning of the Balfour Declaration and the articles of the Mandate. It foreshadowed fresh restrictions in regard to immigration, threatened the Jews with an embargo on further purchases of land, and commented upon their work in Palestine in terms that were utterly incompatible with

the friendly support that the Jewish people believed it had a right to expect from the British Government. The result was a world-wide storm of indignation, coupled with the resignation by Dr. Weizmann, who had always pursued a policy of co-operation with the Mandatory Power, of his office as President of the Jewish Agency. The White Paper was denounced by the two surviving members of the War Cabinet, Mr. Lloyd George and General Smuts; it was severely attacked in *The Times* by leading statesmen of all parties; and it formed the subject of a debate in the House of Commons (November 17th, 1930), in which the Zionist standpoint met with general sympathy. Finally, the Prime Minister announced that the Government had agreed to set up a Committee of Cabinet Ministers to discuss the situation with representatives of the Jewish Agency.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER

The outcome of these discussions was the publication, on February 13th, 1931, of a statement in the form of a Letter from the Prime Minister to Dr. Weizmann. This Letter, while not a repudiation of the White Paper, explained away and negatived its objectionable passages, and was couched throughout in a friendly tone. It expressly reaffirmed the Preamble to the Mandate, and recognised that "the Jewish Agency has all along given willing co-operation in carrying out the policy of the Mandate, and that the constructive work done by the Jewish people in Palestine has had beneficent effects on the development and well-being of the country as a whole." It made it clear that "the obligation to facilitate Jewish immigration and to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land remains a positive obligation of the Mandate." It stated that a careful inquiry would be made into the number of alleged "displaced Arabs" (which had been advanced by the Shaw Commission as one of the contributory causes of the riots of 1929), that a comprehensive inquiry would also be made to

ascertain "what State and other lands are, or properly can be made, available for close settlement by Jews," and that it was the Government's "definite intention to initiate an active policy of development, which it is believed will result in substantial and lasting benefit to both Jews and Arabs." The importance of this Letter was indicated by the fact that it was printed in the Parliamentary Report, embodied in official instructions to the High Commissioner, and communicated to the League of Nations.

MR. LEWIS FRENCH'S REPORT

To give effect to the policy outlined in this Letter, the Government appointed Mr. Lewis French, in July, 1931, to carry out a systematic inquiry in Palestine and draw up specific proposals in regard to agricultural development and land settlement. Mr. French was required in particular to prepare a register of "displaced Arabs"¹ and draw up a scheme for their resettlement, and to investigate the methods necessary for carrying out the Government's proposed policy of land settlement, including the provision of credits for Arab cultivators and Jewish settlers, and proposals for draining and irrigating land. When his Reports were at length released, two years later (July 14th, 1933), they were found to be sterile and discouraging. His general conclusion was that there was nothing, for the time being, that the Government could do for the assistance or encouragement of Jewish agricultural development, and that the exploitation of the Beisan and Huleh districts and of the Jordan Valley would not be an economic proposition. Worse still, he made a set of proposals for the enactment of restrictive legislation. The Jewish Agency published its views in a Memorandum, in which it declared that it could not see in the Reports the outline of the scheme contemplated in the Prime Minister's

¹ The term "displaced Arabs" was defined as "such Arabs as can be shown to have been displaced from the lands which they occupied in consequence of the land passing into Jewish hands, and who have not obtained other holdings on which they can establish themselves, or other equally satisfactory occupation."

Letter, and that "these Reports cannot be accepted as a basis of land and development policy in Palestine, in the execution of which the Jewish Agency would find itself in a position to co-operate." One satisfactory outcome, however, of the inquiry was to establish the fact that over a period of 12 years there were only 664 "displaced Arabs."

SETTLING THE DISPLACED ARABS

As a practical sequel to the recommendations of the various Commissions, the British Government, in May, 1934, obtained the authority of Parliament to guarantee a loan of £2,000,000 to be raised by the Palestine Government for various agricultural improvements and public works. But the loan proved unnecessary as the Palestine Government, thanks to the prosperity brought to the country by Jewish economic enterprise, actually enjoyed a good surplus. The sum of £250,000 had been allocated for the resettlement of displaced Arabs, but only one-third of that amount was actually needed for the accommodation of all genuinely displaced Arabs who took up holdings on Government estates.¹

PROGRESS OF THE NATIONAL HOME

It was rather remarkable that while the various Commissions of Inquiry were laboriously seeking means to deprive the Arabs of further pretexts for agitation, Palestine was actually experiencing a period of material progress unprecedented in its history. This was almost entirely due to the labour, capital, and enterprise systematically applied by the Jewish settlers, who continued to arrive in swelling numbers. Jewish immigration figures rose from 5,000, in 1929, to nearly twice that number in 1932. In the following year, they spurted up to 30,000; in 1934 they exceeded 42,000; and in 1935,

¹ Only about 100 Arab families availed themselves of the opportunity of resettlement offered by the Palestine Government, and, according to the Government's Report for 1937, about 50 of them "deserted the settlement and are engaged, for the most part, in other than agricultural work."

they soared to the record total of nearly 62,000. This growing influx was one of the consequences of the Nazi persecution of the Jews in Germany, who were made to realise that their only salvation lay in emigration, and the Land of Israel had an appeal for many which was unequalled by that of other countries. There were also substantial tributaries to the stream of immigration from other lands, in Central and Eastern Europe, where the screw of intolerance was turned as the savagery of Hitlerism advanced. All these newcomers brought with them not only the energy and will to build for themselves a new livelihood, but also, in very numerous cases, technical skill, patent processes, and their own machinery. Moreover, quite a considerable quantity of Jewish capital was imported into the country. It amounted, in the 20 years between 1919 and 1939, to at least £120,000,000, of which at least one-third was introduced during the five years before the War. The progress of the National Home was reflected in all sorts of directions: in the steady expansion of land in Jewish ownership and cultivation; in the increasing number of Jewish agricultural settlements; in the growth of Jewish residential districts; in the multiplication of factories, mills, and workshops; in the extension of trades; in the improvement and enlargement of the health and educational services; and in the fruitful impetus given to all forms of cultural activity.

INTERNAL ZIONIST CHANGES

On the other hand, the succession of inquiries, with the spate of Blue Books and White Papers which they generated, had a disturbing effect upon the Zionist Movement itself. The Congress of 1931 pointed out that the Prime Minister's Letter contained reservations that were a source of some anxiety, and drew attention to the continued difficulties attaching to the purchase of land and to the employment of Jewish labour on public works in Palestine. At this Congress, Dr. Weizmann, who had

previously announced his resignation, delivered a valedictory address in which he gave a comprehensive survey of his efforts during the past 12 years to co-operate loyally with the British Government, and he was succeeded by Mr. Sokolow as President of the Zionist Organisation and of the Jewish Agency. This Congress also witnessed a growth in numbers of the Revisionists, who now formed the third strongest party. Jabotinsky and his supporters not only attacked the policy of Weizmann, but, constituting themselves the extreme Right Wing of the Movement, levelled the most scathing criticism upon the Labour Party and its activities in Palestine.

REVISIONIST SPLIT AND SECESSION

The Congress of 1933 was overshadowed by the tragedy of German Jewry. It declared it to be "the duty of the Mandatory Power to open the gates of Palestine for as large an immigration of German Jews as possible and to facilitate their settlement," and it decided to create a Central Bureau for the purpose, of which Dr. Weizmann was elected director. The Congress was also deeply agitated by the assassination of Dr. Arlosoroff, the Labour member of the Executive, which had taken place in Tel Aviv two months before. Two young Revisionists had been charged with the murder, and one of them was convicted but afterwards acquitted on appeal. The result was increased antagonism and bitterness between the Labour Party and the Revisionists. Although the Revisionists were a party within the Zionist Organisation, Jabotinsky also organised them into a World Union, which acted independently of the Zionist Organisation and in opposition to the declared policy of Congress, made separate representations to Governments and the League of Nations, and boycotted all Zionist funds. The Revisionists were now disunited, as a minority broke away under the leadership of Mr. Meir Grossmann and created the Jewish State Party. Labour had for the first time become the strongest Party

and secured 40 per cent. of the seats on the new Executive.

The interval between the Congress of 1933 and that of 1935 witnessed the secession from the Zionist Organisation of the Revisionists. In order to counteract the insubordination of Jabotinsky's Party, the Congress of 1933 had passed a resolution affirming that in all Zionist questions membership of the Zionist Organisation entailed a duty of discipline in regard to its constitution and decisions, which took precedence over the claims of any other body. In the following year the Zionist Executive printed the text of this resolution on the new Shekel vouchers as a general reminder. This provoked resentful criticism on the part of the Revisionists, who resolved to ignore the prescribed regulation and to break away. On April 25th, 1935, they announced that they had seceded from the Zionist Organisation, but the Jewish State Party loyally remained within it. Some time later Jabotinsky founded the "New Zionist Organisation," which systematically boycotted all the funds and institutions of the Zionist Organisation and frittered away most of its energy in futile attacks upon the parent body.¹

PROBLEMS OF GERMAN JEWRY

The Congress of 1935, which met in Lucerne, was again gravely preoccupied with the problems arising from the plight of German Jewry. It demanded a quickening of the tempo in the development of the Jewish National Home and stressed many grievances: the scanty immigration schedules, the reduced share of Jewish labour in public and municipal works, the unduly small percentage of Jews in the Government service, and the very meagre grants by the Government to the Jewish education and health services despite the large Jewish contribution to its revenue. The arrangements that had been made to facilitate the transfer of

¹ The "New Zionist Organisation" was dissolved in 1946, its members joining the Jewish State Party, which was renamed United Zionist Revisionists.

the capital of German Jews wishing to settle in Palestine aroused a keen and somewhat embittered discussion. An agreement had been concluded in 1933 with the German Reichsbank by the Anglo-Palestine Bank and the German Jewish banks of Wassermann and Warburg, whereby emigrants to Palestine could receive their money from a clearing-house there, out of the payments made by Palestinian importers of German goods. The agreement was strongly defended on the ground that it was the only means of salvaging the property of thousands of German Jews and thus augmenting the resources of the *Yishuv*, while it brought no fresh money into the Reich. It was decided that the whole business of the *Haavarah* (or "transfer," as the arrangement was called) should, in order to keep it within justifiable limits, be placed under the control of the Executive.¹

The Congress concluded by re-electing Dr. Weizmann as President of the Zionist Organisation and electing Mr. Sokolow as Honorary President. It adopted a budget of nearly £400,000, more than double the budget of the previous Congress, an increase that reflected the improvement in the financial position. The Council of the Jewish Agency, which met immediately after, approved the budget and the resolutions relating to the work in Palestine, and both Zionists and non-Zionists looked forward to the coming years with hope mingled with no little concern. Little did they dream that a more determined and violent attempt than any before was now to be made to undermine the foundations of the Jewish National Home.

¹ A total of £8,000,000 of Jewish capital was transferred by this method from Germany to Palestine.

CHAPTER X

THE ARAB REBELLION

1935-1939

PROPOSED LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

THE new and organised assault by the Arabs, which was to last over three years, was the outcome apparently of the Palestine Government's scheme to secure their political co-operation. At the end of December, 1935, the High Commissioner announced proposals for the establishment of a Legislative Council, a project for which had been rejected by the Arab leaders in 1922 and then dropped. According to the revived scheme, the Council was to consist of 28 members, 12 elected (nine Arabs and three Jews), 11 nominated (five Arabs, four Jews and two representatives of the commercial world), and five officials, meeting under an impartial president previously unconnected with Palestine. Subject to the articles of the Mandate and the High Commissioner's powers to maintain law and good government, the Council was to have the right to debate and amend all Bills introduced by the Government; but the final decision was to rest with the High Commissioner, whose consent was necessary for the proposal of any measures by the Council. The Jewish leaders rejected the scheme mainly on the ground that the Jews would thereby be reduced to minority status in their National Home, whose development would be obstructed by a Council, the majority of whose members would not recognise the Mandate.

THE ARAB REBELLION

The leaders of the five different Arab parties were disagreed about the scheme, and were therefore invited by the Colonial Secretary to send a deputation to London to discuss the matter. But before agreement could be

reached about the composition of the deputation, there began, in Jaffa, on April 19th, 1936, murderous attacks by Arabs on Jews, which soon spread throughout the country, and also included assaults upon the British military and police. The "Arab Higher Committee," representing the various parties, proclaimed a general strike and formulated three main demands: (1) stoppage of Jewish immigration; (2) the prohibition of the sale of land to Jews; and (3) the creation of a "National Representative Government." These demands were rejected by the Government. As the terrorism developed into an organised rebellion against the Government, military reinforcements were brought from Egypt and Malta, and as these proved inadequate, further reinforcements were sent from England, bringing the number of troops in Palestine up to 20,000; but relatively little use was made of them. There were acts of murder, robbery, and sabotage throughout the country. The armed terrorists did not confine themselves to the destruction of Jewish life and property, but cut telegraph and telephone wires, derailed trains, obstructed traffic on the roads by land mines, and set fire to the oil-pipe line between Haifa and Iraq. The situation was aggravated by the vacillation displayed by the Government, by its leniency and inconsistency in applying its own emergency regulations, by the delay in punishing persons caught infringing the law, and by the alternation of stern action with official parleying with the leaders. It was officially admitted that there was "propaganda from outside sources," but the position was really graver than that. The terrorists were assisted not only by mercenaries from over the border (especially from Iraq and Syria) but also by funds and arms from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, which were interested in making trouble for Britain.

THE PALESTINE ROYAL COMMISSION

Three months after the beginning of the outbreak the British Government announced the appointment of a

Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of Earl Peel (a former Secretary of State for India), with terms of reference more comprehensive and far-reaching than those of all previous Commissions. It was to ascertain the causes of the disorders; to inquire into the manner in which the Mandate was being implemented in relation to the obligations of the Mandatory towards the Arabs and the Jews respectively; to ascertain whether, upon a proper construction of the terms of the Mandate, either the Arabs or the Jews had any legitimate grievances on account of the way in which the Mandate was implemented; and, finally, to make recommendations for the removal of any grievances that were well founded. The so-called "strike" was stopped by the Arab Higher Committee (after the intervention of the Iraqi Foreign Minister, General Nuri Pasha), on October 12th, after 91 Jews had been killed and 367 had been wounded.

The members of the Royal Commission arrived in Palestine a month later and remained until the middle of January, 1937. They did their work very thoroughly, and when their Report appeared in the following July—a volume of 400 pages—it was found to be the most informative and critical work on the administration of Palestine since the beginning of the British occupation. It was marked by a sympathetic appreciation of Jewish aspirations and achievements. It consisted of a comprehensive and analytic survey of the Palestine problem, an examination of the operation of the Mandate, and proposals for "the possibility of a lasting settlement." In their conclusions, the Commission stated that "the underlying causes of the disturbances, or (as we regard it) the rebellion of 1936, are, first, the desire of the Arabs for national independence; secondly, their antagonism to the establishment of the Jewish National Home, quickened by their fear of Jewish domination."

THE ROYAL COMMISSION'S REPORT

The Royal Commission found that most of the Arab grievances (*e.g.* the acquisition of land by Jews, Jewish

immigration, the use of Hebrew and English as the official languages, the creation of landless Arabs) could not be "regarded as legitimate under the terms of the Mandate." They pointed out that the Arabs had substantially benefited by Jewish immigration; that the expansion of Arab industry and citriculture had been largely financed by imported Jewish capital; that owing to Jewish development and enterprise the employment of Arab labour had increased in urban areas, particularly in the ports; that the reclamation and anti-malarial work undertaken in Jewish colonies had benefited all Arabs in the neighbourhood; and that the general beneficent effect of Jewish immigration on Arab welfare was illustrated by the fact that the increase in the Arab population was most marked in urban areas affected by Jewish development. On the other hand, they found that the attitude of Arab officials precluded any extension of their employment in the higher posts of the Administration, and stated that "self-governing institutions cannot be developed in the peculiar circumstances of Palestine under the Mandate."

As regards the main Jewish grievance, the Commission suggested departmental decentralisation to mitigate obstructions in the establishment of the Jewish National Home, and recommended that British officers selected for service in Palestine should have a course of special training. On the question of the subversive activities of the Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el-Husseini, they stated it was unfortunate that no steps had been taken to regulate elections for the Supreme Moslem Council, and that the policy of conciliation had failed. They suggested measures to provide land for close settlement by the Jews and "to safeguard the rights and position of the Arabs," and "limitation of the close settlement upon the land to the plain districts." Their proposals in regard to immigration were both novel and unwelcome. They recommended that immigration should be "decided upon political, social, and psychological as well as economic considerations"; that a "political high level"

should be fixed at 12,000 a year for the next five years, to include Jews of every category; and "the abolition of certain categories dealing with members of the liberal professions and craftsmen, and the revision of the conditions governing the free entry of capitalists." They regarded the failure to ensure public security as the most serious of the Jewish complaints, and recommended the enforcement of martial law if the disorders broke out again.

THE PLAN OF PARTITION

All these recommendations, in the opinion of the Commission, would not remove the grievances; they were "the best palliatives" but could not "cure the trouble." The Commission believed that the division of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab canton, whereby each would have self-government in regard to social services, land and immigration, while the central government would retain control over all other matters, would involve difficulties and satisfy neither Arabs nor Jews. They therefore proposed the termination of the Mandate and the division of Palestine into three parts: (1) a Jewish State, mainly in the plains, comprising the whole of Galilee, the whole of the Valley of Jezreel, the greater part of Beisan, and all the coastal plain from Ras-el-Nakura, in the north, to Beer-Tuvia, in the south (an area equal to about one-fifth of Palestine west of the Jordan); (2) an Arab State, including Transjordan, in the hills, with a port at Jaffa; and (3) a British mandated area, including Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, with a corridor from Jerusalem to the coast and an enclave near Aqaba (as well as, temporarily, Tiberias, Acre and Haifa). Treaties of Alliance should be negotiated by the Mandatory with the Government of Transjordan and representatives of the Arabs of Palestine, on the one hand, and with the Zionist Organisation on the other.

The Mandatory would support the admission of the Jewish and Arab States to the League of Nations; there

would be strict guarantees for the protection of minorities in each State, as well as financial and other provisions; and there would be military conventions. The Jewish State should pay a subvention to the Arab State; the Public Debt of Palestine (about £4,500,000) should be divided between the two States; and the British Treasury should make a grant of £2,000,000 to the Arab State. In view of the very large number of Arabs in the Jewish area and the small number of Jews in the Arab area, the Treaties should contain provisions for the transfer of land and the exchange of population. For the period of transition, the Commission recommended the prohibition of the purchase of land by Jews within the Arab area or by the Arabs within the Jewish area, as well as territorial restrictions on Jewish immigration instead of the "political high level."

GOVERNMENT POLICY

The Report of the Royal Commission was accompanied by a Statement of Policy by the British Government, declaring that they were "in general agreement with the arguments and conclusions of the Commission" and would take the necessary steps to give effect to the scheme of partition. Meanwhile, any land transactions that might prejudice the scheme were prohibited, and the total Jewish immigration for the eight months' period, August, 1937, to March, 1938, was limited to 8,000 persons. The House of Commons, after a vigorous debate on the question, passed a resolution that the partition proposals "should be brought before the League of Nations with a view to enabling His Majesty's Government, after adequate inquiry, to present to Parliament a definite scheme."

DECISIONS OF CONGRESS AND JEWISH AGENCY

When the Twentieth Zionist Congress met in Zurich in August, 1937, it devoted a week to an exhaustive

discussion of the Commission's Report. It adopted resolutions which stated that the partition scheme was unacceptable, that the Executive should ascertain the precise terms of the Government for the proposed Jewish State, and that the Executive should bring any definite scheme that might emerge before a newly elected Congress for consideration and decision. The Congress rejected the Commission's assertion that the Mandate had proved unworkable, and demanded its fulfilment; rejected the conclusion of the Commission that the national aspirations of the Jewish people and those of the Arabs of Palestine are irreconcilable; condemned the "palliative" proposals; and protested against the decision to fix a political maximum for Jewish immigration for the next eight months. The Council of the Jewish Agency endorsed the resolutions of Congress and directed the Executive to request the British Government "to convene a Conference of the Jews and Arabs of Palestine with a view to exploring the possibility of making a peaceful settlement between Jews and Arabs in and for an undivided Palestine on the basis of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate." This request was addressed to the Government, but was refused.

THE LEAGUE'S CONCLUSIONS

The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League was favourable in principle to an examination of the proposed partition, but was opposed to the immediate creation of two independent States, and considered that a prolongation of the period of political apprenticeship constituted by the Mandate would be absolutely essential to the two States. The Council of the League agreed to the British Government's continuing to study the solution of the problem by partition and deferred consideration of the question until it was able to deal with it as a whole.

THE ARAB RESPONSE

The Arabs issued no official declaration on the Commission's proposals, but, after eight months' peace, resumed in June, 1937, their campaign of terrorism and assassination. The Palestine Government thereupon declared all Arab Committees illegal, deported certain members and imprisoned others. The Mufti of Jerusalem was deprived of his office as President of the Supreme Moslem Council and of membership of the General Wakf Committee (of which he was chairman), and a fortnight later he escaped in disguise to Beyrout. As the outrages continued, Military Courts were established in November to try those accused of acts of violence, and to impose sentences of death, with the result that some Arab terrorists were executed. After the rebellion had lasted three years it had claimed 5,774 victims, comprising 450 Jews killed and 1,944 wounded, 140 British killed and 476 wounded, and 2,287 Arabs killed and 1,477 wounded. The Arab terrorists had murdered more of their own people who refused to join them than they had of Jews. They had also destroyed over 200,000 trees in Jewish settlements, but the Jews planted one million more in their place—proof that no atrocities, however widespread or prolonged, could weaken the determination of the Jews to rebuild their National Home.

THE PARTITION COMMISSION

Although the British Government had declared that they were "in general agreement with the arguments and conclusions of the Commission," yet five months later they published a despatch to the High Commissioner for Palestine, stating that they were not committed to its partition plan, and that another Commission would be sent out to make fuller investigations and draw up a more precise scheme. The task of the Partition Commission, as it was called, was to advise as to the provisional boundaries of the proposed Arab and Jewish

areas and the new mandated British area, and to undertake the financial and other inquiries suggested by the Royal Commission. This Commission, with Sir John Woodhead as chairman, arrived in Palestine at the end of April, 1938, and stayed there for three months. Their Report, published in the following November, unanimously advised against the adoption of the scheme outlined by the Royal Commission on the ground of its impracticability. They also considered two alternative schemes, but were not agreed as to either. They therefore reported that they were "unable to recommend boundaries for the proposed areas which will afford a reasonable prospect of the eventual establishment of self-supporting Arab and Jewish States."

The Government accepted the conclusions of the Partition Commission and announced that they would try to promote an understanding between the Arabs and the Jews by convening a conference of representatives of the Palestinian Arabs and of the neighbouring States on the one hand, and of the Jewish Agency on the other. The Jewish Agency thereupon issued a statement recalling the fact that the request they had made after the publication of the Royal Commission's Report that the Government should convene a Jewish-Arab Conference, was at that time refused, and they viewed with grave apprehension the proposal to invite the neighbouring Arab States who had no special status in regard to Palestine.

THE LONDON CONFERENCE

The Conference took place in London at St. James's Palace, early in 1939. The Jewish side was represented by the Executive of the Jewish Agency and by other leading personalities, Zionist and non-Zionist, representative of the British Empire, the United States, and other countries. Most of the Palestinian Arab delegates were followers of the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem; there were also three delegates of the moderate National Defence Party, but they played only a passive part. The Arab

States represented were Egypt, Saudi-Arabia, Iraq, the Yemen, and Transjordan. The Government was represented by the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Malcolm MacDonald), the Foreign Secretary (Lord Halifax), and the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Mr. R. A. Butler). The Arabs refused to meet the Jewish delegates, although the latter were willing to meet the others (and had one informal meeting with representatives of the Arab States), so that the Government conducted Conferences with the two sides separately. As these talks led to no agreement, they were broken off, and two months later, on May 17th, the Government published a White Paper, setting forth their new policy.

