

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





# ZIONISM

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

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



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## Yaacov Toury / THE JEWISH NATIONAL PRESS IN GERMANY, FROM ITS INCEPTION TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The article reviews the Jewish national press in Germany from its beginnings in the early 1880s. Its publications, some of which had but a short appearance, and others which appeared over a long period of time, reflected the development of national consciousness of various Jewish circles in Germany, as well as their organization and level of cultural and social activity.

In the years preceding the outbreak of the First World War, Germany became an important center of Zionist journalism, where *Die Welt*, the official organ of the Zionist Federation, as well as additional local newspapers were published, some of them in Hebrew. In contrast to the autonomist nationality groups that experienced an awakening under the Habsburg empire and tried to play a part in the shaping of the political organization of Jews as a national minority, the development of the German Zionist press was a result of the ideological and organizational conflict, which began in 1912, between the *Central Vereinigung* and those who supported and propagated Jewish nationalism.

## Shulamit Laskov / ALTNEULAND

After Herzl's *Altneuland* appeared in October 1902, Ahad Ha'am published in 1903 a stinging review of the book, criticizing it mainly because of lack of Jewish and Hebrew spirit in the envisioned new-land. Following a request by Herzl, Nordau wrote a caustic, insulting reply to Ahad Ha'am, in which he stressed that the inhabitants of Zion would have to become part of European culture, while Ahad Ha'am, bound as he was to the shackles of Eastern Europe, was trying to instill the spirit of the ghetto. Nordau also intimated that tolerance for other religions was foreign to Ahad Ha'am. The exchange aroused an extensive debate in the Jewish press in general and the Zionist press in particular, the supporters of Herzl and Nordau contrasting the numerous accomplishments of the Zionist leader with the inactivity of Ahad Ha'am. For their part, Ahad Ha'am's supporters condemned the condescending attitude of Western Zionists towards their Eastern European counterparts, reminding the former that while they were detached from Judaism, it was a way of life



for their brethren from the East. Those who argued in favor of Ahad Ha'am also complained about Herzl's tyranny. Contrary to expectations, the controversy which raged in the press was not divided along geographical lines. It ebbed with publication of the Uganda plan. An East-West divide was apparent in the latter debate, and Ahad Ha'am could argue that the plan was the logical end of a Zionism devoid of Judaism. The controversy was settled when the State of Israel that Herzl labored for became a center of Hebrew culture, if not the center of Jewish culture that Ahad Ha'am aspired to.

### Gad Ofaz / THE CREATION OF *AM-ADAM*: THE NATIONAL UTOPIA OF AHARON DAVID GORDON

The article deals with two subjects. The first is the utopian aspect of Aharon David Gordon's social-national theory; the second is why Gordon, who became a symbol of "self-realization", had no lasting influence on the Zionist pioneering enterprise. Through clarification of his concepts, using the theory of Martin Buber, Gordon's conceptualization of the future society is presented as a prophetic utopia. That is, his conception derives from an agnostic world view, predicated on pantheistic-cabbalistic foundations, and it assigns the human being responsibility for his own redemption. The slogan *am-adam* (people-human being) contained the essence of Gordon's utopian vision. He strove for the creation of a people each one of whom was a human being "in the image of God," that is, an organic national entity made up of consecutive circles – individual, family, community, nation – in which each circle preserved its own uniqueness and was characterized by openness to the Other who was both different and distinct.

Because of the idealistic, complex nature of Gordon's theory, it had only marginal influence on the project of national regeneration. Marxism as a social theory and Brenner's national radicalism left a greater mark than the theories of Gordon.

## Avraham Shapira / GERMAN ROMANTICISM AS A SOURCE OF MARTIN BUBER'S THEORY

The philosophy of Martin Buber reflects the changes that occurred in contemporary Jewish culture as a result of its encounters with European cultures. One of the most prominent of the opposing tensions that shaped his world view is that between yearnings for submersion in German culture and the nurturing of his traditional Jewish identity.

The article examines how Buber's belief in "German-Jewish symbiosis" (the demise of which he did not admit until 1939) is expressed in his national-Zionist theory, based on a long-standing attraction to the ideas of J.G. Herder and his students – the progenitors of German Romanticism. The same attraction is also reflected in Buber's adoption of concepts from the German Volk ideology. Buber never abandoned these sources of sustenance and remained rooted in them until the end of his days. The affinity is evidenced not only in his writings on Judaism and Zionism, but also in other areas of spiritual endeavor, especially in his philosophical anthropology.

## Yaacov Goldstein / TSIVION (DR. BEN-ZION HOFFMAN) AND HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS ZIONISM

Dr. Ben-Zion Hoffman, a Bundist socialist, was one of the most prominent essayists of the Jewish Labour Movement in the United States.

His attitude towards Zionism appeared to have been influenced by the new circumstances which developed in the world in general and the Jewish world in particular after the First World War. Thus he was willing to recognize, in principle, the right of the Jews to self-determination, and even their right to a state of their own. At the same time, he opposed both the Zionist ideology, with its "negation of the Diaspora" and – for practical considerations – the idea of the establishment of a Jewish state in Eretz Israel.

## Yitzhak Greenberg / THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM OF PINHAS LAVON

Pinhas Lavon outlined a Social-Democratic program, the foundations of which were a democratic regime and a pluralistic economy which was to include a public sector alongside a private and *petit bourgeois* one. The economy was to be based on a certain amount of central planning combined with decentralization, economic autonomy and industrial democracy; it was to include economic equality – reduction of economic disparities as far as was possible without causing an erosion of democracy.

The economic patterns that Lavon strove to establish in the *Histadrut* when he served as its secretary-general conform to his Social-Democratic views. They were expressed in the reforms adopted by the companies belonging to "Hevrat Haovdim" in the second half of the fifties, in the introduction of worker participation in management, and in Lavon's support for the continued operation of "Hevrat Haovdim," so as to decentralize power in the Israeli economy and to offset the processes of centralization and bureaucratization.

## Yaron Tsur / THE IMPACT OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION ON THE TIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND MOROCCAN JEWS

Examined from the perspective of the Zionist Movement and its ideologies, the mass illegal immigration of Moroccan Jews to Israel during the years 1956–1961 had both positive and negative features. On the negative side of the ledger, it posed large-scale organizational difficulties, and it involved absorbing a non-elitist Jewish population that was neither oriented to nor motivated by Zionist ideology. On the positive side, illegal immigration is by definition associated with heroism and resistance, qualities held in esteem by every national movement. The article presents a case study of the immigration of Jews from Morocco, examining the part played by its illegality and heroic connotations in strengthening the ties between Israel and the new Jewish immigrants from Morocco.

## Eli Rekhes / THE PALESTINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE PALESTINE COMMUNIST PARTY

In recent years a number of studies on the early history of communism in Palestine have been published by Palestinian-Arab scholars. They jointly raised the argument that during the Mandatory period, the Palestine Communist Party (PCP), under its Arab leadership, was deeply committed to the national cause and, in fact, constituted an integral part of the Arab nationalist movement. The scholars' main theme was that class struggle was fused into the national struggle.

The article shows how this interpretation corresponds only in part to the actual course of events. The communists were rejected from the national institutions and were staunchly condemned for having supported the 1947 partition plan.