THE WHITE PAPER POLICY

The White Paper declared that the objective of the Government was the establishment within 10 years of an independent Palestine State. There would be a transitional period, during which the people of Palestine would be given an increasing part in the government of the country. Arabs and Jews would be in charge of departments approximately in proportion to their population, with British advisers; the Executive Council would be converted into a Council of Ministers; and machinery would be provided for an elective legislature if public opinion in Palestine were in favour of such a development. Adequate provision would have to be made for the security of the Holy Places, protection of the interests of the various religious bodies, and "the special position in Palestine of the Jewish National Home." But if, at the end of 10 years, the establishment of the independent State had to be postponed, the Government would consult with representatives of the people of Palestine, the Council of the League of Nations, and the neighbouring Arab States before deciding on such a postponement. As for immigration, some 75,000 immigrants (including 25,000 refugees) would be admitted over the next five years, so as to bring the Jewish

population up to approximately one-third of the total population. After five years no further Jewish immigration would be permitted unless the Arabs agreed.

As regards the question of land, the High Commissioner, in the interests of the Arab cultivators, would be given general powers to prohibit and regulate transfers of land and could also review and modify any orders in relation thereto.

The Jewish Agency immediately published a statement, in which they declared that the White Paper policy was a denial of the right of the Jewish people to reconstitute their National Home in their ancestral country, that it was a surrender to Arab terrorism and robbed the Jews of their last hope in the darkest hour of their history, and that they would never submit to the closing against them of the gates of Palestine or let their National Home be converted into a Ghetto. Although the White Paper virtually conceded the main demands of the Arab leaders, the ex-Mufti's party rejected it, but the Arab moderates accepted it. The White Paper was severely criticised in both Houses of Parliament by Members of all parties, particularly by two former Colonial Secretaries. Mr. Winston Churchill stigmatised the document as "a plain breach of a solemn obligation" and "another Munich," and Mr. Amery said that he could never hold up his head if he voted for it. It was strongly denounced by Labour leaders, including Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, who called it "cowardly and wrong," and Mr. Herbert Morrison, who said that the Government "must understand that this document will not be automatically binding upon their successors in office, whatever the circumstances of the time may be."

It was then examined by the Permanent Mandates Commission, who unanimously rejected it on the ground that "the policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the Mandatory Power and the Council, the Commission had always placed upon the Palestine Mandate." The Commission also considered whether the Mandate

“might not perhaps be open to a new interpretation which . . . would be sufficiently flexible for the policy of the White Paper not to appear at variance with it.” The majority declared that they “did not feel able to state that the policy of the White Paper was in conformity with the Mandate,” while the minority (Britain, France, and Portugal) considered that “existing circumstances would justify the policy of the White Paper, provided the Council did not oppose it.” Owing to the impending outbreak of war, no meeting of the Council of the League of Nations could be held to consider the Report of the Mandates Commission. But although the White Paper thus failed to obtain legal sanction, the Government immediately began to apply it in respect of Jewish immigration into Palestine. They issued a reduced schedule for the months from May to September, 1939, and suspended all further Jewish immigration for the following six months, at the very time when it would have been possible to save tens of thousands of Jews from the Nazi terror.

THE LAST PRE-WAR CONGRESS

At the Twenty-first Zionist Congress, which opened at Geneva only two weeks before the beginning of the war, Dr. Weizmann arraigned the British Government in bitter and searing words, such as he had never used before. He accused it of unilaterally destroying an international obligation to the Jews which had been undertaken before the whole civilised world, and of trying to bring to a standstill the great historic process of the return of Israel and the rebuilding of Palestine. After an anxious week of earnest discussion, the Congress adopted a series of resolutions, in which it rejected the policy of the White Paper “as violating the rights of the Jewish people and repudiating the obligation towards them entered into by Great Britain in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and endorsed by the civilised nations of the world.” Owing to the gradual darkening of the

political horizon the Congress had to be curtailed. A budget of £720,000 was adopted and the retiring Executive were re-elected.

In the concluding session, Dr. Weizmann said that above and beyond their grievances there were higher interests that were common to them and the Western democracies. He hoped they would all survive the coming conflict and that their work would continue. Ussishkin, who, as President of the Congress, closed the proceedings, dwelt on the fate that was awaiting the Jews in the lands of Central and Eastern Europe as well as those in Palestine. He hoped that the Jews of Poland would not have to suffer too much in the disaster that threatened, and in the time-honoured Hebrew phrase he bade them all "Go in peace." The entire assembly then rose and fervently sang "Hatikvah,"¹ and with mutual good wishes they streamed out of the Congress building after midnight to face the unknown terrors of the coming catastrophe.

¹ "Hatikvah," composed by Naphtali Herz Imber in 1878, at Jassy, and popularized years later by a Zionist Students' Society in Vienna and elsewhere, was sung at a Zionist Congress for the first time at the Sixth Congress, in 1903; at the end of the sixth and eighth sessions and at the conclusion of the Congress (*Jewish Chronicle*, August 28th and September 4th, 1903). At that Congress another Zionist song *Dort wo die Ceder*, was also sung, but at the conclusion of the Eighth Congress, in 1907, "Hatikvah" alone was sung, thus showing that it had at length received recognition as the Jewish National Anthem. (The statement in the author's previous work, *The Zionist Movement*, on page 74, that "Hatikvah" was sung at the end of the First Congress, has been shown by subsequent research to be unfounded.)

CHAPTER XI

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

1939-1945

EFFECTS OF WAR UPON ZIONIST MOVEMENTS

THE Second World War had a devastating effect upon the Zionist movement, as upon life in general, throughout the European Continent, although Zionist societies quickly revived in various countries as soon as these were liberated. In all lands that remained free from Nazi invasion, especially those of the English-speaking peoples, the War gave a remarkable stimulus to Zionist sentiment and evoked far more generous support for the cause than in any previous period. In Palestine the Arab disorders that raged for over three years ceased, and all political controversy was silenced in the face of the more formidable conflict that had begun. Economic interests brought about a certain cooperation between Arabs and Jews in the steps taken to secure Government help, particularly in the important citrus industry, and friendly relations developed also in other spheres. Owing to the difficulties of shipping and the consequent greatly reduced export of citrus fruits, a heavy loss was inflicted upon the growers, which was mitigated only partly by the subsidies and loans provided by the Government and certain banks. There was also a serious slump in the building industry owing to the reduction of immigration and imported capital and the lack of raw materials, but this was later offset to a great extent by the impetus given to various manufacturing industries. The country soon adjusted itself, however, to the new conditions, and as it became an important military base a measure of prosperity gradually returned.

THE LAND RESTRICTIONS

Despite the Government's concern over the war, they enacted regulations on February 28th, 1940, for the sale and transfer of land, in pursuance of the White Paper, which had been emphatically rejected by the Mandates Commission and had not been approved by the Council of the League. The effect of these regulations was to divide Palestine (west of the Jordan) into three zones, in one of which land sales to Jews were prohibited, in the second restricted to cases where it could be shown that the transfer was for the purpose of extending or facilitating the irrigation of holdings already in possession of the transferee, and only in the third were they free. This third zone, which included all municipal areas, the Haifa industrial zone, and the maritime plain between Tantura and Ramleh, was limited to only five per cent. of the area of western Palestine. The official reason given for these land regulations was to protect the economic interests of the Arab peasantry; in fact, they were intended to limit the zone of Jewish settlement to the area where Jews already predominated and to bar their access to the greater part of the country. Thus, the ultimate achievement of a Jewish State on both sides of the Jordan, the prospect held out in 1917 by the Balfour Declaration, was reduced to a "Pale of Settlement" only one-sixtieth of the original area.

REFUGEE BOAT TRAGEDIES

Whatever anxieties and hardships the Jews in Palestine may have experienced in the first years of the war, they were moved far more deeply by the tragic fate that overtook thousands of refugees from Nazi oppression who sought asylum in their National Home, but were not admitted, because the Government, entirely ignoring their exceptional plight, declared them to be illegal immigrants. At the beginning of September, 1939, a ship that reached the coast of Palestine, crowded with

the victims of the Nazi terror, was fired on by the coastal police, and three refugees were killed. In March, 1940, the *Darien* reached Palestine with 800 refugees, the majority of whom had escaped from the massacres in Bucharest and other cities in Rumania, and carrying on board the survivors of another refugee vessel, the *Salvador*, which had sunk in the Sea of Marmora with the loss of over 200 lives; but, on landing, all of them were interned. In November, 1940, more than 1,770 Jews, who had fled from Nazi-occupied lands, reached Haifa in two vessels, the *Pacific* and the *Milos*, and, as they were without permits, they, together with over 100 refugees from another vessel, were transferred to the *Patria* for the purpose of being deported to a British colony. The official communiqué broadcast from Jerusalem stated: "The ultimate disposal of the immigrants would be deferred for consideration until the end of the war, but it is not proposed that they shall remain in the same British colony where they are to be sent or to go to Palestine." The *Patria*, with 1,900 persons on board, exploded in the harbour, and 257 refugees lost their lives, yet the High Commissioner declared that the survivors should be deported; but owing to public protests in England and America, the order was rescinded and the refugees allowed to remain in Palestine. About the same time, the *Atlantic* brought 1,750 refugees, who, after being allowed to land for internment, were deported to Mauritius Island.¹

A year later there was a much worse calamity, which deeply stirred what was still left of the civilised world. In December, 1941, a small weather-beaten vessel, the *Struma*, brought 769 Jewish refugees from the pogroms in Rumania to the approaches of Istanbul and was unable to proceed further. The Turkish authorities would not allow them to land without an assurance that another country would admit them, and the Jewish Agency tried to obtain such an assurance from the Palestine Government

¹ After being detained in Mauritius for over four and a half years, the refugees (of whom 120 had meanwhile died, mostly because of the tropical climate) were transferred to Palestine in August, 1945.

in vain. The *Struma* was then compelled to put to sea, and broke up (on February 24th, 1942) with the loss of all—except one—on board.

The exclusion of all these victims of persecution from the land where their people had been told that they were “as of right and not on sufferance,” was justified by the Palestine Government on the ground that their admission would constitute a violation of the White Paper of 1939, although this document, which had never been sanctioned by the League, provided for the entry of 25,000 refugees within five years, and despite the fact that many hundreds of non-Jews (Poles, Greeks, and Yugoslavs) were admitted, and rightly so, without question. It was not until the beginning of 1945 that the refugees deported to the Mauritius Island, many of whom had offered to fight against the Germans and were thus released, were at length informed that they would be taken to Palestine.

JEWISH OFFERS TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT

Even before the war began, and only a few days after the Congress in Geneva was over, Dr. Weizmann wrote a letter to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in which he stated that, despite the differences with the Mandatory Power, the Jewish Agency readily offered the Government all the Jewish manpower, technical ability, and resources at their disposal in the coming struggle. The Prime Minister courteously acknowledged the offer, but no steps were taken by the Government to avail themselves of it. The Executives of the Jewish Agency and the *Vaad Leumi*, however, anxious to give practical effect to their desire to help in the conflict, organised a registration of volunteers in Palestine for national service during the period of the emergency. The result of the registration was that over 85,000 Jewish men and 50,000 women, between the ages of 18 and 50, volunteered for national service, either within the Jewish community or at the disposal of the British military command in Palestine.

THE FIRST JEWISH VOLUNTEERS

The military authorities were at first slow in availing themselves of Jewish co-operation. During the first year of the war only a limited number of Jewish and Arab volunteers were accepted for the service corps, and two Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps were formed, in which the Jews outnumbered the Arabs by about three to one. The first batch of men of this corps distinguished themselves during the great battle in Flanders and North France in 1940, took part in covering the retreat of the second British Expeditionary Force from St. Malo, were among the last to leave for England, and then participated in the defence of the southern coast in the Battle of Britain. When most of the ground personnel of the Royal Air Force in Egypt had to be transferred in the summer of 1940 to Britain, their places were filled by 1,500 Jewish qualified mechanics from Palestine. Not until September, 1940, were the Jews given the opportunity of joining the combatant ranks. It was then decided to form 14 military companies, seven Jewish and seven Arab, the recruitment to be on a basis of strict equality of numbers; but this principle had to be relaxed, as Arab reluctance was a brake upon Jewish volunteering. The Executive of the Jewish Agency, together with that of the *Vaad Leumi* and other organised sections of the *Yishuv*,¹ opened recruiting offices and called upon all able-bodied Jews to do their duty. There was a prompt response, so much so that at times the military authorities were unable to cope with the rush of Jewish volunteers.

OFFER OF JEWISH FIGHTING FORCE

While recruiting was going on in Palestine, Dr. Weizmann was endeavouring to secure the assent of the British Government to the raising of a Jewish Fighting Force. It was intended that such a Force should officially

¹ A collective term for the Jews in Palestine, meaning literally "settlement" or "population."

represent the Jewish people (in addition to the Jews fighting in the ranks of all the United Nations) in a war that had first been launched against themselves, and that they should have their own flag. Dr. Weizmann first made his offer on December 1st, 1939. In September, 1940, the Government agreed to the formation of a Jewish Division in the West, consisting of Jewish volunteers from America and other free countries, including a number of Palestinians. But six months later consideration of the offer was postponed on the alleged ground of the lack of equipment, and in August, 1941, it was definitely declined on the alleged ground of new technical difficulties. As any such difficulties could have been overcome, it was generally understood that the rejection was due mainly to political reasons—in other words, to the fear that a Jewish fighting force might arouse the resentment of the Arabs. After many months of continued agitation for a Jewish Force, conducted on both sides of the Atlantic and supported in the British Dominions, the Government, on August 7th, 1942, announced their decision (1) to create a Palestine Regiment consisting of separate Jewish and Arab infantry battalions for general service in the Middle East, (2) to expand the Palestine Volunteer Force (open only to British and Palestinian subjects) to a maximum of 2,000, and (3) to complete the establishment of the Jewish Rural Special Police by the enrolment of 2,500 additional recruits, requisite training staff, officers, arms, and equipment to be provided by the Commander-in-Chief, Middle East.

Although there were twice as many Arabs as Jews in the country, there were, at the end of August, 1944, 23,500 Palestinian Jewish volunteers (including 2,800 women in the A.T.S.), as against 8,000 Arabs, in various units of the British defence forces. There were nearly 4,000 in the infantry and as many in the Royal Army Service Corps, over 3,000 in the Pioneer Corps and nearly that number in the Royal Engineers, over 2,100 in the R.A.F., 1,050 in the Royal Navy, over 600 in the

Royal Artillery, and over 500 in the Port Operating Company. The vast majority of these men and women were serving in 60 Jewish units, which were originally under the command of British officers and N.C.Os., but eventually there were 300 Jewish officers. In addition to the Jews in the fighting ranks, about 6,000 Jews served throughout the war in full-time home defence formations as part of the Palestine Police, which was proclaimed a military force in June, 1942, and 17,000 other Jews joined a part-time rural defence formation.

As the pay given to Palestinian Jewish soldiers was only two-thirds of the British rate, and their wives and children received allowances on the same scale, the Jewish Agency, apart from taking political steps to remedy the situation, set up a Welfare Committee to aid soldiers' families and provide comforts for the troops. Later, in conjunction with the *Vaad Leumi*, it created the War Services Fund to assist soldiers' families, provide comforts for soldiers and supernumerary police, participate in the budget for security, and centralise the financial aid of the *Yishuv* for refugees. It raised a few million pounds, part of which was spent on the rescue of Jews from Europe.

FORMATION OF JEWISH BRIGADE GROUP

The persistent advocacy of a Jewish Fighting Force, in face of the apparent indifference in official quarters, at last triumphed. Three years after the scheme had been turned down, the British Government announced, on September 19th, 1944, that they had decided to form a Jewish Brigade Group, based on the Jewish battalions of the Palestine Regiment, to take part in active operations. They stated that they had acceded to the request of the Jewish Agency in coming to this decision, and that the Jewish Agency had been invited to co-operate in the realisation of the scheme. The Prime Minister (Mr. Churchill), speaking in the House of Commons on September 28th, said:

“It seems to me 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, and I have no doubt that they will not only take part in the struggle, but also in the occupation which will follow.”

The announcement was received with considerable gratification both in Palestine and among all sections of the Jewish people. An impetus was given to recruiting in Palestine, and many Jewish refugees in Great Britain and other parts, including the Mauritius Island, rallied to the Jewish flag, which was accorded official recognition. Brigadier Ernest F. Benjamin was appointed as the Commanding Officer of the Jewish Brigade Group. Members of the Jewish Brigade had a blue-white-blue shoulder flash, with the Shield of David in gold, accompanied by the designation “Jewish Brigade Group” and the initials of the Hebrew equivalent (*Hativah Yehudith Lohemeth*). The Brigade went into action on the Italian front in the spring of 1945, and fought until the German surrender, without losing prisoners. It captured many German prisoners, and 43 of its members were killed and buried in the Bolzano Cemetery.

SERVICE ON ALL FRONTS

Among the factors that helped to overcome the official opposition to a Jewish fighting unit was undoubtedly the gallant conduct of the Jewish soldiers of Palestine, who had already done service on all the fronts in the Near and Middle East. They had fought from Libya to Tunisia, in Abyssinia and Eritrea, in Greece, Syria, and Italy. Their valour had evoked praise from all their Commanding Officers, but unfortunately they had received no credit for individual exploits in official announcements, which always used the geographical term “Palestinian” without any indication as to whether Jews or Arabs were meant. With regard to the first campaigns in North Africa, Field-Marshal Wavell stated that “they performed

fine work, pre-eminently at Sidi Barrani, Sollum, Fort Capuzzo, Bardia, and Tobruk." In the fighting on the Egyptian frontier in 1942, Palestinian Jewish units of the Royal Engineers and of the Transport Companies played an important part in carrying troops to the forward battle areas, in the construction of fortified strong points at El Alamein, and in the laying of minefields. Magnificent work was done by Jewish drivers, upon whose courage, promptness, and precision the supply of vital material for the advanced troops depended. One Jewish water-tank company performed an exemplary service in carrying 500,000 gallons of water to the front lines across the trackless wastes of the Western Desert, day and night, for months without pause. The men were sometimes under fire from enemy air and ground forces, but they persevered without flinching.

The first Camouflage Company of the Eighth Army, consisting mainly of Palestinian Jews, were mentioned in despatches by Field-Marshal Montgomery and praised by Mr. Churchill in a review of the Army's victorious advance. Brigadier Frederick H. Kisch, C.B.E., D.S.O., Chief Engineer of the Eighth Army (a former Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem) was killed in the march towards Sousse, in Tunisia, in April, 1943. In Eritrea the Palestinians distinguished themselves in the battle for Keren. About 300 of them (three-fifths Jews), thanks to their toughness and daring, were selected for dangerous service in Abyssinia. They operated in so-called "suicide squads," demolished enemy fortifications night after night, and brought back valuable information.

FIGHTING IN GREECE AND SYRIA

In Greece there were many Palestinian Jews with the R.A.F., the Royal Engineers, and the Pioneer Corps, whose bravery earned the praise of Field-Marshal Wavell and Air Marshal d'Albiac. Several hundreds were with the last 7,000 R.A.F. men to leave Greece after successfully covering the retreat in the final days of

the evacuation, and afterwards many fought in Crete. There were 1,444 Palestinians among the 10,000 British troops missing in Greece and Crete, and of that total 1,023 were Jews and the rest Arabs. When the campaign in Syria began, 50 young Jewish settlers with an intimate knowledge of the district near its Palestinian frontier were chosen to carry out preparatory reconnoitring and accompany the Australian vanguard, to whom they rendered valuable services as guides and behind the enemy lines. The Palestinian contingent helped the Allied forces in recapturing Kuneitra, the key position on the main road from Safed to Damascus. One Jewish group, which, under the command of a British officer, undertook a particularly daring task, was completely wiped out (*The Times*, March 4th, 1943). General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, who was in charge of the expedition, afterwards stated that he "much appreciated the assistance rendered by Jews in this campaign."

SERVICES IN NAVY, TRANSPORT, AND PUBLIC WORKS

Considerable help was also given by Jews in the Navy, in transport service, and in connection with public works. The youths trained at the various Jewish nautical institutions at Tel Aviv and Haifa immediately volunteered for the motor-boat crews raised for the R.A.F., and served at war-time stations all over the Middle East. Many Jewish skilled mechanics joined the British Navy, and their ability and diligence earned them the appreciation of their Commanding Officers. At least 12 Palestine Jews obtained Commissions in the Navy. The *Yishuv* had its own small fleet, part of which, consisting of motor and sailing boats, kept up coastal traffic between Palestine and the neighbouring countries. A central freight transport co-operative was formed, comprising a fleet of 850 trucks; drivers from the transport co-operatives and the settlements joined the various transport units; and a special unit was formed of Jewish drivers with their own vehicles. The construction of military camps, hospitals,

fortifications, and roads was greatly facilitated by the existence of a large Jewish labour force, skilled in all branches of building, together with the necessary staff of engineers, technicians, and foremen. The fortification works in the North of Palestine, which were necessary before the British troops advanced into Syria, were constructed by 8,000 to 10,000 Jewish workers employed day and night.

JEWISH LOSSES

Over 500 Palestinian Jewish soldiers, serving in the British armed forces either in uniform or on special missions, lost their lives in the Second World War. Thirty-six Jews from Palestine (including some girls), who undertook intelligence and partisan missions in Nazi occupied territory, were dropped by parachute into Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Slovakia, and Yugoslavia. Their task was to get into contact with Jewish partisans, to organise intelligence, and to help in the rescue of Jews and of escaping Allied prisoners of war. Seven were murdered in the performance of their heroic missions. A group of 23 Jewish volunteers under the command of a British officer, were sent by motor-launch to blow up the oil installations at Tripoli (Lebanon) in 1941, and all lost their lives. Between 1941 and 1945 forty-one Palestinian Jewish soldiers died or were murdered as prisoners in Germany. All gave up their lives in the belief that the victory of the Allies would usher in a new and better era for the Land of Israel.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

Important contributions were also made in various branches of the economic field. Thanks to the efforts of the Economic Council set up by the Jewish Agency, a few million pounds were devoted to agricultural and industrial developments, so as to increase the food production of the country and expand industries useful for war needs. Between the end of 1939 and 1945 the Jewish

National Fund acquired another 340,000 dunams, which was put under cultivation; large-scale reclamation and drainage work was carried out in the Haifa Bay, the Beisan Valley, and the Huleh area; and wells were bored and water supplies installed in several settlements in the Haifa Bay district. Forty new agricultural settlements were created and some old-established ones extended. New cultures were introduced (soya beans, ground nuts, Australian and Moroccan soft wheat); the irrigated area covered by mixed farming was largely increased; sheep breeding was expanded; and the output of dairy produce, vegetables, and other agricultural products rose substantially. The Imperial and Allied Forces stationed in or based on Palestine were supplied with a great deal of their food requirements from the soil of the country, and much of it was grown on Jewish farmsteads by Jewish hands.

EXPANSION OF INDUSTRY

In the field of industry there was an even more impressive picture. Of the 2,000 factories and workshops owned by Jews, a large number were engaged in the manufacture of war materials. Many were enlarged, and over 400 new factories and workshops were built, mainly by refugees from Germany and other Nazi-oppressed countries, who brought with them not only technical experience and knowledge of patent processes, but also in many cases their own mechanical equipment. The large number of metal, electrical, timber, textile, leather, cement, and chemical works were mainly devoted to war requirements. There were three spinning mills working night and day on the manufacture of cotton drill for military uniforms, a wool spinning mill at Ramath Gan, and steel smelting works at Haifa. Many factories were rapidly switched over from peace time to war production. Moreover, a large food industry furnished all kinds of supplies for the Army, and there was a growing pharmaceutical industry. Palestine's synthetic drugs, sera, and vaccines were also available

for the Army, while the provision of electric light and power, and the supply of potash, bromine, and other chemicals from the Dead Sea were invaluable. The extent of the industrial advance from 1939 to 1945 was shown by the increase of the value of production from about £12,000,000 to £55,000,000; while the number employed in industry rose from 19,000 to over 50,000. The extent to which industry worked for the war effort was evidenced by the fact that in 1940 the total value of military orders was £1,000,000, but in 1944 it had increased to £40,000,000.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The Jews of Palestine also made important scientific and technical contributions to the war effort. The laboratories and scientific staff of the Hebrew University and the Haifa Technical Institute were placed at the disposal of the military authorities. At the University special courses in parasitology and tropical medicine were held for the medical officers of the British and Australian Forces, and the Parasitology Department provided sera for the prevention and cure of typhoid and other tropical diseases. A new and more economical technique for fighting typhus was perfected by a group of Jewish scientists, mainly German refugees, and offered to the British Government for use in the Middle East. The University, in conjunction with the Hadassah Hospital and Medical Centre, also arranged courses in war surgery and camp sanitation for military physicians. Its meteorological laboratory supplied the military authorities with air data for weather reports, covering the entire area between the Caucasian mountains and Lower Egypt, and its physiological laboratory produced vitamins and hormones for local pharmaceutical firms to satisfy the needs both of the civilian population and the troops. The Technical Institute co-operated with the Royal Engineers in the testing of building materials and in discovering local substitutes for materials that could

not be imported during the war. Its electrical laboratories prepared and repaired instruments and motors for the Army and Navy, as well as for industries supplying war materials. The Daniel Sieff Research Institute at Rehovoth, founded by Dr. Weizmann, produced acetone and butyl alcohol by fermentation, both important war chemicals. It also established a pharmaceutical factory for the production of certain drugs, such as synthetic anti-malarias and hypnotics, which were badly needed owing to the lack of quinine, formerly obtained from the Dutch East Indies.

REFUGEE IMMIGRANTS AND YOUTH ALIYAH

While the *Yishuv* was putting forth every effort in furtherance of the Allied cause, its numbers were being slowly increased by immigration, despite all the difficulties and dangers of travel created by the spreading of the war. New routes from Europe had to be devised and traversed to circumvent the obstacles. Negotiations were conducted by the Jewish Agency with the Governments of Soviet Russia and Turkey for transit visas to enable the refugees to pass through those countries. One contingent of refugees aroused an unusual degree of pathetic interest: it consisted of 800 children, mainly from Germany and Poland, and many of them orphans, whose toilsome journey had led from Russia to Teheran, and thence, owing to Iraq's inhumane refusal to grant transit, by the longest route through the Arabian and Red Seas. These children were brought to Palestine under the auspices of the Youth *Aliyah* Organisation, which was formed in 1933 for the purpose of saving the young from the Nazi terror. It was the joint creation of a German Jewess, Recha Freier, and an American Jewess, Henrietta Szold, both endowed with a notable combination of humanitarianism, foresight, and courage. Thanks to their persistent efforts, over 12,000¹ children were delivered from Hitler's clutches and brought to

¹ The number transferred by the end of 1950 was over 46,000.

their ancestral land to receive loving care, education, and occupational training. Some groups of Jewish women and children, who had formerly lived in Palestine were brought back from Europe in exchange for some German subjects domiciled in Palestine; several hundreds of other Jews, who were not Palestinian citizens, were also rescued from the Continent and brought to their National Home.

THE WHITE PAPER RESTRICTIONS

The Jewish Agency was unremitting in its endeavours to secure the departure of Jews, particularly of children, from the Balkan countries, Hungary, Vichy France, and the Iberian Peninsula; but, owing to the hostility of the German Government and its grip over its satellites, and the lack of co-operation on the part of the British authorities, their efforts met with scant success. There was a natural anxiety lest the quota of 75,000 immigrants allowed by the White Paper might not be reached by April, 1944, the date beyond which, according to that document, there could be no further admission of Jews unless the Arabs acquiesced. This anxiety was allayed by the announcement made on November 10th, 1943, in the House of Commons, by the Colonial Secretary, Colonel Oliver Stanley, that there were still 31,000 to be admitted and there would be no time limit. Nearly a year later, on October 5th, 1944, he informed the Jewish Agency that permission had been given to use 10,300 immigration certificates remaining under the White Paper for Jews coming from liberated or non-enemy countries, to be distributed at the rate of 1,500 monthly. The Agency Executive urged that there should be no monthly limit, but the request was refused. Despite all the difficulties and obstacles, during the first five years of the war about 50,000 Jewish refugees had succeeded in reaching Palestine, most of them originating from Europe.

Apart from the constant anxiety about the fate of their

kinsfolk in the European inferno, the *Yishuv* were not a little perturbed about their own future. The White Paper hovered over them like a spectre, and indications accumulated that emphasised its menace. The authorities exercised a rigorous censorship, which was due not to considerations for the country's security, but to their resolve to stifle any discussion about future policy. On March 23rd, 1943, the High Commissioner, Sir Harold MacMichael, broadcast a speech on post-war reconstruction in Palestine, which was based upon the assumption that the White Paper was to prevail. His address produced a feeling of profound disquiet among the Jews, because it utterly ignored the vital part that they, in common with Jews throughout the world, considered that the country should play in the post-war settlement of the Jewish question. This uneasiness was intensified a few months later by slanderous attacks made upon them in the course of two trials at the Military Court in Jerusalem.

MILITARY ARMS TRIALS

In the first trial, in August, 1943, two British soldiers, with criminal records, were sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment each for smuggling arms and ammunition into Palestine. The counsel for their defence, a British officer, tried to extenuate their guilt by indulging in sweeping accusations against the Jewish people, the *Yishuv*, the Jewish Agency and its Chairman, and the Jewish soldiers serving with the British Forces in the Middle East. This tirade of defamation was even surpassed in the second trial, in which two Jews were sentenced to seven and ten years' imprisonment respectively on the charge of arms smuggling, and in which the principal witnesses were the British soldiers convicted in the first case. The prosecutor repeated the aspersions made in the former trial, and included the *Haganah* and *Histadruth* in his fantastic diatribe. He alleged the existence of "a powerful, sinister organisation," whose

aim was the possession of unlimited arms, and who awaited "the opportunity to sabotage the war effort." He said that the Jews in Palestine took no interest in the war until the German forces had reached El Alamein (October, 1942), and that the Jews in the British forces were "a canker in the military organism in the Middle East."

This astonishing tissue of falsehood and calumny was denounced at a meeting of the Elected Assembly (*Asefath Hanivharim*), at which the Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, David Ben-Gurion, stigmatised it as a political manoeuvre to discredit and even provoke the *Yishuv* and thus ensure the enforcement of the White Paper. He declared that the sentences on the Jews, in the light of all the evidence available, were a miscarriage of justice, and that far more publicity had been officially organised for their trial than had been given to previous trials in which Arabs had been convicted of stealing arms. As for the *Haganah*, Ben-Gurion declared that this Jewish self-defence organisation, the existence of which had been known to the authorities for years, would continue to be maintained, not for any aggression, but for the sole purpose of the defence of the *Yishuv*, since they could not depend upon any other power.¹

UNJUST SENTENCES AND PROVOCATION

The spirit of anti-Jewish hostility displayed in these arms trials was vented further in the passing of a sentence of seven years' imprisonment on a Palestinian Jew for possessing two bullets, although he had a licence to carry a revolver. This judgment was in glaring contrast to sentences of a few months passed on two Arabs, each

¹ The Palestine Royal Commission stated (*Report*, p. 201): "If there is one grievance which the Jews have undoubted right to prefer, it is the absence of security." At a meeting of the Permanent Mandates Commission, on August 2nd, 1937, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Ormsby-Gore (now Lord Harlech), paid a tribute to the self-restraint exercised by the Jews in the face of great aggression and said: "We cannot deny, and we see no reason to deny, that the Jews themselves have already organised . . . the *Haganah*."

convicted of possessing a British rifle and many rounds of ammunition. There soon followed a worse act of provocation. On November 16th, 1943, British police, together with Indian troops and personnel of the British Provost, carried out a search of Ramath Hakovesh, a collective settlement in the Valley of Sharon. The police wounded a settler, who died a few days later, and arrested 35 others. The Government stated that the search was the result of reports that "certain deserters from the Polish Army were harboured at Ramath Hakovesh, and that, at this settlement, there was a training camp of a unit of an illegal organisation, and that illegal arms were concealed there." The only outcome of the search, according to the vague official statement, was that "certain military equipment was found in a camp within the perimeter of the settlement." After Jewish mass meetings of protest were held, the arrested settlers were released without any charge being brought against them. Even stronger indignation was aroused by the trial of seven settlers from Huldah in the following month, before a military court in Jerusalem, on the charge of the illegal possession of bombs and cartridges. Their counsel pleaded that these arms were solely for defence, as many of their comrades had been killed in Arab disorders, and the *Kvutzah* had had to be rebuilt three times. Nevertheless, the seven men were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from two to seven years.

SURVIVAL OF APPEASEMENT POLICY

Thus, 26 years after the Jewish people had acclaimed the Balfour Declaration as the Charter for the reconstitution of their National Home, those who had been the most active in its establishment were harried and traduced by official representatives of the Power responsible for the fulfilment of the Declaration. It was a situation utterly lacking in reason and justice, for the Jews were the only people in the Near and Middle East who had, from the very start, volunteered to fight in the

war for civilisation, and they were now besmirched and subjected to discrimination to please the Arabs, who had refrained from helping in the struggle, but wished to benefit by its victory. It was the fruit of the policy of appeasement, which might have been condoned in 1939 on the ground of expediency, but had no justification whatever after five years of war and more. The *Yishuv* refused to bow to that policy or to give up any of the aspirations by which they had been upborne through all the toil and turmoil of a quarter of a century. They were resolved to face the future undaunted, hopeful that the exasperations and humiliations to which they had been exposed would pass like an evil dream, and that, when all the bloodshed was over, and reason and justice returned to their own, their cause would prevail.

CHAPTER XII

THE NATIONAL HOME IN PROGRESS 1939-1947

INCREASE OF JEWISH POPULATION

THE civil administration of Palestine by the British Mandatory, extending from July, 1920, to May, 1948, witnessed an extraordinary measure of all-round progress in the Jewish National Home, although this could have been much greater still if more abundant funds had been available and the Government had not put on the brake. The National Home had developed physically and spiritually, and Jewish life in Palestine had acquired all the multiple facets of a highly organised community. The Jewish population at the end of the Mandatory régime was estimated at 660,000, forming about 32 per cent. of the total population. It was thus over four times as large as in 1929, when it was 160,000, and twelve times as large as at the end of 1918, when it stood at 55,000. One-third of Palestinian Jewry was concentrated in Tel-Aviv, which, with a population of 220,000, had grown at a phenomenal rate. It was the only all-Jewish city in the world, with all its public services—from the magistracy and police to transport and scavenging—in the hands of Jews. About one-fourth of the *Yishuv* lived in the rural areas. The increase of the population, which had been at a rate unparalleled in any other part of the world, had been primarily due to immigration. Under the Mandate the number of Jews who settled in Palestine was close upon 500,000. Owing to the comparatively large influx in the years before the war, building was very active in both town and country. The number of Jews engaged in building and public works in 1947 was about 18,000.

GROWTH OF JEWISH LAND POSSESSIONS

The progress of the Jewish National Home was notably marked by an increase in the amount of land in Jewish ownership, in the expansion of industrial and commercial activity, and in the growth of the educational and health services. The extent of land in Jewish possession, all acquired by purchase, amounted in the spring of 1948 to 1,950,000 dunams, which was equivalent to 7.4 per cent. of the total area of Western Palestine (26,323,000 dunams). Of this Jewish land about half was the property of the Jewish National Fund, which, with the aid of the Keren Hayesod, had effected great changes in the landscape, especially in the Valley of Jezreel, the Coastal Plain, Galilee, and the Plain of Sharon.¹ The J.N.F. had carried out considerable afforestation by planting 5 million trees in 67 localities, and thus transformed the appearance of the hill-country in Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee. The number of agricultural settlements established on its land reached the total of 300, an advance that was attended by an increase in productivity and a reduction in the size of individual holdings. Before 1914 the average size of a Jewish holding was 240 dunams: this was gradually diminished to 100 dunams, and then eventually, in irrigated areas, to 20 dunams. In addition to the three types of settlement already described (in Chapter VIII), a fourth had also developed, the *Moshav Shitufi*, a non-communal collective settlement based on the family (unlike the *kvutzah* or *kibbutz*, based on the individual), and in which wages were paid.²

The most extensive development had taken place in the growing of citrus fruit. Between the two wars the area under orange cultivation increased from 30,000 to 300,000 dunams, of which 160,000 belonged to Jewish

¹ The total area of Israel in January, 1950, was 20,662 sq. kilometres (compared with 27,000 sq. kilometres, the total area of Palestine under the Mandate).

² The influx of immigrants during 1948-50 gave rise to new forms of settlement, including the *Moshav Olim* (immigrants' settlement), *Kfar Avodah* (Government work village) and *Maavarah* (temporary training work camp), in all of which immigrants are gainfully employed. The total number of settlements of all kinds at the end of 1950 was 530.

planters, who also introduced the growing of grape-fruit and lemons. Citrus products once formed nearly 80 per cent. of the country's exports, and about two-thirds of the annual crop went to Great Britain, but the war caused a reduction in the area cultivated. There was also, before the war, a large increase of vegetable growing and dairy produce by Jewish farmers. The aggregate sales of agricultural and dairy produce by the Jewish Co-operative Society, "Tnuvah," rose from £210,000 in 1934 to £5,918,000 in 1945-1946—a nearly thirty-fold increase within twelve years.

PROGRESS OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

In the field of industry there were striking developments, thanks largely to the immigration of industrialists, scientists, inventors, engineers, and trained craftsmen from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, who brought with them not only capital and technical skill, but also, in many cases, patent processes and the requisite plant. Among the industries introduced in recent years are cinema films and iron safes, boats and armoured cars, refrigerators and agricultural machinery, glass and rubber, electrical, scientific and precision instruments, steel and alloys, heavy and fine chemicals, diamond polishing and zincography. The diamond-polishing trade was created by refugees from Antwerp and Amsterdam, and employed at one time over 4,000 workers. There were altogether 7,000 Jewish factories, workshops and establishments engaged in handicrafts, which employed over 65,000 persons and had an annual output of £40,000,000. Industrial progress was greatly furthered by the electric power-houses established by Pinhas Rutenberg; the number of kw.h. units that they supplied increased from 5½ millions in 1930 to over 280 millions in 1947.¹ Another industry of far-reaching importance was the extraction of the mineral deposits of the Dead Sea, originally conceived before the First

¹ The number of kw.h units sold in 1949 was over 315 millions.

World War by another Russian Jewish engineer, Mr. M. Novomeysky. There were two plants, one at each end of the lake, capable of producing over 100,000 tons of potash per annum. The Dead Sea was the only place under British control that yielded this mineral salt, besides other mineral products, and they occupied the second place in the list of Palestine's exports.

Commerce, too, received a powerful impetus from the Jewish resettlement. It was reflected in the establishment of branches of most of the leading banks, shipping companies and insurance companies of Europe and America; in the busy traffic in the harbour of Haifa, which was opened in 1933; and in the construction, five years later, of the port of Tel-Aviv, due entirely to Jewish enterprise, capital, and labour. The *Yishuv* took an ever-increasing interest in maritime affairs. There were Jewish shipyards at Tel-Aviv and Haifa, the Jewish youth were being attracted to the sea as a career, and there were even Jewish divers. The Jewish fishing industry was making good progress, thanks partly to the fishermen who migrated from Salonika. An outstanding feature of Jewish economic life in Palestine consisted of the co-operative movement, which included all trades and embraced over one-third of the Jewish population. In 1946 the principal consumers' co-operative had a turnover of £4,325,000; the producers' and transport co-operatives together had a capital of £1,600,000, and a turnover of £5,840,000; and the central society for co-operative contracting, *Solel Boneh*, carried out works to the value of £4,500,000.

ZIONIST FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The principal financial instrument of the Jewish Agency for the development of Palestine was the Keren Hayesod (Foundation Fund), which, since its establishment, had raised about £20,000,000 by voluntary contributions from Jews in all parts of the world. The budget of the Jewish Agency adopted just before the

war was £720,000; for the year 1946-1947 it had risen to £15,500,000. The income of the Jewish National Fund since its creation was over £15,000,000. The total expenditure of all Zionist organisations and institutions (including the K.H. and J.N.F.) in Palestine, from 1918 to 1948, was over £30,000,000. The Anglo-Palestine Bank had an authorised capital of £1,000,000, of which £860,000 was paid up, and there were various other banks (such as the General Mortgage Bank, Jewish Agricultural Bank, and Jewish Workers' Bank), besides commercial bodies participating in the work of reconstruction (such as the Economic Board for Palestine, the American Palestine Economic Corporation, and others). The total amount of Jewish capital brought into the country from the beginning of the British occupation could be moderately estimated at over £170,000,000.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

Jewish life in Palestine had now acquired all the multiple facets of a highly organised community. Apart from the unparalleled progress in the main spheres of economic activity, there had been ceaseless creative effort in the intellectual and spiritual domains—in the fields of education and culture, of literature and journalism, of music and drama, of science and art. And the diversity of the national renaissance was reflected further in manifold developments in social, political, and religious life, as well as in the public health system and sport.

The *Yishuv* had in the past quarter of a century developed an elaborate and efficient organisation for the promotion of health. Its total expenditure on health work in 1945 was £2,400,000, towards which the Government gave a grant of £47,000. The *Kupath Holim* (Sick Fund of the Jewish Labour Federation) had a paying membership of 120,000 in 1946, when it had a budget of £1,800,000, and had a total staff of 2,000

working in 323 centres (with over 800 beds in its hospitals and convalescent homes).¹

The outstanding achievement in the cultural sphere was the revival of Hebrew as a living tongue. It was the language of the school and the home, of the factory and the bank, of the theatres and the Press, of public meetings and the University. Its vocabulary was steadily enriched under the expert direction of a "Language Board," so as to respond to all the latest needs of modern civilisation.

The organised educational system under the control of the *Vaad Leumi* comprised 760 schools with over 93,000 pupils and 4,000 teachers, and embraced 78 per cent. of the Jewish school population (which numbered 119,000). It had 36 secondary schools, 8 teachers' colleges, and 5 trade schools.² Agricultural training was provided at special schools, some of them maintained by the W.I.Z.O. and one by the Jewish Farmers' Association. Technical training of an advanced character was provided at the Haifa Technical Institute (comprising a College of Technology, a Technical High School, and a Nautical School). The crowning feature of the educational system was the Hebrew University, a great institution of research and learning, consisting not only of faculties of humanities, mathematics, science, and medicine, but also of Institutes of Jewish Studies and Oriental Studies. Two important adjuncts of the University were the Jewish National Library, which contained over 400,000 volumes, and a Museum of Archaeology. The university staff of 150 professors, lecturers, and research assistants, included many distinguished scholars, whose work had previously enhanced the repute of their respective countries, while they were now able to render a specific Jewish contribution to

¹ At the end of 1950 the *Kupath Holim* had a membership of 600,000, a yearly expenditure of £4,500,000, a staff of 4,200 (including 950 doctors), 535 clinics, and seven hospitals.

² The Hebrew educational system of Israel at the end of 1950 comprised 1,600 schools, 8,370 teachers, and 166,600 pupils. Besides the three trends described on p. 120, there was a fourth—that of the ultra-orthodox *Agudath Israel*. There were also ninety Arab schools, with 500 teachers and 25,000 pupils.

human progress and likewise to advance the fame of Jewish culture.¹ Jewish scholarship was fostered also by the Bialik Foundation, which is devoted to the publication or support of literary and scientific works of national and cultural importance, and by the Kook Institute, founded in memory of a former Chief Rabbi of Palestine, which publishes works of religious interest, both ancient and modern.

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

In no sphere of intellectual labour was there such an abundance of creative activity as in that of literature, where all sort of writers—novelists and poets, philosophers, historians, and essayists—were giving birth to a variety of works of imagination, criticism, and scholarship. Palestine had become the most important and prolific centre for the production of Hebrew letters at the present day, and, for its size, it probably contained more authors and journalists than any other national community on earth. There were seven Hebrew dailies, representing different political parties,² and a veritable plethora of weekly, monthly, and other periodicals, devoted to the interests of every religious section, political group, and economic or professional association.

The creative spirit of the Jew had also found expression in art, drama, and music. Several painters from the Diaspora had produced striking works marked by the rich colouring of the Palestinian scene, which have been exhibited in the leading galleries of many countries. The two principal theatrical companies were "Habimah," which had already performed 70 plays, and the "Ohel" Labour Theatre, which travelled all over the country; and there were also a comedy theatre and an operatic company. The Palestine Symphony Orchestra³ founded by Bronislaw Hubermann, and containing many brilliant

¹ At the end of 1950 the Hebrew University had 2,000 students, an academic staff of 290, and a yearly expenditure of £860,000.

² At the end of 1950 there were seventeen daily papers in Israel, of which eight morning and three evening papers appeared in Hebrew, and six morning papers in Arabic, English, French, German (two), and Hungarian.

³ Now called the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra.

musicians driven from Europe by Hitler, was the finest musical *ensemble* throughout the Near and Middle East.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

The *Yishuv* was made up of elements from so many different lands, and the successive waves of immigration during the past 25 years had been characterised by such contrasts, that it was as yet impossible to expect a homogeneous national community. There was a multiplicity of political parties, a familiar feature of Jewish communities in Eastern Europe, revealing the presence of internal divisions in the *Yishuv* despite its common fundamental basis. The parties were by no means confined to those of the Zionist movement, for in municipal, local council, and *Kehillah* (religious community) elections there were also candidates representing local economic interests such as the Farmers' Association and property owners.¹

Nor was there uniformity in the matter of religious observance, any more than in the rest of Jewry. There were gradations in regard to ritual conformity, but Jewish tradition is held in general respect by all, and in no other country in the world can Judaism be lived and practised with a stricter fulfilment of Biblical commands and Talmudic prescriptions. There was no lack of synagogues in the cities or in most of the villages. The important part played by the Mizrachi was a guarantee of the observance of religious tradition in the institutions and establishments dependent upon Jewish public funds. The Sabbath and the Jewish festivals were observed as days of rest in all centres of Jewish population: all places of business were closed and traffic was suspended. In no city in the world was there such a general atmosphere of Sabbath repose and calm as in Tel-Aviv. The Sabbath had received a new content in the form of a weekly gathering initiated by the poet Bialik, under the name of *Oneg Shabbat* ("Sabbath

¹ For the political parties in Israel, see p. 234.

Pleasure"), at which popular speakers gave addresses on subjects of historical or literary interest; and these gatherings, at which readings were given from the Hebrew classics and national songs were sung, have become popular also in many other parts of the world. The three "pilgrim" festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, attracted large assemblies in Jerusalem. Some festivals had taken on a new form of celebration, based partly on ancient tradition, and acquired an importance that they hardly enjoyed in the Diaspora. Thus were the historic days of old given fresh life and meaning in their ancient setting.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MANDATE IN LIQUIDATION

1942-1947

THE SACRIFICES OF JEWRY

THE end of the Second World War found the Jewish people in a tragic position. Six million Jews, forming two-thirds of those in Europe and over one-third of all the Jews in the world, had been exterminated in Hitler's concentration camps and gas-chambers. It was a loss that exceeded the total losses which the Jewish people had suffered by massacre throughout the 1,900 years of its dispersion, and one that both in respect of numbers and the character of its human composition surpassed the casualties of any of the United Nations. When news of Hitler's diabolical plan reached the Western world in the latter part of 1942, urgent and repeated appeals were made to Britain and the United States by the free Jewish communities, especially that of Palestine, to rescue all who could still be saved. There is no doubt that at that time scores of thousands of Jews in the Balkans, if not in other countries, could have been saved and brought to Palestine without affecting the fortunes of war in the least degree. But the only response to the appeals consisted of protestations of sympathy for the persecuted and threats of punishment for the persecutors, to be inflicted after the war. The Anglo-American Conference held in Bermuda in the spring of 1943 to devise a method of deliverance was fruitless, as the British Government would not allow the consideration of Palestine as a possible asylum. Apart from the vast holocaust which European Jewry had suffered, hundreds of thousands of Jews, who, looking like skeletons after six years or more of torture, emerged from the foul camps, clamoured to be removed immediately and taken mainly to Palestine. A large proportion of the Jews who

had escaped captivity in the camps and survived in Central and Eastern Europe were also desperately anxious to emigrate, owing to the atmosphere of race hatred that they felt around them, and the great majority likewise expressed a preference for the Jewish National Home. Furthermore, the Jews in the lands of North Africa and the Middle East had become exposed to violence and persecution, and to them also Palestine now appealed as the only possible refuge. Hence the problem confronting the leaders of the Zionist movement was much more formidable than they could have anticipated, and it called for a solution on a comprehensive scale.

THE BILTMORE PROGRAMME

At the end of the war British policy in Palestine was still represented by the White Paper of 1939, that iniquitous instrument of Arab appeasement, which throttled immigration and paralysed economic development. During the war the Prime Minister (Mr. Winston Churchill) would not commit himself in support of that document, which he had denounced so scathingly when it was submitted to the House of Commons, but it nevertheless continued to inspire and dominate all the activities and plans of the Palestine Administration, despite the catastrophic aggravation of the Jewish problem in Europe. The Executive of the Jewish Agency therefore felt that it was necessary to formulate the ultimate aims of the Zionist movement before the war was over. A comprehensive solution of the Jewish problem demanded the transfer of a substantial proportion of European Jewry to Palestine, and such an undertaking involved a large-scale development of Palestine's resources, which could be achieved only by endowing the Jewish National Home with the independence of a Jewish State. This view was first expounded publicly by Dr. Weizmann in an article in an American political review,¹ in which he wrote that the Jews in Palestine

¹ "Palestine's Role in the Solution of the Jewish Problem," *Foreign Affairs* (New York), January, 1942.

should be "able to achieve their freedom and self-government by establishing a State of their own, and ceasing to be a minority dependent on the will and pleasure of other nations." This policy was given formal endorsement and general publicity at a Conference of all Zionist parties and organisations in America held in May, 1942, at the Biltmore Hotel, New York City, at which a resolution was adopted demanding the opening of Palestine to Jewish immigration to be controlled by the Jewish Agency, in whom should be vested the authority so to develop the country "that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth, integrated in the structure of the new democratic world." This Biltmore Programme, as it was called, was confirmed by the Inner Committee of the Zionist General Council in the following November in Jerusalem.

Two years later, when the magnitude of the catastrophe of European Jewry was generally recognised, the Executive of the Jewish Agency submitted a Memorandum on October 16th, 1944, to the Mandatory Government, appealing to it to inaugurate a new era by drawing the logical conclusion from the Balfour Declaration as originally conceived and deciding upon the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish State. Dr. Weizmann personally discussed the matter with the Prime Minister, who replied that it would be dealt with at the end of the war with Germany. Two weeks after war was over, on May 22nd, 1945, Dr. Weizmann submitted to the Prime Minister a further Memorandum requesting "that an immediate decision be announced to establish Palestine as a Jewish State." Mr. Churchill's response was that he saw no possibility of the Palestine question "being effectively considered until the victorious Allies are definitely seated at the Peace Table." Thereupon Dr. Weizmann expressed his disappointment, replied that he had always understood from his conversations with Mr. Churchill that the Palestine problem would be considered as soon as the German war was ended, and stressed the effects of the continuance of the White

Paper policy upon the surviving remnants of European Jewry and the *Yishuv*. Soon after this exchange of correspondence, the Coalition Government over which Mr. Churchill had presided for five years was dissolved and was succeeded by a Labour Government under Mr. C. R. Attlee.

THE LABOUR PARTY'S SYMPATHY

The change of Government was welcomed throughout the Zionist and, indeed, the Jewish world, as no political party in Britain had such a record of continued and enthusiastic support of Zionist aspirations since December, 1917 (when it first declared itself in favour of a Jewish State), as the Labour Party. Leading members of the Party had strongly condemned the White Paper when it was first discussed in the Commons in May, 1939, and on many subsequent occasions. Mr. Herbert Morrison and Mr. Philip Noel-Baker had been particularly scathing in their condemnation.¹ At the Labour Party Conference in London in December, 1944, Mr. Attlee moved a resolution concerning Palestine, not only demanding that Jews should enter "this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority," but suggesting—far more than the Jewish Agency had ever done—that "the Arabs be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in," and that "the possibility of extending the present Palestinian boundaries, by agreement with Egypt, Syria, and Transjordan" be re-examined. On April 25th, 1945, this policy was reaffirmed by the Executive Committee of the Labour Party in a resolution requesting the Government "to remove the present unjustifiable barriers on immigration"; and a month later Mr. Hugh Dalton, speaking for the National Executive Committee, urged that it was indispensable that steps be taken to secure "a free, happy, and prosperous Jewish State in Palestine."

Zionist policy also enjoyed the sympathy and support of the two great political parties in the United States.

¹ See p. 149.

On the eve of the American Presidential Election in November, 1944, both the Democratic candidate, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the Republican, Governor Dewey, declared themselves in favour of the establishment in Palestine of "a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth," and both promised that, if elected, they would help to bring about its realisation.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S SOMERSAULT

It was, therefore, with a feeling of hopeful anticipation that Zionist delegates from all parts of the world met in London in August, 1945, for the first time since 1939, and endorsed the resolutions adopted by the Inner Zionist Council in 1942 and 1945 as well as the Memorandum submitted to the Government on May 22nd, 1945. In conveying these resolutions to the Government, the Executive of the Jewish Agency in London also applied for 100,000 immigration certificates for Palestine for the benefit of part of the remnant of European Jewry. The Executive of the Agency in Jerusalem had, in the preceding June, addressed a similar appeal to the High Commissioner for 100,000 certificates, but received no reply. The request of the Executive in London was reinforced by a personal letter to the Prime Minister from President Truman, who, after receiving a report from his special envoy, Mr. Earl G. Harrison, on the wretched position of the Jewish refugees and displaced persons in Europe, urged the admission of 100,000 to Palestine. Neither the request of the Jewish Agency nor that of the President met with a favourable reply, nor even the promise of sympathetic consideration. Without vouchsafing the least glimmer of a reason for its brusque change of policy, the British Government now embarked upon a series of delaying manœuvres, which lasted over two years and were characterised by the transfer of the Palestine question from the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office to that of the Foreign Office.

On November 13th, 1945, Mr. Ernest Bevin, the

Foreign Secretary, informed the House of Commons that the British and United States Governments had agreed to appoint a Joint Committee of Enquiry to investigate the problem of Palestine and European Jewry and to propose recommendations for their solution. The Government, he said, would consult the Arabs to ensure that there was no interruption of Jewish immigration, which they had fixed at the monthly rate of 1,500; they would, after considering the *ad interim* recommendations of the Committee, "explore the possibility of devising other temporary arrangements for dealing with the Palestine problem"; and they would "prepare a permanent solution for submission to the United Nations and, if possible, an agreed one." Mr. Bevin's statement, in view of the distressing situation of the Jews on the Continent, aroused widespread consternation among the Jewish people, which was all the greater because he did not offer the least explanation of the abandonment by the Labour leaders of their reiterated pledges. Although (and for obvious reasons) it was not publicly admitted, it was learned later that the Government, under the influence of their advisers, were actuated by considerations of strategy against possible Soviet expansion in the Middle East and also of the supply of oil in that region¹ (which they feared might be withheld by the Arab states).

THE WAR ON IMMIGRANTS

As the 75,000 immigration certificates allowed by the White Paper were exhausted by December, 1945, the Government asked for the consent of the Arab states and the Arab Higher Committee in Palestine to the grant of further certificates for Jews. The Arab states had no right to a say in the internal affairs of Palestine, but the Government, having invited them to take part in the Conference of 1939 in London, continued to regard

¹ This was disclosed by Mr. Bartley Crum, an American member of the Anglo-American Committee, in his book describing the course and background of the enquiry, *Behind the Silken Curtain*.

them as entitled to be consulted. The Arab states agreed, but the Arab Higher Committee refused. Thereupon, in February, 1946, the Government informed the Jewish Agency that 1,500 certificates a month for three months would be at their disposal, a quota that was subsequently continued. Months before this step was taken, however, the Government organised the most elaborate measures against unauthorised entry into Palestine. An army of 100,000 men, supported by aeroplanes and destroyers, with the aid of radar stations, were employed to prevent any Jewish survivors of Nazi barbarism who were without certificates from slipping into their National Home. Never was a more ignoble war fought by a civilised Power against the hapless victims of persecution. It aroused the strongest resentment among the *Yishuv*, who considered themselves justified in doing their utmost to help their kinsfolk who had reached the coast of Palestine to evade the patrols. Hence there were clashes with the troops, causing not only increased bitterness, but bloodshed. Counter-measures were organised by the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* (National Military Organisation) and another dissident body, the Stern Group,¹ who committed acts of violence against Government and military buildings and personnel. This policy of terrorism was severely repudiated and condemned by the Jewish Agency and all other Jewish authorities, but all attempts to suppress it were in vain.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ENQUIRY

The Anglo-American Committee, consisting of six British and six American members, conducted their enquiry from January to March, 1946. They heard witnesses in Washington, London, Jerusalem, and other cities in the Near East, besides visiting important Jewish centres on the Continent, including some camps of

¹ The *Irgun*, an offshoot of the Revisionist Party, came into existence in 1936 as an underground "army of liberation" to fight for Jewish independence in Palestine. A small minority, with more extreme views, seceded in 1945 under the leadership of Abraham Stern, who was killed by the police.

“displaced persons.” Their Report, which was unanimous, appeared at the end of April. Its two outstanding and positive recommendations were, first, that 100,000 certificates be authorised immediately for Jews who had been victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution, that they be issued as far as possible in 1946, and that actual immigration be pushed forward as rapidly as possible; and, secondly, that the Land Transfers Regulations be rescinded and replaced by regulations based on a policy of freedom in the sale, lease, or use of land, irrespective of race, community, or creed. The Committee recommended that Palestine should be neither a Jewish nor an Arab State, that the government of the country should be continued under the Mandate, pending the execution of a trusteeship agreement under the United Nations, and that meanwhile immigration should be regulated in accordance with the provisions of Article 6 of the Mandate. The Committee estimated that as many as 500,000 of the Jews in Europe “might wish or be impelled to emigrate from Europe,” and as, in their opinion, Palestine alone could not absorb them all, they recommended the British and American Governments to find new homes for them.

A POLICY OF REPRESSION

Although Mr. Bevin had promised the Anglo-American Committee in London that, if their Report were unanimous, he would do his best to carry it out,¹ the Government immediately showed that they were unwilling to do so. Mr. Attlee told the House of Commons that they first wished to ascertain to what extent the United States would be prepared to share the military and financial responsibilities entailed by the execution of the Report, and that the 100,000 certificates would not be issued “unless and until the illegal armies maintained in Palestine have been disbanded and their arms surrendered.” These evasive manoeuvres of the Govern-

¹ Bartley C. Crum, *Behind the Silken Curtain*, p. 61. Richard Crossman, *Palestine Mission*, p. 66, English edition; p. 57, American edition.

ment, accompanied by the continued enforcement of the White Paper restrictions, interference with the personal liberties of the *Yishuv*, deportation of Jews to East Africa, requisition of Jewish property, and frequent curfews, provoked a feeling of rancour and revolt which found vent in a renewal of outrages. Unable to track down the terrorists, the Government and the military authorities, on a Sabbath night, June 29th, made a raid upon the offices of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, seized huge quantities of documents, and arrested four members of the Executive and other Jewish leaders, who were interned in a camp at Latrun for four months. Military searches were carried out in many agricultural settlements and Jewish institutions, thousands of Jews were taken into custody, and hundreds were interned. By way of counter-action, the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* on July 20th blew up part of the Government offices in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, causing the deaths of many Jews, Arabs, and Britons. The outrage was vigorously denounced by the Jewish Agency and all Jewish bodies in Palestine, as well as by Zionist and other Jewish organisations throughout the world.

THE MORRISON PLAN

The next step taken by the British Government was to arrange a discussion between some of its officials and some American officials in London on the technicalities involved in a large transportation of immigrants to Palestine. This was followed by a further discussion in London between representatives of a special United States Cabinet Committee and some British officials. The outcome of all these deliberations was a cantonisation or "Provisional Autonomy" plan, which was outlined by Mr. Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council, in the House of Commons on July 31st, 1946. This plan proposed the division of Palestine into four areas—a Jewish province, an Arab province, the district of Jerusalem, and the district of the Negev. The Jewish

province was to include Eastern Galilee, the Valley of Jezreel, and the coastal plain from Haifa to Tel-Aviv; the district of Jerusalem was to embrace the Holy City and Bethlehem; and the Negev district was to extend from Beersheba to Aqaba. The Arab province was to include all the remainder of Palestine. The Jewish and Arab provinces would each have an elected legislative chamber, and from the members of these chambers the High Commissioner would appoint two separate executives. Bills passed by either chamber would require the assent of the High Commissioner. Immigration approved by either chamber would need the authority of the Central Government (under the High Commissioner), provided it did not exceed the economic absorptive capacity. As soon as it was decided to put into effect the schemes as a whole, the transfer of 100,000 Jews into the Jewish area could begin, and it was hoped to complete the operation within twelve months. Mr. Morrison announced that Jews and Arabs would be invited to a conference to discuss the plan.

Meanwhile, despite all the measures taken by the British Government, ships laden with uncertificated Jews from Europe continued to reach the coast of Palestine. The Government therefore announced on August 13th, 1946, that all such immigrants would in future not be admitted, but deported to Cyprus. From that date the deportations were carried out by force, and in some cases with serious casualties. To arrest the movement of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe to the ports where they boarded a vessel for Palestine, the British Government actually requested the governments of the countries through which they passed to refuse them transit. But this intervention had little or no effect, as the governments felt sympathetic towards the sorely tried Jewish wanderers. Hence ships with "illegal" immigrants, whose sailings the *Haganah* claimed to have organised, continued to reach the National Home from Southern Europe and occasionally from North Africa.

Upon receiving the British Government's invitation to

a conference, the Executive of the Jewish Agency decided to reject the Morrison plan, to insist upon the grant of 100,000 certificates, and not to take part in the conference unless the Government were willing to discuss a scheme for "the establishment of a viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine." President Truman informed Mr. Attlee that he approved of this decision. The Conference convened by the Government was held in the latter part of September, 1946, and was attended only by delegates of the Arab States (Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, and the Yemen). Neither the Jewish Agency nor the Palestinian Arabs were present. The Morrison plan was considered by the Arab delegates and rejected, whereupon the Conference was adjourned for some months.

THE TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS

The question whether the Agency Executive should attend the adjourned Conference was the principal issue that occupied the Twenty-second Zionist Congress, which was held at Basle from December 9th to 24th, 1946. There were present 385 delegates (about one-fifth from Palestine and one-third from the United States), representing the record number of over 2,150,000 Shekel-payers. The Congress was divided on the main issue into two groups, but not on party lines. The opponents of participation consisted of part of the General Zionists, Mizrachi, and Labour, as well as all the Revisionists¹ and *Ahduth Avodah*,² who demanded the establishment of all Palestine as a Jewish State. *Hashomer Hatzair*, the left-wing Labour Party, was also opposed to attending the Conference, but for the reason that it was in favour of a bi-national State. The advocates of

¹ In 1946 the "New Zionist Organisation," which was founded in 1935, realised that there was no further justification for its existence and therefore dissolved, its members joining with the Jewish State Party to form the United Zionist Revisionists.

² *Ahduth Avodah* was the name of the new party formed in 1944 by the secession of the left wing of the Palestine Labour Party (*Mapai*). In January, 1948, *Hashomer Hatzair* and *Ahduth Avodah* combined to form the "United Workers' Party" (*Miflegeth Poalim Meuhadim*, called by its initials, *Mapam*).

participation consisted mainly of other General Zionists and the rest of Labour. After a week's debate the Congress decided by 171 votes to 154 that "in the existing circumstances the Zionist movement cannot participate in the London Conference. If a change should take place in the situation, the General Council of the Zionist Organisation shall consider the matter and decide whether to participate in the Conference or not." The Congress rejected the Morrison plan as a travesty of Britain's obligations under the Mandate, and declared that Jewish statehood was the only form in which the original purpose of the Mandate could be fulfilled in the event of its termination. It adopted a budget for the ensuing year of £15,500,000—an amount over twenty times as large as the budget adopted in 1939. As the majority of the delegates, by voting against participation in the London Conference, had defeated the policy of Dr. Weizmann, who had been President for over twenty years, his name was not submitted for re-election, and the position was left vacant. Nor, owing to the cleavage of views, was the Congress able to elect a new Executive. But a new General Council was elected with power to choose the new Executive, and a few days later a coalition Executive (reflecting the opposing views regarding the London Conference) was appointed, consisting of eight General Zionists, seven members of the Labour Party and four of the Mizrachi.¹

THE BEVIN PROPOSALS

The adjourned Palestine Conference, which met in London on January 27th, 1947, was attended by representatives of the Arab States as well as by the Palestinian Arabs. But although the Executive of the Jewish Agency held aloof, some members, headed by the Chairman, Mr. Ben-Gurion, had conversations with the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Bevin, and the Colonial Secretary, who

¹ The new Executive included several members of the old (among them D. Ben-Gurion, M. Shertok, B. Locker, Professor S. Brodetsky, and E. Kaplan) and four American members (headed by Rabbi Dr. Abba Hillel Silver).

submitted to them the same new proposals that were put before the Arab delegates. These proposals constituted a retreat from the Morrison plan. They envisaged a five-year trusteeship agreement, to be approved by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. The main features were: (a) certain areas (not defined or contiguous) with Jewish or Arab majorities would have local self-administration; (b) the High Commissioner would remain responsible legislatively and executively and have an Advisory Council of Jews and Arabs; (c) Jewish immigration would be at the rate of 4,000 a month for the first two years of the trusteeship, after which the High Commissioner would consult his Advisory Council on the subsequent rate of immigration, and if he failed to secure agreement the question would be referred to an arbitration committee of the United Nations; (d) land transfers would be controlled in each area by the local authorities; (e) at the end of four years the High Commissioner would convene a constituent assembly to discuss the constitution for an independent State of Palestine, and if no agreement were reached the matter would be remitted to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations to advise the British Government on the course to adopt.

These proposals were rejected by both the Jewish Agency and the Arab delegates. The latter demanded the immediate declaration of the independence of Palestine, the stoppage of immigration, and the protection of Arab lands. The Jewish Agency found the proposals unacceptable on the three cardinal points: immigration, territory, and the political future. There was no certainty that there would be immigration after the first two years, and, if there would be, at what rate; the Jews would be confined within their present possessions, without a proper margin for further development; and after five years of Trusteeship, they would, subject to the approval of the United Nations, be in an independent unitary State, in which they would find themselves a minority dominated by a considerable Arab majority. In

consequence of the rejection of these proposals by Jews and Arabs, Mr. Bevin, who in November, 1945, had declared that he staked his reputation on solving the Palestine problem, informed the House of Commons on February 18th, 1947, that the British Government had reached the conclusion that the only course now open to them was to submit the problem to the judgment of the United Nations.

REFERENCE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Thus, after being in power for eighteen months, the Labour Government had not only broken the pro-Zionist pledges that Labour Party Conferences had adopted for over twenty-five years, but also sabotaged the unanimous recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee, which the Foreign Secretary had promised to carry out, and also witnessed the failure of its own ill-conceived schemes for a solution. It was responsible for a régime that had converted Palestine into a police State, with its accompaniments of arrests and curfews, of violence and bloodshed, in which the very Administration had to surround itself with armed guards, machine-guns, and barbed wire to ensure its own safety. Convinced at last of the futility of its efforts to devise an acceptable policy based upon a systematic violation of the Mandate, the British Government had no alternative but to submit the question to the arbitrament of the United Nations, the successor of the body from whose hands Britain had received the Mandate over twenty-five years before.

CHAPTER XIV

THE JUDGMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS

1947

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

WHEN the General Assembly of the United Nations met at Flushing Meadows, New York, on April 28th, 1947, for a special session to deal with the Palestine question, the Political and Security Committee afforded an opportunity to representatives of the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee to state their cases. In the course of the ensuing discussion a notable speech was made by the Soviet delegate, Mr. Gromyko, who, after observing that "the legitimate interests of both the Jewish and Arab peoples in Palestine can be properly protected only by the creation of an independent democratic Arab-Jewish State . . . based on equal rights for the Jewish and Arab populations," stated that, failing this solution, consideration should be given to "the division of Palestine into two independent states—Jewish and Arab." It was decided that a Special Committee on Palestine,¹ not including any representatives of the "Big Five" or of the Arab states, should consist of the following eleven neutral states: Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Iran, Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia.

The Special Committee, of which the Swedish delegate, Judge Emil Sandstroem, was Chairman, was in Jerusalem from June 16th to July 24th, and took statements in secret from the Palestine Government and in public from members of the Jewish Agency Executive, Dr. Weizmann, and representatives of Jewish organisations. It was officially boycotted by the Arab Higher

¹ The U.N. Committee became known as U.N.S.C.O.P.

Committee, but heard evidence in Beyrout on behalf the Arab states. After completing its investigation in Palestine, the Committee went to Geneva to draw up its report, and a sub-committee was delegated to visit some camps of Jewish "displaced persons" and refugees in Germany and Austria.

A POLICY OF REPRESSION

Meanwhile, the state of tension in Palestine, due on the one hand to the acts of violence of the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* and the Stern group, and, on the other, to the punitive measures of the civil and military authorities, became ever more intolerable. Government had in fact passed from the High Commissioner to the General Officer Commanding the British Forces, who had absolute power to promulgate and enforce any decree, no matter how it infringed the Mandate or any elementary rights and liberties. The *Yishuv* was subjected to a system of collective responsibility. Every outrage was followed by mass arrests of Jews and house-searches, and those arrested were liable to internment, imprisonment, or deportation without trial. In March, 1947, martial law was imposed on Tel-Aviv and part of the Jewish section of Jerusalem for a fortnight; and by that time hundreds of Jews, merely on police information that was kept secret, had been deported to Eritrea and Kenya. Palestine was virtually reduced to a police State. The Executive of the Jewish Agency and the *Vaad Leumi* refused to co-operate with the Government in combating the terrorism, because the Government had abandoned the principles of the Mandate, but they and the *Haganah* acted independently in thwarting acts of violence whenever possible.

The seething resentment of the *Yishuv* was intensified when Dov Gruner and three other members of the *Irgun* were hanged at Acre Gaol on April 16th, 1947, although none of them had been charged with murder. Gruner, who had fought as a volunteer in the British

Army for five years, had been sentenced to death for taking part in an attack on Ramat Gan police station (in which the only casualty could not be proved as due to him), and the other three had been similarly sentenced for being in possession of arms. As a reprisal, members of the *Irgun* a few weeks later blasted open Acre Gaol, from which many Jews and Arabs escaped. Three members of the attacking party were caught and sentenced to death. The United Nations Special Committee attempted to intervene, but in vain. Thereupon the *Irgun* kidnapped two British soldiers at Nathanyah as hostages for their comrades. The military authorities, without taking sufficient time to find the soldiers, hanged the three Irgunists rather precipitately, whereupon the *Irgun* carried out its threat to hang the two soldiers. A wave of horrified revulsion swept across the country and over many other lands too. Jews in Tel-Aviv were suddenly attacked at night by armed British policemen, who killed five and seriously wounded many others. Three months later it was officially announced that the British policemen who were found to have taken part in this attack were discharged, but they did not suffer any other punishment. There were wanton assaults and lootings by British soldiers and police in other parts of Palestine too (including Jerusalem and Nathanyah).

THE "EXODUS, 1947"

The indignation caused by this succession of outrages had no time to cool before it was further inflamed by the action of the Government against the 4,500 Jewish survivors from extermination camps who had been brought to Palestine from a port on the south of France on the "*President Warfield*", which was renamed "*Exodus*, 1947." Although all such ship-loads of Jews without certificates had hitherto been transferred to Cyprus, these immigrants were taken back on British ships (specially equipped with wire pens) to the south of France and requested to land, and, as they refused, they

were, after nearly a month, deported to Hamburg, landed by force, and interned in camps. This prolonged act of inhumanity, which held the attention of the whole world, evoked not only the bitterest protests from its immediate victims, the *Yishuv* and the Jewish people in general, but also the most scathing censure from the press in Britain, France, the United States, and many other countries. The reason given by the British Government for not transferring the "Exodus" refugees to Cyprus was that there was no more room for them on the island (where there were already over 12,000 in camps), though their motive was probably to deter any further contingents of "illegal" travellers. But their tactics failed. Ships crowded with Jews without certificates continued to reach the National Home, and as the Government wished to avoid a repetition of the disgraceful episode the immigrants were again transferred immediately to Cyprus. From the beginning of 1946 until October 31st, 1947, thirty-six ships had conveyed 43,500 "illegal" immigrants to the shores of Palestine.¹

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS

The Report of the Special Committee, which was published on August 31st, comprised a series of unanimous recommendations, a Majority Report recommending the creation of a Jewish State and an Arab State, and a Minority Report favouring an independent federal State. The principal unanimous recommendations were that the Mandate be terminated at the earliest possible date, that Palestine be made independent on the basis of economic unity and the principles of the United Nations Charter, and that international arrangements be carried out for dealing with the problem of distressed European Jews, of whom about 250,000 were in camps. The Committee agreed, with two dissenting voices, to

¹ From May, 1945, until February, 1948, 57 ships tried to land uncertificated immigrants, and of these 40 were intercepted. The total number of Jews brought to Palestine from May, 1945, till the end of the mandate was believed to be about 67,000.

a further recommendation that "it should be accepted as incontrovertible that any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general." The Majority Report was supported by the representatives of Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, and Uruguay. The Minority Report was signed by the representatives of India, Iran, and Yugoslavia. The Australian member did not vote for either report.

THE MAJORITY REPORT

The Majority Report proposed that the Jewish and Arab States should become independent after a transitional period of two years from September 1st, 1947; and that before their independence was recognised they must adopt a democratic constitution acceptable to the United Nations, and sign a treaty for the economic union of Palestine. During the transitional period Britain should (1) carry on the administration of Palestine under the auspices of the United Nations, "and, if so desired, with the assistance of one or more of the United Nations," (2) admit into the proposed Jewish State 150,000 Jews at a uniform monthly rate, 30,000 of them on humanitarian grounds, and (3) abolish the land transfer restrictions based on the White Paper. The Jewish Agency should be responsible for bringing the immigrants into the country, and if the transitional period should continue for more than two years Jewish immigration thereafter should be allowed at the rate of 60,000 a year. The procedure was prescribed for the creation on a democratic basis of a provisional government in each State empowered to make declarations and sign the treaty of economic union, and after these acts were done by either State its independence as a sovereign State would be recognised. If only one State fulfilled these conditions the General Assembly of the United Nations would take such action as it might deem proper. For the purposes of the economic union a joint Economic Board should be established to consist of three representatives each of the two

States and three foreign members appointed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

The proposed Jewish State should include Eastern Galilee, the Esdraelon plain, most of the coastal plain (from a point south of Acre to just north of Ashdod, and including Haifa, Tel-Aviv, and Jaffa), and the whole of the Beersheba sub-district, including the Negev. The Arab state should include Western Galilee, the hill country of Samaria and Judea, with the exclusion of the city of Jerusalem, and the coastal plain from Ashdod to the Egyptian frontier. The city of Jerusalem (including the present municipality, the surrounding villages and towns, together with Bethlehem) should be placed, after the transitional period, under the international trusteeship system by an agreement designating the United Nations as the administrative authority. Its governor, who should be neither Jew nor Arab, nor a citizen of the Palestine State, should be appointed by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. The holy places and religious buildings in the city should be under the protection of a special police force, which should not include either Jews or Arabs.

THE MINORITY REPORT

The Minority Report recommended the creation of an independent Federal State of Palestine after a transitional period not exceeding three years, during which responsibility for administering Palestine and preparing it for independence should be entrusted to an authority to be decided by the General Assembly. The independent Federal State should comprise an Arab State and a Jewish State, with Jerusalem as its capital. During the transitional period a constituent assembly, to be elected by popular vote and convened by the administering authority, should draw up the constitution of the Federal State, and once the constitution was adopted independence should be declared by the General Assembly. The Federal Government should have full authority with

regard to national defence, foreign relations, immigration, currency, taxation for federal purposes, and other matters, and the Arab and Jewish States should enjoy full powers of local self-government. The constitution should forbid any discriminating Federal or State legislation against population groups or against either of the States, guarantee equal rights for all minorities, and provide for a single Palestine nationality and citizenship. The protection of the holy places should be under the supervision of a permanent international body composed of three representatives designated by the United Nations and one representative each of the recognised faiths having an interest in the matter, as may be determined by United Nations.

With regard to immigration, the Minority Report proposed that "for a period of three years from the beginning of the transitional period Jewish immigration shall be permitted into the Jewish State in such numbers as not to exceed the absorptive capacity and having regard for the rights of the existing population within the State and their anticipated natural rate of increase." An international commission composed of three Arabs, three Jews, and three United Nations representatives should be appointed to estimate the absorptive capacity of the Jewish State. The commission should cease to exist at the end of the aforementioned period of three years, but no proposal was made regarding immigration in subsequent years. The Arab area of the proposed Federal State should include most of the interior of the country, except for Eastern Galilee and a large area of the Beersheba sub-district which fell within the boundaries of the Jewish area. The Arabs were also allotted the coastal plain from Jaffa south to the Egyptian frontier and the western portion of the Beersheba sub-district, including Beersheba town, Asluj and Auja, and a strip along the whole length of the Egyptian frontier to the Gulf of Aqaba.

The recommendation of the majority of the United Nations Special Committee in favour of the creation of

a sovereign Jewish State was the second such proposal made within ten years by an authoritative body appointed specially to solve the Palestine question, the first having been made in 1937 by the Palestine Royal Commission. This time the recommendation was of much greater weight and significance, for it formed the considered judgment not of the representatives of one interested Government but of an international body comprising the representatives of seven neutral and disinterested Governments on both sides of the Atlantic, uninfluenced by considerations of strategy and oil supplies. The Majority Report was welcomed with satisfaction by the Zionist General Council, which was in session in Zurich at the time of its publication. Both majority and minority Reports were rejected by the Arab Higher Committee.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS

The views of the British Government on the Report of the Special Committee were explained by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. A. Creech Jones, on September 26th to the United Nations *ad hoc* Committee on Palestine at Lake Success, New York. He said that the Government were in substantial agreement with the twelve general recommendations, particularly the termination of the Mandate for Palestine and the granting of independence to the country at the earliest possible date, and the carrying out of an international arrangement to deal with the problem of distressed European Jews as a matter of extreme urgency. As for the future of Palestine, the Government were ready to co-operate with the General Assembly in applying the settlement that it recommended, but the crucial question was its enforcement. The Government were prepared to assume responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which the Arabs and the Jews were agreed. But if the Assembly recommended a policy that was not acceptable to the Jews and Arabs, his Government would not feel able to implement it:

in this case it would be necessary to provide for some alternative authority to implement it. The Government were not themselves prepared to employ the force of arms in imposing a policy in Palestine; and in considering any proposal that they should participate with others in the enforcement of the settlement, "they must take into account both the inherent justice of the settlement and the extent to which force would be required to give effect to it." Mr. Creech Jones emphasised that his Government were determined to lay down the Mandate, and in the absence of a settlement they must plan for the early withdrawal of the British forces and British administration from Palestine. He expressed no views on either the Majority or the Minority Report, and made no proposal for a settlement himself.

THE ARAB VIEW

The Arab representative, Jamal Husseini, declared that an Arab state in the whole of Palestine was the only project with which the Arab Committee were prepared to associate themselves. As for the two schemes proposed, the Arabs of Palestine would oppose by all means at their disposal any partition of the country, or special rights of status for any minority on the ground of creed. They would not be deterred by the big Powers from drenching the soil of the country with their blood in its defence. Husseini proposed that a Constituent Assembly for a democratic Arab state be elected at the earliest possible moment, and that in accordance with the constitution thus prepared the Arab Government should within a fixed time take over the administration of the country.

THE JEWISH AGENCY'S VIEW

Rabbi Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency Executive, announced the Agency's acceptance in principle of the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states bound

in an economic union. He represented the scheme as a serious attenuation of Jewish rights, as they were being given one-eighth of the territory (all Palestine and Transjordan) which had been originally set out for the Jewish state. They were prepared to pay the price, because it made possible the immediate re-establishment of a Jewish state and ensured immediate and continuing Jewish immigration. But they objected particularly to the exclusion of Western Galilee from the Jewish State and to placing a new Jewish city outside the walls of Jerusalem under international trusteeship, and insisted that the proposed economic unity must not encroach upon exclusive control by the Jews of the means to carry out large scale immigration and economic developments. They favoured an international authority under the United Nations to ensure the implementation of the United Nations' decisions, and wished the establishment of the two States to be consummated as soon as possible. Should British forces not be available for the requirements during the interim period, the Jewish people of Palestine would provide the necessary effectives to maintain public security. The Jewish Agency accepted all the unanimous recommendations of the majority except one—that which asserted that a solution for Palestine is not a solution for the Jewish problem in general. For this problem was not one of Jewish immigration or refugees, but the age-old problem of Jewish national homelessness, to which there was but one solution—the reconstitution of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN VIEWS

In the course of the discussion the United States delegate, Mr. Herschel Johnson, supported the unanimous recommendations of the Special Committee and the majority proposals for partition and immigration. He stipulated, however, that Jaffa should be included in the Arab state; that all the inhabitants of Palestine,

regardless of citizenship or place of residence, should be guaranteed access to ports, water and power facilities, and enjoy equality of economic opportunity; and that the powers of the joint Economic Board be strengthened. He also said that the United States was willing to help in the establishment of a workable political settlement in Palestine, in respect of economic and financial problems, as well as the problem of internal law and order during the transition period; and suggested the creation of a special constabulary or police force recruited on a volunteer basis by the United Nations. Mr. Johnson's statement had been awaited with much impatience, as it was understood that it would have a determining influence on the fate of the partition scheme.

Little less than a sensation was caused when the Soviet delegate, M. Tsarapkin, strongly endorsed America's advocacy of partition, as this was the first question of major importance upon which the two great Powers were agreed. M. Tsarapkin said that neither historical nor legal considerations could be decisive, but only the right of the Palestine Jews as well as of the Arabs to self-determination. In the light of the sufferings of Jewry at Hitler's hands and the inability of the western States to protect them, he contended that the Jews' right to create their own State had to be conceded and was a matter of urgency. He also thought it was necessary to revise the proposed boundaries, and to work out the details for the interim government between the ending of the Mandate and the beginning of independence.

Partition was also supported by the delegates of Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Dominions of Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia, as well as some Latin American States, notably Uruguay, Guatemala, and Panama. Among the opponents, who urged that Palestine be made a unitary Arab State, were India and Pakistan, besides the delegates of the various Arab States. The head of the British delegation, Mr. Creech Jones, made another speech, reiterating the main points in his first speech: he again declared that if the British

were to take part in enforcing a settlement, they must take into account its inherent justice and the extent to which force would be required.

The Jewish case was supported by Mr. Moshe Shertok,¹ who dealt largely with the historical, legal, and economic aspects of the problem, and finally by Dr. Weizmann, who, though no longer holding office in the Zionist movement, possessed the unique authority of one who had been its leader for nearly thirty years. In a statesmanlike speech, Dr. Weizmann stated that the Jews who, on the basis of an international promise, had gone to Palestine to re-establish their National Home, could not be reduced to the status of "Arab citizens of the Jewish persuasion," subject to the domination of the Arab Higher Committee, and that they were entitled to their independence just as much as the Arabs, who had several states. He said that the great services that Britain had rendered in helping to lay the foundations of Jewish independence would be remembered with appreciation when the sordid consequences of the White Paper had passed into forgotten history.

DISCUSSION IN SUB-COMMITTEES

When the debate in the *ad hoc* Committee came to an end after three weeks, the Soviet representative proposed that a vote should be taken on the question of partition, but the proposal was not accepted. Thereupon three Sub-Committees were appointed on October 21st: Sub-Committee I, to consider the frontiers of the proposed States and the implementation of partition; Sub-Committee II, to deal with the Arab proposal for a unitary State and the question whether the United Nations was legally competent to decide on partition; and Sub-Committee III, to seek an agreement between the Jews and the Arabs.² The proceedings of the first

¹ Mr. Shertok changed his name later to Sharett.

² The members of Sub-Committee I were the United States, Russia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, Poland, South Africa, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The members of Sub-Committee II were Afghanistan, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi-Arabia, Syria, and Yemen. Sub-Committee III, owing to the hopelessness of its purpose, failed to materialise.

two Sub-Committees, which lasted nearly a month, were held for the most part *in camera*. The British Government delegation refused to serve on either, but had observers—Mr. John Martin, of the Colonial Office, at the first, and Mr. Harold Beeley, of the Foreign Office, at the second. Mr. Shertok, Dr. Emanuel Neumann and other representatives of the Jewish Agency were permitted to take active part in all the meetings of Sub-Committee I, at which they made proposals for the revision of the boundaries suggested in the Majority Report and also concerning the conditions of the economic union.

After this Sub-Committee had been at work for three weeks and proposed that the Mandate should be terminated on May 1st, 1948, Sir Alexander Cadogan, Britain's permanent delegate on the Security Council, informed it on November 13th that the British Military authorities had been directed to plan for the evacuation of Palestine to be completed by August 1st, 1948, but that (as previously announced by Mr. Creech Jones) they would not be available for the enforcement of settlement against either Jews or Arabs. The British Government, he said, reserved the right to lay down the Mandate and to bring its civil administration to an end at any time after it had become evident that no settlement acceptable to both Jews and Arabs had been reached by the Assembly. During the interval between the termination of the Mandate and the withdrawal of the last British troops the British Government would not hold a civil administration in Palestine, but confine itself to preserving order in areas still controlled by the remaining forces. If the United Nations Commission despatched to Palestine to implement partition took preparatory steps that would require enforcement, Sir Alexander declared that it must not expect the British authorities to maintain law and order except in the limited areas of which they would be in occupation during withdrawal. Throughout the discussions of the committees, as in those of the General Assembly, the

attitude of the British Government representatives was, to the very end, consistent in its neutrality and unhelpfulness; it was quite unlike the attitude of the British Dominion representatives, as well as that of certain South American and European states, which co-operated actively with constructive suggestions.

THE PARTITION PLAN

The partition plan, as unanimously adopted by Sub-Committee I, consisted of the following main provisions:

The Mandate for Palestine shall terminate at a date to be agreed on by the proposed United Nations' Palestine Commission and Britain, with the approval of the Security Council, but in any case not later than August 1st, 1948.

The armed forces of the Mandatory Power shall be progressively withdrawn from Palestine, withdrawal to be completed on a date to be agreed upon by the Commission and the Mandatory Power, with the approval of the Security Council, but not later than August 1st, 1948. The Mandatory Power shall advise the Commission as far in advance as possible of its intention to evacuate each area and co-ordinate its plans with those of the Commission. The Mandatory Power is to use its best endeavours to ensure that an area in the territory of the Jewish State, including a seaport and hinterland adequate to provide for substantial immigration, is evacuated not later than February 1st, 1948.

On its arrival in Palestine the Commission shall proceed to carry out measures for the establishment of the frontiers of the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem in accordance with the general lines of the recommendations of the General Assembly on the partition of Palestine.

Two months after the evacuation of its British armed forces, but not later than October 1st, 1948, the independent Arab and Jewish states and the

special international régime for the City of Jerusalem are to come into existence.

During the transitional period between adoption of the plan by the General Assembly and the establishment of the two States, administration of Palestine shall be entrusted to the Commission, which should act in conformity with the recommendations of the General Assembly under the guidance of the Security Council. The Commission shall have authority to issue the necessary regulations and take other measures as required. The Mandatory Power shall not issue any regulation to prevent, obstruct, or delay implementation by the Commission of the measures recommended by the General Assembly.

The Commission, after consultation with democratic parties and other public organisations in the Arab and Jewish States, shall select and establish in each State a Provisional Council of Government. The activities of both Arab and Jewish Provisional Councils shall be carried out under the general direction of the Commission. If by April 1st, 1948, Councils cannot be selected for both States, or if those selected cannot carry out their functions, the Commission shall communicate this to the Security Council for such action as they may deem proper, and to the Secretary General for communication to United Nations' members.

The Provisional Councils shall have full authority during the transitional period in the areas under their control, including authority over matters of immigration and land regulation.

The Provisional Councils shall proceed, under the Commission's supervision, to establish administrative organs of government, central and local. They shall within the shortest time possible recruit armed militia from the residents of their State sufficient in number to maintain internal order and to prevent frontier clashes.

The Provisional Councils shall, not later than two months after the British troops' withdrawal, hold

elections to a Constituent Assembly which shall be conducted on democratic lines. Qualified voters shall be over 18 years—Palestinian citizens residing in the State or Arabs and Jews residing in the State, though not Palestinians, who before voting signified their intention of becoming citizens. Arabs and Jews residing in Jerusalem who have signified their intention of becoming citizens of either State shall be entitled to vote. Women are eligible to vote and may be elected to the Constituent Assembly.

A democratic Constitution for each State is expected to include provision for a legislature, elected by universal secret ballot on a basis of proportional representation, and an executive body responsible to the legislature; acceptance of the obligation to refrain from threat or use of force; a guarantee of equal and non-discriminatory rights to all, and preservation of freedom of transit for all residents of both States subject to considerations of national security.

Jerusalem, which is to be outside the Jewish and Arab States, is to have a special status. The city is to be placed under the Trusteeship Council. Hebrew and Arabic are to be the official languages, with one or two other (English and French) as additional working languages, as may be required. All Jerusalem residents shall be citizens of the city unless they decide to take citizenship of the State of which they have been citizens or file their intention of becoming citizens of the Arab or Jewish State respectively.

The Governor of Jerusalem shall not be a citizen either of the Jewish or the Arab State, but shall represent the United Nations and exercise on its behalf all administrative powers and conduct external affairs. He shall be assisted by a staff chosen from residents of the city and the rest of Palestine on a non-discriminatory basis. He shall study a plan for the separation of the Jewish outer quarters of Jerusalem from the rest of the city and for the establishment of a special town unit for them. He shall appoint a

representative of the Jewish and Arab States to look after the interests of their States and nationals. This trusteeship régime shall last for ten years, but may be reviewed and revised before the end of that period.”

The most important frontier changes made in Sub-Committee I were the addition to the Jewish State of small tracts in Western Galilee and along the shores of the Dead Sea and of Haifa Bay, besides the Lydda air-port, and the transfer to the Arab State of Jaffa, Beersheba, and 2 million dunams (half a million acres) of the Negev along the Egyptian frontier. The area of the Jewish State comprised 14 million dunams, containing a population of 538,000 Jews and 402,000 Arabs (including nomads); and the area of the Arab State comprised 12 million dunams, with a population of 804,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews. The population of the Jerusalem district would consist of 108,000 Jews and 105,000 Arabs.

THE QUESTION OF IMPLEMENTATION

When the partition scheme, thus modified, was brought back to the *ad hoc* Committee for consideration, Sir Alexander Cadogan, on November 20th, sprang a surprise by making an announcement, the purport of which was that the British Government did not agree with the mode of implementation that had been worked out after weeks of discussion. Britain could not allow any other authority to assist in the administration of the country as long as she held the Mandate, and reserved the right to relinquish this at any time in the near future without notifying the Security Council. She refused to co-operate with the United Nations Commission, was opposed to giving up control gradually during the transitional period, could not accept recommendations for the progressive transfer of power to the Provisional Government Councils, and would not permit any activities within zones under Mandatory control that

might "provoke disorder." Sir Alexander added that the British Government were equally opposed to giving any help to implement the Arab plan. This concluding observation was obviously intended to demonstrate Britain's strict impartiality, but it must have been patent to all that it was quite gratuitous, as it was clear that the Arab plan would be rejected. Sir Alexander further explained that the administration of the country would be handed over to the Commission only after the Mandate had been laid down. The representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union gave frank expression to their annoyance over Britain's obstructionist attitude, and the Sub-Committee was obliged to amend the paragraph relating to implementation. The revised text ran:

"The General Assembly . . .

"Recommends to the United Kingdom, as the Mandatory Power for Palestine, and to all other Members of the United Nations the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future government of Palestine, of the Plan of Partition with Economic Union set out below;

"Requests that—

"The Security Council take the necessary measures as provided for in the Plan for its implementation;

"The Security Council consider, if circumstances during the transitional period require such consideration, whether the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace. If it decides that such a threat exists, and in order to maintain international peace and security, the Security Council should supplement the authorisation of the General Assembly by taking measures, under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter, to empower the United Nations Commission, as provided in this resolution, to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it by this resolution;

"The Security Council determine as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter, any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution;

"The Trusteeship Council be informed of the responsibilities envisaged for it in this Plan;

"Calls upon the inhabitants of Palestine to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put this Plan into effect;

"Appeals to all Governments and all peoples to refrain from taking

any action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of these recommendations; and

“Authorises the Secretary-General to reimburse travel and subsistence expenses of the members of the Commission, . . . and to provide to the Commission the necessary staff to assist in carrying out the functions assigned to the Commission by the General Assembly.”

PARTITION APPROVED IN COMMITTEE

On November 24th the *ad hoc* Committee voted first on the proposals adopted in Sub-Committee II. The proposals that the whole matter should be referred to the International Court of Justice and, alternatively, that the legal aspect of partition should be referred to that tribunal, were rejected. A proposal that a special committee of the General Assembly should recommend a scheme of quotas for the resettlement of Jewish refugees and displaced persons in other countries, in consultation with the International Refugee Organisation, was also rejected. Next came the resolution in favour of a scheme for a unitary State (based on the Minority Report). It did not guarantee the Jews any rights, nor even proportional representation in the legislative council, and it urged that until an independent Palestine was established, immigration into the country should be suspended and the existing land transfer restrictions should be maintained. The Egyptian delegate, in urging its acceptance, said that all but the 55,000 Jews who were in Palestine before the Balfour Declaration, had entered the country illegally, and uttered a warning that the adoption of partition would “imperil the lives of a million defenceless Jews” in Arab countries. Despite this threat the resolution in favour of a unitary State was defeated by 29 votes to 12, with 16 abstaining. On the following day the partition scheme as unanimously approved by Sub-Committee I was adopted by 25 votes to 13, with 17 abstaining and 2 absent. The majority was sufficient in the *ad hoc* Committee, but in the General Assembly a two-thirds majority of those present and voting was required.

On November 26th, nine weeks after the General Assembly had appointed the *ad hoc* Committee, it met again to consider the report of the Committee in favour of partition. In an atmosphere of increased tension there was a spate of speeches from both sides. The American representative (Herschel Johnson) declared that the resolution on partition was within the legal competence of the General Assembly. The Egyptian delegate stated that his country would not recognise the validity of partition, and he and the Syrian and Lebanese spokesmen attacked the United States. The Soviet delegate (Mr. Gromyko) said that circumstances had proved that the Jewish and the Arab peoples, each with deep roots in Palestine, could not live in a unitary State, and that the country must be partitioned: any other solution was impracticable. The Polish delegate stressed the fact that the Arabs too would gain a State by partition. The delegates of Canada and New Zealand, of Holland and Belgium, and the elequent spokesman of Uruguay (Professor Fabregat, a member of U.N.S.C.O.P.), all reinforced the arguments in favour of partition. The voting on the plan should have taken place on Friday afternoon, November 28th, but there was a last-minute attempt to secure a postponement. The Colombian delegate proposed that a new committee should be appointed for the purpose of trying to effect a reconciliation between Jews and Arabs and should report in February, 1948. Thereupon the French delegate proposed an adjournment of twenty-four hours for the same purpose. The latter proposal was adopted by a majority of 25 to 13, with 17 absentions.

PARTITION ADOPTED BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

When the General Assembly met again on the following day, November 29th, a further attempt at postponement was made by the Lebanese delegate, who proposed a plan for cantonal government in a federal unitary State. It was, as the United States delegate

pointed out, merely a resurrection of the scheme of the Minority Report, which had already been rejected by the *ad hoc* Committee. The Persian delegate then proposed an adjournment till January 15th. The Chairman, Dr. Oswaldo Aranha (Brazil), ruled that this was a new resolution and could not be given priority over the proposals of the *ad hoc* Committee. In a scene tense with excitement he put the partition scheme to the vote by roll-call, with the result that it obtained more than the requisite two-thirds majority—33 States voting for and 13 against, with 10 (including Great Britain) abstaining,¹ and one (Siam) absent. The General Assembly thereupon elected the Commission that was to proceed to Palestine to carry out the adopted plan, consisting of representatives of Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama, and the Philippines.

The Arab delegates promptly denounced the decision as a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, declared that they would not regard themselves as bound by it, and left the Chamber discomfited and indignant. Sir Alexander Cadogan said that he had been instructed to ask the Commission that had been elected to get into contact with the British Government for the purpose of arranging the details of the transfer of authority in Palestine. It was an empty gesture, as the Commission received no help whatever from the Mandatory Government. Dr. Aranha, in closing the session, said that he was convinced that partition was the best solution, and the Secretary-General, Mr. Trygve Lie, described the decision as the first positive achievement of the session.

Thus, after the lapse of nearly nineteen hundred years, the claim of the Jewish people to the restoration of its

¹ The voting in the General Assembly was as follows:

For Partition: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelo-Russia, Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Liberia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Ukraine, Union of South Africa, Uruguay, U.S.S.R., United States, and Venezuela.

Against Partition: Afghanistan, Cuba, Egypt, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi-Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Yemen.

Abstainers: Argentine, Chile, China, Colombia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Honduras, Mexico, United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia.

statehood on its ancestral soil had, after searching inquiry and prolonged deliberation, been recognised and granted by the nations of the world through their supreme tribunal, and the hope that had upborne countless generations through ages of oppression had reached fulfilment, though only in one-eighth of the area of their historic homeland. The glad tidings, first acclaimed in the largest Jewish community on the earth, sent a thrill of happiness and ecstasy throughout the Jewish world. There were everywhere scenes of rejoicing and thanksgiving, but nowhere were the manifestations as spontaneous and exuberant as in the Land of Israel itself, where the *Yishuv* danced in the streets throughout the night as soon as they learned of the historic event. But the jubilations in Palestine soon gave way to a more serious and sombre mood, for the threats that had been uttered by the Arab delegates in New York began to be realised, particularly in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, and Haifa. Attacks were made by Arabs upon Jews, who defended themselves and fought back, with the result that many were killed and still more injured on both sides. Unfortunately the disorders and killings, believed to have been incited by Arab mercenaries from Syria, continued for some weeks. Anti-Jewish demonstrations also occurred in Egypt and other Arab lands. In Aleppo many Jews were killed, homes, synagogues, and shops were burned down, and thousands were rendered homeless. In Aden there were similar atrocities, in which 82 Jews were killed; and murder and looting lasted a few days until suppressed by British naval ratings landed from three British warships and by troops flown to the scene from Egypt. Meetings of the Arab League,¹ with the active participation of that veteran plotter, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, took place at Beyrout and Cairo to discuss measures for preventing partition.

¹ The Arab League, a product of British inspiration, was formed in March, 1945, at a Conference in Cairo of representatives of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Transjordan, Saudi-Arabia, and the Yemen. It adopted a Pact embracing a comprehensive and varied programme, but its activity has been practically concerned solely with the question of Palestine and Israel.

THE DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

The decision of the United Nations formed the subject of a debate in the House of Commons on December 11th and 12th, in an atmosphere charged with gloom and depression, for many of the speeches were valedictories to the dying Mandate. Mr. Creech Jones, the Colonial Secretary, said that the decision was regarded by the Government as the decision of the court of international opinion, and they wished to see the administration transferred to their successors in an orderly manner. The Government intended to withdraw troops by August 1st, 1948, and in order that this withdrawal might be conducted with the least disruption of the ordinary life of the country it was essential that the Mandatory Power should retain control of the country until evacuation was well under way. The date fixed for the termination of the Mandate, subject to the negotiations with the United Nations, was May 15th. As the Government had made it clear that they could not take part in the implementation of the United Nations plan, it would be undesirable for the Commission to arrive in Palestine until shortly before the termination of the Mandate. The overlapping period ought to be brief, and much preliminary work could be done by the Commission outside Palestine before the assumption of their responsibilities. Political officers to co-operate with the British troops would be left behind until the withdrawal of the troops was completed. After that it might be desirable for political officers to be attached to the various Government authorities set up, in order to assist British interests. The Security Council might have to be invoked if unsurmountable difficulties occurred, but it was disturbing that the Commission would go to its task with inadequate support for its decisions. Mr. Creech Jones said that among the matters on which negotiation with the Commission would have to be made were proposals in the partition plan, in the interest of immigration, that an area situated in the Jewish State,

including a seaport and hinterland, should be evacuated by February 1st, 1948. If immigration traffic were encouraged during the next few months, he feared that a grave situation would arise that would make an orderly withdrawal and transfer of authority extremely difficult. He concluded by saying that Britain would lay down her responsibilities in Palestine with relief—and yet with regret, and expressed the hope that the spirit of moderation and tolerance would restore order, peace, and harmony in the most famous of all lands.

Mr. Oliver Stanley, a former Colonial Secretary, speaking for the Opposition (in the absence of Mr. Winston Churchill, who had left for a holiday in Morocco), said that he had long been a believer in the principle of partition, though there were many details in the United Nations' scheme with which he disagreed. Britain's withdrawal from Palestine would be a humiliating end to the honourable role that she had hitherto played in that country, but had the Government had a definite and decisive policy in the last two years they might have achieved the end which the inspirers of the great idea of the Jewish National Home had in mind. He stressed that Britain, as a member of the United Nations, should facilitate as much as possible the difficult work of the Commission, and suggested that the Chairman of the Commission should arrive in Palestine some time before the civil administration withdrew, as well as its officials, to be taught their jobs as soon as they were available. Mr. Crossman and other Members emphasised the need of the Commission having at its disposal an international police force composed of contingents from the middle and smaller powers, as proposed in the General Assembly by Guatemala.

Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, in replying to the debate, said that the transfer of authority involved a great variety of economic matters, including trade and currency, which had to be handled with very great care to avoid economic disorder. There was no obligation on Britain to change the immigration quota during the

short remaining period of her responsibility in Palestine. He appealed to the Jews not to bring in numbers of immigrants and thus contribute to the unrest, but to leave the matter until their State was set up. The Government would negotiate with the Commission about the transfer of the immigrants in Cyprus to Palestine. The units of the Transjordan Arab Legion which had been serving under British military command in Palestine would be withdrawn at the same time as the British forces. Mr. Bevin said that the British Government, had there been no interference from other countries, could have solved the Palestine problem, and "got very near to it over and over again only to have the cup dashed from our lips" (but he made no attempt to substantiate this latter important statement, nor could he have done so). He declared that it was for the Security Council to find the force for the enforcement of partition, and that British troops would not be available except for an organised armed force of the Council that might be used "for the whole international sphere." He concluded on a conciliatory note by stating that if the British Government could render any assistance or advice "to smooth out the transition, . . . to promote concord, friendship, and amity" between the peoples of Palestine, they would do so. In fact, however, the Government did nothing whatever in this direction.

Thus ended what was believed to be the last of the many critical debates on Palestine that had occupied the attention of Parliament at intervals for over a quarter of a century. During that period all aspects and facets of British policy in Palestine, its principles and instruments, its aims, vacillations, and vagaries, and all spheres of Jewish economic and cultural progress, were examined, dissected, and analysed, in the light of British promises, Jewish aspirations, and Arab protests. Now at last there had been what all regarded as a final inquest, some months before the awaited death of the Mandate, the international covenant which had given Jewry such a splendid opportunity of laying the foundations of their

National Home, and Britain both the honour of sharing in the revival of the Holy Land and the privilege of discharging a mission that had ultimately proved to be incompatible with her policy. The great partnership of which that wise and sympathetic statesman, the author of the Balfour Declaration, had spoken in 1920, had come to a close. The epoch that he had ushered in was at an end, and a new one had begun.

CHAPTER XV

THE STATE OF ISRAEL

1947-1950

OBSTRUCTION TO UNITED NATIONS' DECISION

THE transformation of the Jewish National Home into the State of Israel was so great an epoch-making event that, in the light of the experience of other nations, it could hardly have been expected to occur without a certain amount of convulsion. But, while the birth of the Jewish State was inevitable, the bloodshed that accompanied it could have been very much less but for "the British Government's inexcusable abdication of all responsibility for the peace of Palestine, which made war, with all its tragic consequences, inevitable."¹ The neglect of the General Assembly of the United Nations to make provision for the enforcement of its decision in favour of partition exposed the Holy Land to months of warfare and destruction. Despite its previous assurances, the British Government declared that it could not help in any way in the implementation of the decision: it would not allow a free port for Jewish immigration from February 1st, 1948, or at any time while it held the Mandate, nor would it permit the United Nations' Commission to arrive until two weeks before the date it had fixed for relinquishing the Mandate—namely, May 15th. So short an interval was utterly insufficient to arrange for an orderly and progressive transfer of authority, especially in face of the threats to prevent or frustrate it. Moreover, although the Government allowed thousands of Arabs to invade Palestine, bent upon inciting and supporting the local Arabs in the fight against the United Nations' decision, it continued to prevent the landing of boatloads of Jewish refugees,

¹ Mr. L. S. Amery in *The Times*, August 12th, 1950.

who were deported to an internment camp in Cyprus. This discriminatory policy provoked repeated acts of violence by the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* and the Stern group, which brought reprisals against the *Yishuv* and caused an increase of tension. The Government accused the Executive of the Jewish Agency of failing to co-operate in the suppression of terrorism, but the Agency, who regularly denounced the terrorists and thwarted their plans whenever they could, declared that they could not co-operate with the Government as long as it based its policy upon the violation of the Mandate.

The United Nations Commission complained to the Security Council that they were prevented from carrying out their duties, and that the situation in Palestine was rapidly deteriorating, whereupon the Council began to debate what it would do, and did nothing but debate. The United States delegate at first argued that the Security Council had no power to enforce a political settlement, but only to keep the peace; and after further discussion he announced that his Government abandoned partition for the time and proposed a plan of Trusteeship for three years. This change of front caused consternation in Jewish circles and was rejected by both Jewish Agency and Arab States. Its effect was to redouble the determination of the *Haganah*, in the absence of the United Nations Commission, to do what it could to enforce the United Nations decision.

AGGRESSIVE WAR BY ARAB STATES

The Jewish War of defence passed through three phases. The first extended from November 30th, 1947, to May 14th, 1948, when the British Mandate came to an end. In the early months of the fighting the British either remained passive or else intervened by disarming Jews, thus enabling the Arabs to continue their attacks, and even court-martialled members of the *Haganah* for carrying arms and sent them to prison. The siege of Jerusalem began on December 1st and continued

uninterruptedly for five and a half months. There were incessant attacks upon the Jewish areas, the Old City, and the suburbs, without any attempt at intervention on the part of the British, who declared that they were "maintaining law and order." The *Palestine Post* building was blown up, and hotels, houses, and offices in Ben Yehuda Street were also destroyed by an explosion, which killed 50 Jews. Some British policemen and soldiers were suspected of these outrages, but the Government considered that the evidence was "insufficient." Moreover, part of the Jewish Agency headquarters was wrecked by a time-bomb, and a convoy consisting of Jewish scholars and scientists, doctors and nurses, was attacked by Arabs on the Mount Scopus road, on its way to the Hadassah Hospital and the Hebrew University, with the result that many were shot and burnt to death. *Haganah* won its first major victory in Jerusalem at the end of April, 1948, by capturing the Arab residential quarter of Katamon, from which snipers had harassed the Jewish quarters of Rehavia and Kiryat Shmuel for months, although British troops were posted in the vicinity. A few weeks later the villas abandoned by Arab notables were housing Jewish refugees from the Old City.

In the course of the month of April, the Arab rebel command became apprehensive of a coming Jewish offensive and gave orders for the Arab evacuation of the entire Sharon coastal district north of Tel-Aviv, leaving the area between that city and Zichron Jacob clear for the Jews. This was promptly followed by a general Jewish offensive to mop up Arab resistance within the Jewish defence area. This operation started on April 13th in Tiberias, which the *Haganah* quickly occupied, and was soon followed by the capture of Safed. In the middle of April the British evacuated several army camps and installations in Haifa, whereupon the Jews advanced to take control, and in a thirty-six-hour battle the whole city fell to the *Haganah*, excepting the port area, which came later under Jewish military control. At the end of

the month the *Haganah* and the *Irgun* began an action against Jaffa, which was held up by British troops. But panic seized the Arabs, most of whom fled by sea and land, and when the British Army withdrew on May 12th a few Arab notables surrendered Jaffa to the Jews in order to save it from destruction by battle. The conquest of Jaffa put almost the entire area allotted to the Jews by the partition plan under Jewish military control. As the end of the Mandatory régime approached, the flight hysteria of the Arabs spread, and all the twelve members of the Arab Higher Committee secretly left the country. On the other hand, only one or two small Jewish settlements, faced by hopeless odds, were evacuated, while the defenders of the Kfar Etzyon area, after putting up a most violent and heroic resistance, were overcome by the far stronger forces of the Arab Legion.

ESTABLISHMENT OF JEWISH STATE

The Mandatory Government anticipated the date fixed for its liquidation by a day. On Friday, May 14th, 1948, the Union Jack was hauled down from Government House in Jerusalem, and the last High Commissioner, Sir Alan Cunningham, departed in a warship. But as the Mandatory régime neared its death, the State of Israel suddenly sprang into life. Realising that the withdrawal of the British Administration without any transfer of authority to the United Nations Commission would involve the country in chaos and expose it to invasion by the neighbouring Arab States, the Executive of the Jewish Agency and the *Vaad Leumi* decided to take timely measures for the establishment of the Jewish State and its organised defence. Plans had been discussed by the Zionist General Council in Tel-Aviv in April, when all parties agreed that the expiry of the Mandate should be followed immediately by the creation of the Jewish State. This momentous historic event took place at a joint session of the Executive of the Jewish Agency and the *Vaad Leumi* in Tel-Aviv, on Friday afternoon,

May 14th, when Mr. David Ben-Gurion, as Prime Minister of the new State, read an impressive proclamation in the name of the National Council, representing the Jewish people in Palestine and the Zionist movement. After recalling the series of events that had led to the consummation of the Jewish national hope, the declaration stated:

“By virtue of the natural and historic rights of the Jewish people and of the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, we 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 the countries of their dispersion and 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 its citizens without distinction of race, creed, or sex, and will guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, education, and culture. It 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 co-operate with the organs and representatives of the United Nations in the implementation of the resolution of the Assembly of November 29th, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the economic union of 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 Israel to return to the ways of peace and to 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 neighbouring States and their peoples, and invite them to co-operate 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 the reconstitution of the Middle East.”

This proclamation was accompanied by an announcement of the names of the twelve members of the Cabinet, in which Mr. Ben-Gurion was Minister of Defence as well as Prime Minister, and Mr. Moshe Shertok (later changed to Sharett), Foreign Secretary. Dr. Weizmann, who had been at the head of the Zionist movement for nearly thirty years, was declared President of the Provisional Government. As soon as President Truman was informed of the establishment of the State he accorded it *de facto* recognition, an act that was followed soon afterwards by the Soviet Union, Poland, South Africa, and other States.

SECOND PHASE OF WAR

The second phase of the war began as soon as the Mandate came to an end and lasted until June 11th, when the first truce was declared by the Security Council. Troops of the regular armies of Transjordan, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq, variously reported at first as numbering 12,000 and 25,000, and later 40,000, marched into Palestine from the east, south, and north, heavily armed with the latest British tanks, planes, and guns, and partly commanded (particularly as regards those from Transjordan) by British officers. The Arabs who fled by tens of thousands, despite assurances given by *Haganah* commanders that they would not touch them nor seize their property, were urged to do so by their own leaders, who wished to facilitate the movement of their troops and made them believe that they would soon be able to return and take possession of Jewish property.

The Arab armies at first directed their attacks mainly against Jerusalem and the road from this city to Tel-Aviv, but the Jewish troops offered very vigorous and determined resistance and prevented them from making any appreciable advance. Within a week from the beginning of the invasion, the Security Council appointed Count Folke Bernadotte, of Sweden, as mediator

in order to effect a truce and arrange a peaceful settlement. But hostilities continued for a few weeks, and it was not until June 11th that a month's truce, accepted unconditionally by both sides, began. During the fighting the Jews in the Old City of Jerusalem had been subjected to a devastating siege, over twenty synagogues were destroyed by Arab guns, and many Jewish lives were lost. Driven by necessity, the Jewish forces had accomplished the astonishing feat of constructing a new road on the hill-encumbered route from Jerusalem to Tel-Aviv, a sort of "Burma Road," which was called the "Road of Courage." In the midst of the war all the remaining British troops in the country left from Haifa on June 30th, and the city and port were immediately taken under control by the forces of the *Haganah*.

THIRD PHASE OF WAR

After a month's truce was over, Count Bernadotte submitted his peace proposals to the Jews and the Arabs. The main points were that Palestine and Transjordan should form a single unit with an Arab and a Jewish member; that each member should regulate its own immigration for two years, after which each could request the Security Council to review the immigration policy of the other; that the whole or part of the Negev should be included in the Arab territory, and the whole or part of Western Galilee should be included in the Jewish territory; that the City of Jerusalem should be within the Arab territory, with municipal autonomy for the Jewish community and special protection for the Holy Places; and that Haifa should be a "free port" and Lydda a "free airport." These proposals were rejected by both Jews and Arabs, and hostilities immediately broke out again. During this third period of fighting, which began on July 9th, the Arab armies were joined by a contingent from Saudi-Arabia. The Jewish army, which had meanwhile been reorganised and was now supported by an air force, made substantial gains, and

not only established itself firmly on the territory assigned to it by the United Nations but also took part of the territory allotted to the Arab State. The Arab losses amounted to 5,000 killed and wounded, and the Jews took 5,000 Arab prisoners, 14 Arab towns, and 200 Arab villages. The Arab armies, which suffered from divided and unskilful leadership, were exposed to imminent defeat when, after ten days' bitter fighting, Count Bernadotte succeeded in arranging a second truce without a time limit.¹

For several weeks the mediator then devoted himself to negotiations with members of the Provisional Government of Israel and with representatives of the Arab States for the purpose of ascertaining upon what terms he could draw up proposals for a peace settlement. He had just despatched his Report to the Secretary-General of the United Nations when, upon returning to Jerusalem on September 17th, he and his assistant, Colonel Serot, were shot dead. Members of a group called "Fatherland Front" (*Hazith Hamoledeth*), suspected of being connected with the Stern Group, claimed responsibility for the assassination, which, they stated, they had committed because they regarded Count Bernadotte as an instrument of British policy.² The Provisional Government of Israel immediately denounced the dastardly crime, arrested 200 members of the Stern Group in the attempt to capture the culprits, and proclaimed the group an illegal body.³ They also compelled the section of the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* in Jerusalem to follow the example

¹ *The Times* Middle East correspondent, in a special article, wrote: "Had the second truce not supervened, the Arabs would have had to face the possibility of defeat, not under pressure from the United Nations, but at the hands of the Jews whom they had derided."

² A few weeks before this assassination, two French truce observers were murdered in cold blood at Gaza airfield by "irregulars serving with the Egyptian forces," and clothing and jewellery were stripped from the bodies.

³ After an exchange of notes between Sweden and Israel over the assassination of Count Bernadotte, the Swedish Foreign Office announced on July 5th, 1950, that the case was considered closed. The final note from Sweden on the subject expressed satisfaction that the Government of Israel had regretted the shortcomings in the Israel police inquiry into the assassination, had accepted full responsibility for what had occurred, and had paid to the United Nations the sum claimed as reparation for the monetary damage borne by the U.N. in connection with the murder (*Jewish Chronicle*, July 7th, 1950).

set by the section within the State of Israel a few months earlier by surrendering their arms, disbanding, and submitting to the authority of the Government.

BERNADOTTE'S REPORT

Count Bernadotte's Report, which was addressed to the General Assembly that met in Paris at the end of September, 1948, was an exhaustive survey of the Palestine question and contained specific proposals for a settlement. The most important conclusion at which he arrived was that the Jewish State in Palestine is a "living, solidly entrenched, and vigorous reality," established within a semicircle of gunfire. The Jews, he wrote, had given a convincing demonstration of their skill and tenacity, and whatever the future might hold for them the conclusion was inescapable that a Jewish State in Palestine, fully sovereign, was actually in existence, and that Arab determination to eliminate it could only be realised by armed force—prohibited by the Security Council. The Arabs had made "a tragic mistake" in employing force, and had the war continued "it would most likely have ended in stalemate, in itself tantamount to a Jewish victory." The Report set forth seven basic premises for a settlement: (1) the need for peace in Palestine, (2) the existence of the State of Israel, (3) the determination of boundaries either by formal agreement or by the United Nations, (4) adhering to the principle of geographical homogeneity and integration applying equally to Arab and Jewish territory, (5) the right of innocent people to return to their homes, (6) special treatment for the City of Jerusalem because of its religious and international significance, and (7) the expression of international responsibility in the form of guarantees.

The mediator urged that, since the Security Council had forbidden further military action, the existing truce should be superseded by a formal peace, or, as a minimum, an armistice involving either complete withdrawal

and demobilisation of armed forces or their wide separation by the creation of broad demilitarised zones under United Nations supervision. The frontiers between Arab and Jewish territories, in the absence of agreement between the two sides, should be delimited by a technical commission of the United Nations along the lines of the Assembly resolution of November, 1947, but with the following emendations: the Negev should be defined as Arab territory, Galilee should be defined as Jewish territory, and Haifa and Lydda airport should be declared free ports. The disposition of the Arab territories of Palestine should be left to the Arab States, and they might, if necessary, be included in Transjordan. Jerusalem should be under the control of the United Nations, but with a maximum measure of autonomy for its Arab and Jewish communities, and with safeguards for free access to the Holy Places and full religious freedom. The concluding part of the Report dealt with the plight of the 360,000 Arab refugees¹ from Jewish-occupied Palestine, and stressed the responsibility of the United Nations to provide for their care and resettlement, even if they were able to return to their homes.

BRITAIN'S RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL

The United States Government immediately announced their approval of the Bernadotte proposals, and the British Government promptly followed with a similar declaration. Thus, after the lapse of ten months since the decision of the United Nations, and over three years since the request made by the Executive of the Jewish Agency, Britain was at last reconciled to the establishment of a Jewish State. Her tardy recognition² of the Jewish claim had cost thousands of lives, the destruction of a great deal of property, the creation of a formidable Arab refugee problem, the internment of tens of thousands of Jews, the waste of millions of pounds on futile

¹ The number increased later to about 550,000 and was estimated or exaggerated still further by the Arab League.

² Formal *de facto* recognition was deferred until January 28th, 1949.

fighting, and international strife and bitterness. All these evils could have been avoided, yet the founders of the Jewish State, in their hour of triumph, were nevertheless conscious of the debt that they owed to Britain for having made possible by the Balfour Declaration of 1917 the development of the Jewish National Home, without which the State could not have arisen. They only regretted that the wisdom that had inspired British policy in regard to Jewish aspirations at the end of the First World War had not been equally manifested at the end of the Second.

REJECTION OF BERNADOTTE PROPOSALS

The Bernadotte proposals were rejected, however, by both Israel and the Arab States. The latter persisted in their futile demand for an undivided Palestine under Arab rule. The Government of Israel adopted a firm stand on the basis of the General Assembly's decision of November 29th, 1947, and demanded that the frontiers laid down in that decision should be modified somewhat in view of the situation created as a result of the Arab invasion and the necessity of making Israel's borders defensible. They were opposed to the transfer of the Negev to the Arabs in exchange for Western Galilee, as it formed over two-thirds of Israel's territory and was indispensable for large-scale colonisation. They also insisted upon a territorial link between their State and Jerusalem, which was essential for the defence of the city, and likewise upon the incorporation of the Jewish part of the city, as well as the inclusion of Lydda and Haifa, within Israel. They agreed, however, to the establishment by the United Nations of an international régime for Jerusalem concerned exclusively with the control and protection of Holy Places and sites.

The Palestine question formed one of the most controversial problems at the meeting of the General Assembly in Paris, which began in the latter part of September, 1948. It was the subject of countless speeches

in the Political Committee, in which proposals, resolutions, amendments, and counter-amendments followed one another in wearisome succession. Britain urged the adoption of the Bernadotte recommendations; Soviet Russia adhered to the General Assembly's decision of November 29th, 1947; while America's original approval of the Bernadotte Report was superseded by a declaration of President Truman, that he would not agree to any change of the General Assembly's historic decision that would not be acceptable to the State of Israel.

DEFEAT OF ARAB ARMIES

When the deliberations in Paris began, Israel actually held only a quarter of the area of the State. Central Galilee was in the hands of Fawzi el-Kawukji's so-called "Liberation Army" and the Lebanese forces. The entire South was cut off. The Egyptian forces had advanced along the coast to a point less than 40 kilometres from Tel-Aviv, and the approaches to Jerusalem were blocked. When a Jewish convoy ventured south, in accordance with a United Nations resolution, it was attacked by the Egyptians. Thereupon the Israeli air-force went into action and organised "air-lifts" for the relief of the settlements in the Negev. There was an engagement also at sea, lasting only a few minutes, in which two Egyptian naval units were sunk off Gaza by the young Israeli navy. The Jewish land forces succeeded in piercing the Egyptian front to secure a link with the settlements in the south, and captured Beersheba¹, the pivotal point in the communications system of Southern Palestine. Fighting in the north also, around the Jewish settlement of Manara, took place as the result of an attack by el-Kawukji, with the help of Lebanese and Iraqi troops. But in the course of a lightning campaign of less than three days the Jewish forces routed the Arab attack and drove the "Liberation Army" completely out of Galilee.²

The Security Council, anxious to bring hostilities to

¹ October 21st, 1948.

² October 31st, 1948.

an end, adopted a resolution on November 16th, appealing to both sides to negotiate an armistice settlement. Israel was willing, but the Egyptians renewed the attack against the Jewish settlements and defence lines in the south. At the end of December fighting broke out along the whole of the Negev front. Egyptian aircraft raided Rehovoth and Jerusalem, while Egyptian ships bombarded the coast near Tel-Aviv. But the Israeli forces repulsed the attack with heavy losses to the invaders and even carried the war into their territory, crossing into the Sinai Peninsula and attacking various concentration points. King Farouk's dream of a triumphant march into Tel-Aviv was shattered. The victory of Israel produced an unexpected reaction in the British Foreign Office: British naval forces were despatched to Aqaba, considerable British air reinforcements arrived at Mafrag in Transjordan, and a military post was established at Aqaba. The reason alleged for these measures was that King Abdullah had appealed for protection, but the reports published at the time showed that his appeal, to say the least, had been intelligently anticipated.

APPOINTMENT OF CONCILIATION COMMISSION

While the fighting had been going on in Palestine during the last quarter of 1948 the General Assembly was discussing the Bernadotte proposals, but owing to the diversity and contrariety of the views expressed the protracted debate resulted in their being dropped altogether, as the requisite majority could not be obtained in their favour. The resolution that was eventually adopted on December 11th, 1948, by 35 votes to 15 (with 8 abstentions) did not define the areas that should constitute the Jewish and the Arab States. It was limited to the establishment of a Conciliation Commission consisting of three States members of the United Nations, who should undertake the functions assigned to the Mediator on Palestine and negotiate immediately with "the Governments and authorities concerned . . . with

a view to a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them." The resolution laid down that the holy places, including Nazareth, religious buildings and sites in Palestine, should be protected and free access to them assured under effective United Nations supervision, that the Jerusalem area should be placed under effective United Nations control, be demilitarised at the earliest possible date, and be subject to "a permanent international régime . . . providing the maximum local autonomy for distinctive groups"; and that "the freest possible access to Jerusalem by road, rail or air should be accorded to all inhabitants of Palestine." The Commission elected consisted of the United States, France, and Turkey. It was authorised to appoint subsidiary bodies and technical experts, and was provided with United Nations guards to protect its staff and headquarters in Jerusalem.

After the adoption of this resolution in the General Assembly, the Security Council voted on the application of Israel for admission to the United Nations. The application, which was strongly supported by the United States and Soviet Russia, was rejected, as it failed to receive the requisite seven votes. There were only five votes in favour, one (Syria) against, and five abstentions. The British delegate gave as his reason for abstaining that admission was premature while Israel's boundaries remained undefined and the state of military operations remained fluid.¹ The Israeli Government consoled itself with the conviction that its entry into the United Nations was now only a matter of time.

ELECTION OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Unaffected by this momentary setback, the Government proceeded early in 1949 to hold a general election

¹ In the House of Commons debate on Foreign Affairs on December 9th and 10th, 1948, Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Eden, for the Conservative Party, strongly urged the Government to give Israel *de facto* recognition and send a political representative to Tel-Aviv. Mr. Churchill said: "No part of the Government's policy has been more marked by misjudgment and mismanagement than Palestine." Britain accorded *de facto* recognition to Israel on January 28th, 1949, and *de jure* recognition on April 27th, 1950.

for the Constituent Assembly. It took place at the end of January, on a democratic basis, with women also exercising the suffrage. The total number of votes cast was 440,095, forming 86·8 per cent. of the electorate. There were over a dozen parties and groups, and the results (excluding groups that obtained no seats¹) were as follows:

	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Seats</i>
<i>Mapai</i> (Labour)	155,274	34·70	46
<i>Mapam</i> (United Workers)	64,018	14·54	19
United Religious Front ²	52,982	12·03	16
<i>Herut</i> (Freedom Party, formerly Irgun)	49,782	11·30	14
General Zionists	22,661	5·14	7
Progressive Front	17,786	4·04	5
Sephardi Group	15,287	3·47	4
Communist Party	15,148	3·44	4 ³
Nazareth (Arab) Bloc	7,387	1·67	2
Women's International Zionist Organisation	5,173	1·17	1
Stern Group (Fighters)	5,370	1·22	1
Yemenites	4,399	0·99	1
	415,267	93·71	120

Twelve of the seats were won by women.⁴

At the first meeting of the *Knesset*, as the Constituent Assembly was called, held on February 14th in Jerusalem for both historic and political reasons, Dr. Weizmann was elected President of the State and the members were sworn in. Mr. Ben-Gurion, as leader of *Mapai*, the strongest party, formed a Coalition Cabinet of twelve members with the co-operation of three other groups—

¹ The Revisionists received only 3,000 votes.

² The United Religious Front is composed of four parties—two workers' parties, *Hapoel Hamizrachi* (Orthodox Labour) and *Poale Agudath Israel* (Ultra-Orthodox Labour), and two middle-class, *Mizrachi* (Orthodox) and *Agudath Israel* (Ultra-Orthodox).

³ One Communist was an Arab and a Jewish Communist later joined *Mapam*.

⁴ In the Municipal Elections in November, 1950, the *Mapai* vote dropped to 26·9 per cent., *Mapam* to 11·8 per cent., *Herut* to 10·5 per cent., while the General Zionists rose to 25·2 per cent., and the Religious bloc obtained 12·8 per cent.

Religious Front, the Progressive Front, and the Sephard group, supported by 75 members. Of the seven *Mapai* seats Mr. Ben-Gurion, in addition to the Premiership, retained the post of Minister of Defence, which he had held for 9 months in the Provisional Government. Other members of the Cabinet were Moshe Sharett, Foreign Minister; Eliezer Kaplan, Finance; David Remez, Communications; Dov Joseph, Supply; Zalman Shatzar (formerly Rubashov), Education; Goldie Meyerson, Labour; Rabbi J. L. Maimon (formerly Fishman), Religion; Rabbi Meir Levin, Social Welfare; Moshe Shapiro, Interior and Immigration; Pinhas Rosen (formerly Rosenblueth), Justice; and Behor Shitrit, Police. In the programme that the Prime Minister outlined in the course of a four-hour speech, at the first meeting of the *Knesset* held in its new home in Tel-Aviv, were the following important points: collective responsibility to be binding on all Government members, equality of rights and obligations regardless of creed, race, and nationality, equality for women, foreign policy to be based on loyalty to the United Nations Charter, general military service, ingathering of the exiles, a four-year economic development plan, free and compulsory education, resettlement of ex-servicemen, Labour legislation, and a Civil Service appointments system based on examinations conducted by an independent Commission.

ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS

At the same time as the organs of government were being established and legal measures were being drafted for the consolidation and advancement of the State, negotiations were being conducted with the Arab States for the ending of hostilities. The Egyptian Government, realising the futility of further fighting, had declared itself ready on January 5th, 1949, to negotiate an armistice agreement with Israel, and the offer was readily accepted. Thanks to the efforts of the United Nations negotiator, Dr. Bunche, an armistice agreement

between Israel and Egypt was signed on February 24th. Eleven days later a Jewish force, which had pushed southward from the Dead Sea, reached the Gulf of Aqaba and took possession of a six-mile stretch of territory around Eylath, between the Transjordan and Egyptian borders; and presently another force occupied Engeddi, on the western shore of the Dead Sea. These acts were followed shortly by armistice agreements with Lebanon and Transjordan, and, after difficult negotiations, by an agreement on July 20th with Syria, which provided for the withdrawal of Syrian forces from Israel's territory and the establishment of a demilitarised zone in the frontier region. These armistice agreements, made after Galilee had been liberated and the Negev also secured for Jewish settlement, conferred the status of legality upon Israel's territorial position and prepared the way for the opening of peace negotiations. Iraq refused to sign an agreement, but nevertheless withdrew her army for a "victory" parade in Bagdad.

CONCILIATION COMMISSION'S CONFERENCE

After three months of preliminary discussions with the Government of Israel and the Arab States the Palestine Conciliation Commission appointed by the General Assembly convened a Conference at Lausanne, to which both parties were invited. The Israel Delegation arrived there at the end of April, 1949, with full authority to negotiate a peace settlement. It informed the Commission that Israel was prepared to help in the solution of the Arab refugee problem in co-operation with the United Nations and the Arab States, and as part of a general settlement. It submitted draft proposals for the final conclusion of hostilities, mutual guarantee of frontiers, and recourse to international arbitration for the settlement of outstanding disputes. It also submitted proposals regarding the fixing of boundaries between Israel and the Arab States and a settlement of the Jerusalem question. As regards the Arab refugee

problem, Israel was prepared to arrange for the reunion of Arab families separated by the hostilities, to guarantee the civil rights of minorities within its territory, and to pay compensation in respect of cultivated lands abandoned by Arab owners. None of these proposals evoked any response from the Arab Delegations, who apparently had no authority to conclude a peace but had been sent to Lausanne merely to arrange for the repatriation of all Arab refugees to Israel. Owing to the impasse thus created the Conference was suspended for several weeks. Meanwhile Israel had been admitted as a member of the United Nations on 11th May, 1949, by decision of the Security Council and the General Assembly, and Israel's Foreign Minister, Moshe Sharett, took his seat in the General Assembly. When the Lausanne Conference was resumed, the Conciliation Commission proposed the appointment of a Survey Commission to examine the possibilities of resettling the Arab refugees in the Middle East generally as part of a scheme of Middle Eastern economic reconstruction. An Economic Survey Group was accordingly appointed, with Mr. Gordon Clapp, an American, as Chairman, and Sir Desmond Morton as British representative, in addition to the French and Turkish members.

Before it dispersed in the middle of September, the Conciliation Commission published the details of a scheme it had elaborated for the establishment of an international régime for Jerusalem and its environs. The scheme provided for the setting up of a two-zone international régime in a permanently neutralised and demilitarised Greater Jerusalem, including Bethlehem and Ein Karm, with a United Nations' Commissioner as the supreme authority. It recognised the existing zones administered by Israel and Transjordan respectively, and recommended that a large measure of local self-government be accorded to the two administrations, but with final authority vested in a General Council consisting of 14 members appointed for three years, and the United Nations' Commissioner who would preside.

Five members each were to be appointed by the responsible authorities of the Jewish and Arab zones, and two each to be selected by the Commissioner from among the residents of the Jewish and Arab zones respectively. The scheme forbade any immigration into the Jerusalem area and provided that in both zones only municipal offices should be maintained, thus implicitly prohibiting the establishment of any government offices within the precincts of Jerusalem. It included further provisions for the establishment of an International Tribunal and a Mixed Tribunal and for the permanent demilitarisation of the Jerusalem area, thus emphasising the international character of the proposed régime.

INTERNATIONALISATION OF JERUSALEM UNACCEPTABLE

This scheme was quite unacceptable to the Government of Israel. Its view on the question of the future of Jerusalem had already been expounded on the eve of its admittance to the United Nations, and it was reiterated at the meeting of the General Assembly in the autumn of 1949, at Lake Success, with cogency and in detail. In a comprehensive memorandum that Israel's delegation submitted to the *ad hoc* Political Committee in the middle of November, the Conciliation Commission's plan was rejected and the offer was made that Israel should enter into international agreements with the United Nations to ensure the safety of the Holy Places in Jerusalem and free access to them as well as to guarantee religious rights. The memorandum described the plan as "unjust and unrealistic," and pointed out that the United Nations had no legal or effective authority over Jerusalem and that any attempt to implement the scheme would be resisted by the local people. The reasons advanced for Israel's rejection of internationalisation were the following: it would break the ties between modern Jerusalem and the rest of Israel; reduce the Jews, the majority of the city's population, to a minority in the proposed General Council; restrict Jewish immigration; impose

economic stagnation by decree and reduce Jerusalem to the status of a "languishing borough"; expose Jewish residents to attack by Arab forces; cancel the Israel-Jordan¹ agreement; and destroy the dignity and authority of the Israel Government. King Abdullah likewise rejected the plan for internationalisation.

The British Government had already expressed its doubts about the feasibility of such internationalisation. In the House of Commons on April 14th, 1949, Mr. Christopher Mayhew, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, made a statement in which he said that "to impose an international régime in a considerable area foreseen by the United Nations would be a very considerable task. It would require a very large police force and administration. We must, therefore, have some doubts . . . as to how far the scheme of full internationalisation can in fact be worked."

The British view was expressed more definitely eight months later, when Sir Alexander Cadogan told the United Nations Special Political Committee at Lake Success that Britain was opposed to the proposal for full international control of Jerusalem. The case against internationalisation was argued fully and forcibly by Israel's Foreign Minister, Mr. Sharett, who pointed out that Jerusalem, though sacred to the whole modern world, had never played a decisive part in the life of any people but the Jews, that Jewish Jerusalem already formed part of the Jewish State, and that Israel was willing to sign an agreement with the United Nations to safeguard the sanctuaries. The delegates of the United States and other Governments also opposed the plan for internationalisation. But there was a formidable array of States who, actuated by extremely different motives, advocated the plan vigorously: they consisted of the Soviet *bloc*, all the Moslem States, and many Catholic countries, including thirteen from South America. It was a strange alliance of the Kremlin, the Vatican, and

¹ The Government of Transjordan announced on June 2nd, 1949, that the name of the country would be changed to the Hashimite Kingdom of the Jordan.

Islam. In the final vote in the General Assembly, on December 9th, there were 38 in favour of Jerusalem being established as a *corpus separatum* under a special international régime to be administered by the Trusteeship Council, 14 were against, and 6 abstained.

The proceedings at Lake Success were followed anxiously by the people in Israel. The Prime Minister, Mr. Ben-Gurion, declared that the United Nations' decision was "utterly incapable of implementation, if only because of the determined and unalterable opposition of the inhabitants of Jerusalem themselves," and that "for the State of Israel there has always been, and always will be, one capital only, Jerusalem the Eternal." He also announced that the *Knesset* (Legislative Assembly) would in future meet in Jerusalem, and various Government Ministries would be transferred there. In the Holy City itself, in the presence of 20,000 Jews standing with upraised right arms around Herzl's grave, the Chief Rabbi solemnly repeated the Psalmist's oath of loyalty: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning." Soon afterwards the *Knesset* began to meet in Jerusalem, which the Government now regarded as its capital, and several ministries were transferred there from *Hakiryah*, the Government quarter established not far from Tel-Aviv.

It was clear that the Trusteeship Council had been entrusted with an impracticable task, and that the decision of the General Assembly would have to be revised. The Soviet Union, realising the impracticability of the internationalisation scheme, also declared its opposition to it, and it was therefore dropped. At a meeting of the Trusteeship Council in June, 1950, Mr. Aubrey Eban, Israel's Ambassador to the United States, submitted a new and elaborate memorandum, proposing that (instead of the previous scheme for an agreement between Israel and the U.N.) the United Nations should adopt and implement a Statute empowering a U.N. Authority to take effective control of Jerusalem's Holy Places and all other related matters of universal religious

concern. When the General Assembly met at Lake Success in the autumn of 1950, the question of the future of the City of Peace was overshadowed by the far more momentous issue of the peace of the world, but Israel's new proposals had meanwhile secured the support of a number of important States.

A Belgian proposal, however, at the end of the session, for a four-member committee to make a further study of the situation, was rejected by the General Assembly, whereupon the Israeli delegation declared that this rejection, following the failure of the Trusteeship Council to implement the internationalisation resolution, was "welcome evidence that the international community did not desire to impose a régime on the people of Jerusalem against their will."

ISRAEL'S PROGRESS AND FUTURE

The revival of the Jewish State, which had been the dream of countless generations in all lands, has now become a living and pulsating reality. Small though it be, it is endowed with all the attributes and symbols, with all the appurtenances and responsibilities, of a sovereign power. It has not only a valiant army that has proved the match of the combined forces of six Arab States, but also an efficient air force and a small but growing navy. It has a well-organised and honest police force. It has its own postage stamps, banknotes, and coinage. It has an able Legislative Assembly, with several rival parties, and its own courts of law of varied degree. It has now been recognised by some sixty States, and its representatives take part in all international conferences. It is officially represented by Legations and Consulates in many capitals, and has welcomed the Ministers of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and many other governments to its own metropolis. It has a national fiscal system, and adopted a budget of £56,800,000 for the year 1950 besides a budget of £65,000,000 for development projects. It has brought Jews into the

country at a rate ranging from 20,000 to 30,000 a month, and is resolved to continue bringing them in on a large scale, until all Jewish displaced persons and refugees, and all Jews anxious to quit lands of intolerance, particularly Moslem territories, as well as Jews from other parts, are safely settled within its frontiers.

In the first two and a half years of its existence Israel increased its population by 500,000, and now has a total of over 1,000,000 Jews, which is steadily increasing. Indeed, the right of every Jew to enter Israel and settle there was embodied in a special "Law on the Return to Zion," which was unanimously adopted by the *Knesset* on July 5th, 1950. The most impressive feature of recent immigration has been the very large proportion of Jews from Oriental countries, particularly the Yemen, Iraq, Persia, and the lands of North Africa.¹ A thrilling and spectacular episode was the transportation by air of practically the whole of the ancient community of the Yemen (about 47,000 souls), who regarded their flight ("Operation Magic Carpet") as a fulfilment of the Biblical prophecy that they would be brought back to their ancestral land "on eagles' wings." On the other hand, emigration from the Soviet satellite States in Eastern Europe, notably Poland, Hungary, and Rumania, has been at various times restricted, obstructed, or prohibited, although Bulgaria allowed the departure of over 35,000 Jews and Czechoslovakia of over 22,000. Owing to this prodigious influx within so short a space of time, and a large excess of imports over exports, Israel has to cope with serious economic problems which have necessitated a policy of austerity and the securing of considerable funds and investments from abroad, particularly the United States, where, in addition to a credit of 1,350,000,000 dollars granted by the Export-Import Bank, an Israeli bond issue of 1,000 million dollars is to be floated. The new State has also to grapple with the problems involved in the adjustment

¹ In the year from October 1st, 1949, to September 30th, 1950, there were 97,567 immigrants from Oriental countries and 70,468 from European countries. See Appendix III.

and integration of hosts of settlers from regions of widely contrasted cultural levels and social habits. There is furthermore the position of religion in the schools, settlements, and general daily life, which has already been the source of more than one Cabinet crisis, and which will call for both wise statesmanship and mutual tolerance if it is to find a satisfactory solution. The observance of the Sabbath and the dietary laws are two of the most hotly debated questions, while there are also others on which opinions are deeply divided. Nevertheless there is a feeling of buoyancy and optimism throughout the land, for national freedom and independence, after centuries of oppression, help to mitigate material discomforts and mental strains that will be lessened with time.

Israel does not presume to claim the allegiance of Jews in other States, nor can any Jews expect its protection unless they become its subjects and citizens. The strong bond of sentiment that has linked Jews throughout the ages to the land of their forefathers will persist and find expression not only in the forging of closer ties, but also in rendering the State whatever material and moral support they can, for its success will be to them a source of pride even as any failure will be regarded by a censorious world as a reflection upon them all. There was, indeed, for a time a serious discussion, among Zionist bodies on both sides of the Atlantic, of the question whether, after the establishment of the State, there was any further need for the Zionist Organisation, but it was soon realised that this still had an important function to fulfil. The Jews of the Diaspora will continue to maintain the Zionist Organisation, which will be devoted, as hitherto, to fostering the national idea and raising funds for the immigration and settlement of the needy myriads seeking to establish themselves in their ancestral homeland, and thus help the State whose revenue must cover a multiplicity of other purposes. The collaboration of the Jewish Agency with the Government is effected through a joint representative body created for

the purpose of co-ordinating their respective activities in the spheres of immigration, absorption, and development, as well as to arrange financial matters between them.

The immediate function of Israel is primarily to consolidate itself for the advancement of the material and cultural welfare of all who throw in their lot with its future, a function that it can best achieve and is anxious to achieve if only it can live at peace with its Arab neighbours. Sooner or later these must realise that their interests too will be served by learning and adopting the scientific methods and technical efficiency in all fields of social, economic, and intellectual endeavour, which the new State is applying in the furtherance of its progress. And beyond the influence that it will exercise within its own borders and in the lands that lie adjacent, will also reign the spiritual influence which, nurtured from the teachings of the prophets of old, will reach and enrich the Jewish communities throughout the world. Closer bonds have already been created with many communities in the cultural field and also, particularly with the Jewries of America and other English-speaking lands, in the economic field (by investments and enterprises in Israel); and although there is a small and clamant body of opponents in the United States, its significance is of little account and will doubtless become still less with the lapse of time. Israel is bound to exercise a conservative and centripetal influence in the development of Jewish life in the Diaspora and to form a cardinal factor in Jewish thought and Jewish hopes in an even greater degree than was Palestine in the past. But while it may mould and colour the destinies of the Jewries of the world, it will, as a truly democratic and progressive force in a welter of competing polities and conflicting ideologies, make a contribution of unique value to the advancement of civilisation.

APPENDIX I

A ZIONIST CHRONOLOGY

1862. Publication of *Rome and Jerusalem*, by Moses Hess.
1870. Founding of Mikveh Israel Agricultural School.
1882. Publication of *Auto-Emancipation*, by Leon Pinsker.
Founding of Rishon le-Zion.
1884. Kattowitz Conference of Hoveve Zion.
1896. Publication of *The Jewish State*, by Theodor Herzl.
1897. First Zionist Congress at Basle (August 29th–31st).
1898. Second Zionist Congress Basle (August 15th–18th).
Establishment of the Jewish Colonial Trust.
1899. Third Zionist Congress at Basle (August 15th–18th).
1900. Fourth Zionist Congress in London (August 13th–16th).
1901. Fifth Zionist Congress at Basle (December 26th–30th).
The Jewish National Fund established.
1903. Sixth Zionist Congress at Basle (August 23rd–28th).
Offer of territory in East Africa by British Government to the Zionist Organisation.
Establishment of the Anglo-Palestine Company (later Bank).
1904. Death of Dr. Theodor Herzl (July 4th).
1905. Seventh Zionist Congress at Basle (July 27th–August 2nd).
Election of David Wolffsohn as President.
Transference of Zionist Central Office from Vienna to Cologne.

1907. Eighth Zionist Congress at The Hague (August 14th-21st).
Herzl "Gymnasium" (Higher Grade School) at Tel-Aviv opened.
1908. Palestine Office at Jaffa opened.
Palestine Land Development Company established.
1909. Ninth Zionist Congress at Hamburg (December 26th-31st).
1911. Tenth Zionist Congress at Basle (August 9th-15th).
Transference of Zionist Central Office to Berlin.
1913. Eleventh Zionist Congress at Vienna (September 2nd-9th).
1914. Transference of Head Office of Jewish National Fund from Cologne to The Hague.
1917. Promulgation of Balfour Declaration.
London Bureau of Zionist Organisation established.
1918. Zionist Commission under Dr. Weizmann reaches Palestine (April 4th).
1919. International Zionist Conference in London (February 23rd).
Zionist Central Office established in London.
Dr. Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow, and Menahem Ussishkin appear before Peace Conference in Paris (February 27th).
1920. Peace Conference at San Remo confers Palestine Mandate upon Great Britain (April 24th).
Zionist Conference in London elects Dr. Weizmann as President of the Zionist Organisation, and Nahum Sokolow as Chairman of the Executive.
Establishment of the Keren Hayesod.
Sir Herbert Samuel assumes office as first High Commissioner for Palestine (July 1st).
1921. Twelfth Zionist Congress at Carlsbad (September 1st-14th).

1922. Palestine Mandate confirmed by League of Nations in London (July 24th).
1923. Thirteenth Zionist Congress at Carlsbad (August 6th-19th).
1924. Opening of Institute of Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University (December 22nd).
1925. Inauguration of Hebrew University by Lord Balfour (April 1st).
Lord Plumer succeeds Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner for Palestine.
Fourteenth Zionist Congress at Vienna (August 18th-31st).
1927. Fifteenth Zionist Congress at Basle (August 30th-September 9th).
1928. Sir John Chancellor succeeds Lord Plumer as High Commissioner for Palestine.
1929. Sixteenth Zionist Congress at Zurich (July 28th-August 11th).
Establishment of enlarged Jewish Agency (Zurich, August 12th-14th).
Anti-Jewish outrages in Palestine (August 23rd-29th).
1930. Report of Shaw Commission of Inquiry published (March).
Report of Sir John Hope Simpson on Immigration, Land Settlement, and Development published, together with the Passfield White Paper (October 21st).
1931. Seventeenth Zionist Congress at Basle (June 30th-July 16th).
Nahum Sokolow elected President of Zionist Organisation and Jewish Agency.
Sir Arthur Wauchope succeeds Sir John Chancellor as High Commissioner for Palestine.
1933. Eighteenth Zionist Congress at Prague (August 21st-September 3rd).
1934. Keren Hayesod obtains loan of £500,000 from Lloyd's Bank, Limited.

1935. Nineteenth Zionist Congress at Lucerne (August 20th–September 3rd).
Dr. Weizmann re-elected President of Zionist Organisation and Jewish Agency.
1936. Beginning of Arab rebellion (April 19th).
Death of Nahum Sokolow (May 17th).
Royal Commission arrives in Palestine (November 11th).
1937. Publication of Royal Commission's Report (July 7th).
Twentieth Zionist Congress at Zurich (August 3rd–17th).
1938. Sir Harold MacMichael succeeds Sir Arthur Wauchope as High Commissioner for Palestine (March 1st).
Partition Commission in Palestine (May–July); publication of Report (November 9th).
1939. Conference of British Government with Jews and Arabs at St. James's Palace, London (February 8th–March 17th).
Publication of White Paper on Future Policy (May 17th).
Twenty-first Zionist Congress at Geneva (August 16th–24th).
1940. Publication of Palestine Land Transfer Regulations (February 28th).
1941. Death of Menahem Ussishkin (October 2nd).
Death of Justice Louis D. Brandeis (October 5th).
1942. British Government decides to create a Palestine Regiment of the British Army consisting of separate Jewish and Arab battalions.
1943. Death of Dr. Arthur Rupp (January 2nd).
1944. Field-Marshal Lord Gort, V.C., succeeds Sir Harold MacMichael as High Commissioner for Palestine (October 31st).
British Government announces decision to create Jewish Brigade Group (September 10th).

1945. First World Zionist Conference after Second World War held in London (August 1st–13th).
Resignation of Lord Gort as High Commissioner (November 2nd), and appointment of Lieut.-General Sir Alan Cunningham as his successor (November 22nd).
Mr. Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary, announces formation of Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on European Jewry and Palestine (November 13th).
1946. Anglo-American Committee holds Inquiry in Washington, London, Europe, and Palestine (January–March); publication of Report (May 1st).
Military raid upon Jewish Agency headquarters in Jerusalem and arrest of members of Executive (June 29th).
British Government's Conference with Arabs in London (September 10th–October 2nd).
Twenty-second Zionist Congress at Basle (December 9th–24th).
1947. British Government's resumed Conference with Arabs in London (January 27th–February 10th).
Martial law imposed on Jewish areas in Palestine (March 2nd–10th).
General Assembly of United Nations, at New York, appoints Special Committee to submit proposals for solution of Palestine problem (April 28th–May 25th).
U.N.S.C.O.P. in Palestine (June 16th–July 24th); publication of Report (August 1st).
General Assembly decides on partition of Palestine (November 29th).
Beginning of armed Arab attacks upon Jews in Palestine (December 1st).

1948. *Haganah* captures Haifa (April 22nd), Acre, Tiberias, and other places; flight of Arabs from Palestine.
- Termination of Mandatory Government and departure of High Commissioner (May 14th).
 Creation of State of Israel proclaimed by David Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of Provisional Government (May 14th).
- War of aggression against Israel by invading armies of neighbouring Arab countries.
- Count Bernadotte appointed by Security Council as Mediator to effect truce and peace settlement (May 20th); assassinated (September 17th).
- Conciliation Commission appointed by Security Council to arrange final settlement (December 11th).
1949. Britain accords *de facto* recognition to Israel (January 28th).
 Election of Constituent Assembly (*Knesset*) in Israel (January).
 Admission of Israel to United Nations agreed upon by Security Council and General Assembly (May 11th).
 General Assembly decides in favour of international régime for Jerusalem (December).
1950. Israel rejects internationalisation of Jerusalem; *Knesset* transferred from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem.
 Britain accords *de jure* recognition to Israel (April 27th).
 Enactment of Law on the Return to Zion (July

APPENDIX II

EXTRACTS FROM THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

WHEREAS the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might 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; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; and

Whereas the mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine, and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions; and

Whereas by the aforementioned Article 22 (Paragraph 8), it is provided that the degree of authority, control, or administration, to be exercised by the Mandatory not having been previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations;

Confirming the said Mandate, defines its terms as follows:—

Article 1.—The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.

Article 2.—The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

Article 4.—An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organisation, so long as its organisation and constitution are, in the opinion of the Mandatory, appropriate, shall be recognised as such agency. It shall take steps, in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government, to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

Article 6.—The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred

to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

Article 7.—The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

Article 11.—The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 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, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration.

Article 15.—The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, is ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion, or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

Article 22.—English, Arabic, and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew, and a statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

Articles 23.—The Administration of Palestine shall recognise the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

(The complete text of the Mandate is given in the author's *The Zionist Movement*.)

APPENDIX III

IMMIGRATION INTO
PALESTINE AND ISRAEL

JEWISH immigration into Palestine from 1882 is usually divided into six main periods (or *Aliyoth*, literally "ascents"). The following figures (up to the year 1947 inclusive) are taken from *Misparim*, March, 1948, the Hebrew Bulletin issued by the Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine:

First <i>Aliyah</i> : 1882-1903		25,000
Second <i>Aliyah</i> : 1904-1914		40,000
Third <i>Aliyah</i> : 1919-1923:	1919	1,806
	1920	8,223
	1921	8,294
	1922	8,685
	1923	8,175
	Uncertificated	1,000
	Total	— 36,183

Fourth <i>Aliyah</i> : 1924-1931	1924	13,892
	1925	34,386
	1926	13,855
	1927	3,034
	1928	2,178
	1929	5,249
	1930	4,944
	1931	4,075
	Uncertificated	2,500
	Total	— 84,113

Fifth <i>Aliyah</i> : 1932-1939	1932	9,553	
	1933	30,327	
	1934	42,359	
	1935	61,854	
	1936	29,727	
	1937	10,536	
	1938	12,868	
	1939	27,561	
	Uncertificated	39,800	
	Total	—	264,585
War period and after, 1940-			
1948	1940	8,398	
	1941	5,886	
	1942	3,733	
	1943	8,507	
	1944	14,464	
	1945	13,121	
	1946	17,761	
	1947	21,542	
	Uncertificated	19,100	
	Total	. . .	112,512
	1948 (to Sept. 30)	. . .	70,000
	Grand Total		<u>632,393</u>

From this total must be deducted 29,475, being the number of Jewish persons recorded as having left Palestine permanently in the period 1920-1938, according to the Palestine Government Report to the League of Nations for 1938. To the net total of 602,918 must be added the following further immigration into Israel:

From October 1st, 1948, to September 30th,

1949	259,912
From October 1st to December 31st, 1949	46,672
From January 1st to June 30th, 1950	72,542
From July 1st to December 31st, 1950	97,356

Making a grand total immigration of 1,079,400 from 1882 to December 31st, 1950.

TOTAL ANNUAL IMMIGRATION

1948 (Palestine and Israel)	118,993
1949 (Israel)	239,141
1950 (Israel)	169,898

IMMIGRATION IN 1949

(i) *From European Countries:*

Poland	47,343
Bulgaria	20,008
Czechoslovakia	15,689
Rumania	13,596
Hungary	6,844
Germany	5,333
Yugoslavia	2,470
France	1,654
Austria	1,620
Greece	1,364
Other countries	5,944
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Total	121,865
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(ii) *From Oriental Countries:*

Yemen	35,138
Turkey	26,295
Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco	17,924
Other parts of North Africa (mainly Libya)	14,066
Egypt	7,145
Iran	1,778
Iraq	1,709
Syria and Lebanon	1,570
Afghanistan	446
Other parts of Asia	4,335
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Total	110,406
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(iii) *From Other Countries:*

United States and Canada	602
South and Central America	711
Union of South Africa	217
Other parts of Africa	90
Oceania	45
Unspecified	5,205
	<hr/>
Total	6,870
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Summary:

(i)	121,865
(ii)	110,406
(iii)	6,870
	<hr/>
Grand total	239,141
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IMMIGRATION IN THE JEWISH YEAR 5710

(from October 1st, 1949, to September 30th, 1950)(i) *From European Countries:*

Rumania	38,105
Poland	20,222
Hungary	2,832
Czechoslovakia	1,072
France	1,345
Germany	1,916
Other countries.	4,976
	<hr/>
Total	70,468
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(ii) *From Oriental Countries:*

Yemen	29,762
North Africa (Algeria, Libya, etc.)	22,454
Egypt	9,643
Iraq	17,417
Iran	11,813
Syria	1,583
Turkey	3,084
Other countries.	1,811
	<hr/>

Total	97,567
(iii) <i>From other parts</i>	4,734
	<hr/>

Grand total	172,769
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APPENDIX IV

(A) THE JEWISH POPULATION OF
PALESTINE

ACCORDING to the estimates made by the Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, the Jewish population in Palestine at the end of 1946 was 625,000. The number of non-Jews in Palestine amounted to 1,304,000 (including 1,143,000 Moslems, 145,100 Christians, and 15,500 Druses). The Jews therefore formed 32·4 per cent. of the total population. The numerical increase of the Jews during the period 1922–1946 is shown by the following:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total population</i>	<i>Number of Jews</i>	<i>Jewish percentage</i>
1922	725,000	83,000	11·1
1931	1,033,300	174,600	16·9
1936	1,340,000	400,000	29·8
1942	1,657,000	517,000	31·3
1946	1,929,000	625,000	32·4

Of the 625,000 Jews, 400,800 (64·1 per cent.) lived in six cities, 64,200 (10·3 per cent.) in 22 urban settlements, and 160,000 (25·6 per cent.) in 290 villages and small settlements.

At the end of the Mandatory régime, in May, 1948, the Jewish population of Palestine was estimated at 660,000. By the end of 1948 the number of Jews in Israel had risen through immigration to about 750,000.

ANNUAL RATE OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS PER 1,000 OF
SETTLED POPULATION, 1922-1946

<i>Year</i>	<i>Birth Rate</i>		
	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Christians</i>
1922-1937 (average)	51·15	32·21	36·47
1938	47·25	26·26	34·35
1939	46·42	23·02	31·31
1940	47·42	23·72	31·11
1941	49·22	20·67	29·06
1942	—	23·38	—
1943	52·4	29·2	36·6
1944	53·7	30·2	31·0
1945	54·2	30·3	32·7
1946	54·2	29·1	33·3
<i>Year</i>	<i>Death Rate</i>		
	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Christians</i>
1922-1937 (average)	26·14	10·78	15·89
1938	18·71	8·11	12·51
1939	17·38	7·57	11·53
1940	24·74	8·18	12·21
1941	21·40	7·89	11·09
1942	—	8·17	—
1943	19·0	7·7	11·7
1944	17·3	7·1	10·1
1945	16·4	6·7	9·9
1946	15·9	6·4	9·1

RATE OF NATURAL INCREASE PER 1,000

<i>Year</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Christians</i>
1922-1937 (average)	25·01	21·43	20·58
1938	28·54	18·15	21·84
1939	29·04	15·45	19·78
1940	22·68	15·54	18·90
1941	27·82	12·78	17·97
1942	25·31	14·13	15·66
1943	33·4	21·5	24·9
1944	36·4	23·1	20·9
1945	37·8	23·6	22·8
1946	38·3	22·7	24·2

(B) THE POPULATION OF ISRAEL

The population of Israel at the end of December, 1950, was estimated to be as follows:

Jews	1,194,275
Arabs (registered)	165,000
Bedouin (non-registered)	20,000
Druses	18,000
	<hr/>
Total	1,397,275
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To this total must be added a certain number of European, American, and other non-Jews.

APPENDIX V

ZIONIST CONGRESSES AND PARTY REPRESENTATION

No. of Congress	Date	Place	Shekel-payers	General Zionists	Mizrachi	Labour	Radicals	Revisionists		Others		Total
								Hashomer Hatzair	United Revisionists	Aliyah Hadasha	Others	
XII	1921	Carlsbad	778,487	376	95	41	—	—	—	—	—	512
XIII	1923	Carlsbad	569,779	165	76	69	21	—	—	—	—	331
XIV	1925	Vienna	631,801	177	55	59	15	5	—	—	—	311
XV	1927	Basle	419,000	151	46	63	11	10	—	—	—	281
XVI	1929	Zurich	393,220	145	51	81	12	21	—	—	—	310
XVII	1931	Basle	423,533	A	35	75	8	52	—	—	—	254
				B								
XVIII	1933	Prague	682,689	74	39	138	15	45	7	—	—	318
				A								
XIX	1935	Lucerne	975,929	81	66	209	—	11	—	49	—	463
				B								
XX	1937	Zurich	930,406	116	73	204	—	9	—	42	—	484
				A								
XXI	1939	Geneva	1,416,280	143	65	216	13	8	—	54	—	527
				B								
XXII	1946	Basle	2,158,920	123	58	101	26	26	41	5	5	385
				A								

APPENDIX VI

THE ZIONIST ORGANISATION

THE Zionist Organisation consists of societies in 57 countries in all parts of the world. Its members are organised mainly in either Territorial Federations or Separate Unions. There are at present 29 Zionist Federations, of which 14 are in Europe, 9 in America, 5 in Africa, and one comprising societies in Australia and New Zealand. The Federations consist for the most part of General Zionists, who, as their name indicates, do not stand for any particular distinguishing principle within the movement. From 1931 to 1939 the General Zionists were divided into two groups, the A group co-operating usually with Labour, while the B group tended more to the Right. Since the end of the Second World War, however, the two groups have become reunited as the Confederation of General Zionists. In Israel the General Zionists are anti-Labour in orientation and take no part in the Coalition Government; but a section, who have adopted the name of Progressives, have withdrawn from the party and share in the Coalition.

The Separate Unions are as follows:

(a) The Mizrachi Organisation, which aims at developing Jewish life in Palestine on the basis of religious orthodoxy. It has a Labour section, Hapoel Hamizrachi, formed in 1922, which seeks to combine the doctrines of Socialism with the principles of the Torah. It has its own *Chalutz* organisation in the Diaspora, *Bachad* (*Brit Chalutzim Datiim*, "Covenant of Religious Pioneers").

(b) The Union of *Poale Zion* ("Workers of Zion")—*Hitahduth* ("Union"), the principal Labour party, which aims at a synthesis of Zionism with Socialism. In Israel it is called "Mapai" (*Mifletget Poale Eretz*

Israel): it is a Social Democratic Party, of the same pattern as the British Labour Party.

(c) The Left wing of *Poale Zion-Hitahduth*, which seceded in 1944 and formed a new party called *Ahduth Avodah* ("Unity of Labour")—*Poale Zion*.

(d) *Hashomer Hatzair* ("The Young Watchman"), another Labour group, somewhat more to the Left, which lays more emphasis on Marxist principles. In January, 1948, *Hashomer Hatzair* combined with *Ahduth Avodah* to form a single party, *Miflegeth Poalim Meuhadim* (= "*Mapam*," United Workers' Party). "*Mapam*" is more Left than "*Mapai*": in foreign policy it wants closer contacts with the Soviet Union and less dependence on America, and it voted against the *Knesset's* decision approving United Nations' policy in Korea.

(e) The United Zionist Revisionists, comprising (i) the Revisionists, who first came into existence as a party in 1925 and seceded in 1935 to form the "New Zionist Organisation," and (ii) the Jewish State Party, who originally formed part of the Revisionists but remained within the Zionist Organisation under a new name. The reunion of the two sections took place in 1946 with the dissolution of the "New Zionist Organisation." Besides demanding the "revision" of Zionist policy in the sense of a return to Herzl's original conception of a Jewish State, and that it should be on both sides of the Jordan, the Revisionists have always been opposed to Labour and Socialist principles.

(f) The Order of Ancient Maccabaeans, a friendly benefit organisation in England, which was formally recognised in 1909 as a Separate Union although it has no distinguishing principle, and which is affiliated to the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland.

Besides the societies forming part of Federations or Separate Unions, there are also numerous societies or local groups in several lands, where the smallness of the

Jewish population and geographical conditions make the existence of Federations or similar large bodies impracticable. These regions include India, the Straits Settlements (and formerly Egypt), as well as places in Central America and the Far East. In many countries there are also Federations of Women Zionists, which belong to the Women's International Zionist Organisation, as well as Associations of Zionist Students and an organised Zionist youth movement.

The supreme authority in the Zionist movement is the Congress, which normally meets every two years, and which consists of a few hundred delegates elected on a party basis by the Shekel-payers. The annual payment of the Shekel (two shillings or its equivalent) is a fundamental condition of membership of the Zionist Organisation. For the Zionist Congress in December, 1946, one delegate was elected for every 8,000 Shekalim (4,000 in Palestine).

The Congress elects a General Council, which usually meets twice a year, and an Executive, both of which hold office until the next Congress. The General Council is at present composed of 77 members of all parties, elected in proportions corresponding to the strength of their delegations in Congress, and of 21 veteran members chosen in recognition of long service. The Executive (at present comprising 19 members, with one deputy-member) usually consists of a coalition based upon an agreed policy: its members are attached to the offices in Jerusalem, London, or New York, and meet together whenever necessary.

The Congress also elects (*a*) a Congress Court (8 lawyers and a chairman) for settling disputes between Zionist bodies or between Zionist bodies and individuals, as well as for deciding on the validity of elections to Congress; (*b*) a Court of Honour (10 lawyers and a chairman) for dealing with differences between individual Zionists; and (*c*) a Congress Attorney (with two deputies) to represent the Zionist Organisation in the proceedings of these courts.

Until 1929 the Zionist Organisation alone, as provided in the Mandate for Palestine (Article 4), was recognised as the Jewish Agency for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine. In 1929 (as explained in Chapter IX) the Jewish Agency was enlarged by the co-operation of non-Zionists in a Council, Administrative Committee, and Executive—each body composed of an equal number of Zionists and non-Zionists. The last meetings of the Council and Administrative Committee of the enlarged Jewish Agency took place in 1938, as, owing to the outbreak of war, none could take place in 1939. Since 1939 also there have been no non-Zionists in the Executive of the Jewish Agency. Owing to the destruction or decimation of many Jewish communities in Europe and the extensive changes that have taken place in the geographical distribution of the Jewish people since the beginning of the Second World War, it has not yet proved possible to reconstruct the enlarged Jewish Agency. The Executive of the Zionist Organisation has therefore been carrying out all the political, economic, and other tasks of the Jewish Agency and has virtually become synonymous with it.

Zionism has always been forbidden in the Soviet Union, nor has there been any relaxation as a result of Soviet support for the State of Israel. Since the summer of 1949 it has likewise been forbidden in the various countries of Central and Eastern Europe that have fallen under Russian domination, and leading Zionists have been persecuted. Zionist activities have also been banned in Moslem countries, especially since the United Nations' decision in favour of the establishment of the Jewish State.

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