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



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The Institute for Research in the History of Zionism founded in memory of Chaim Weizmann was set up in 1962 at Tel-Aviv University through the initiative and with the assistance of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, with 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.

ZIONISM

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Summaries

Hagit Lavsky / LIBERATED BUT NOT FREE – THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH ORGANIZATION OF BERGEN-BELSEN

This article examines the Jewish organization in the Bergen-Belsen camp after its liberation in April 1945, and its transformation into the largest displaced persons camp in Germany (approximately 12,000 survivors). The article points out that this was a spontaneous organizing effort that was set up on a Zionist basis by active and dynamic Zionists. It was strengthened by the survivors' disappointment in the nature of the liberation and by the events that followed it: the continuation of life in difficult camp conditions, the British occupation policy towards the Jews and the absence of Jewish emissaries. This situation prompted the Jews of Bergen-Belsen to embark on an overall nationalist campaign and establish a united and activist Zionist front, even before the arrival of the first emissaries from Eretz Israel at the end of 1945.

Avraham Shapira / THE PERSONAL SELF AND THE NATIONAL SELF IN AARON DAVID GORDON'S PHILOSOPHY

The article discusses Aaron Gordon's philosophy with respect to the place of the individual in the enterprise of national rebirth. The clarification of this issue naturally involves an acquaintance with Gordon's perception of nationalism. The "individual", who is the primary building block of his philosophical system, is not an isolated individual but rather someone who is rooted in the nation. "Human life begins in the nation", which is the source of the mental-cultural pattern that shapes the identity of each and every individual within it. According to Gordon, the personal essence of the individual and "the collective

person" (national person) are two sides of the same coin. Accordingly, the article draws conclusions about the ways in which Zionism is to be fulfilled from the point of view of its antecedents (the historic cultural heritage of the Jewish People) and from the point of view of its utopian direction. The present study clarifies these issues in Gordon's philosophy and observes that his organic perspective differs from both the systematic-philosophical and the social and socialist viewpoints. His approach derives from the negation of an academic perception whether based on the isolated individual or the social-mechanical perception, on the other hand.

The mutual interdependence between the individual and the collective, between the "personal self" and the "collective self", is the basis for Gordon's national universalism. The article clarifies the meaning of his philosophy and describes his utopian outlook along with its ethical aspects.

The article presents his philosophy, which integrates "Heshbon Nefesh" and "Heshbon Olam", "Tikun Atzmi" and "Tikun Olam", while pointing out its Jewish historical sources.

Bina Garnacarska-Kadary / POALEI ZION IN POLAND PRIOR TO THE SPLIT (1919–1920)

The wondrous events of the stormy period following the end of World War I, the Russian Revolution and the Balfour Declaration, divided the Poalei Zion movement in Poland. In addition, the Socialist International had promised the World Union of Poalei Zion that it would support the establishment of a national home in Eretz Israel. In the summer of 1919 national party representatives of Poalei Zion met in Stockholm in an atmosphere of ideological confusion. This was the first meeting after the long interruption of the war years.

From the start of the discussions the profound and fundamental differences of opinion in all ideological and political matters were clear. Two attitudes emerged: those of the Eastern European representatives versus those from Western Europe and Eretz Israel. A serious and important controversy developed around the issue of the method to be used in building the Yishuv and the Jewish socialist society in Eretz Israel and concerning the platform of Ahdut Ha'avoda. The conflict was mainly between the viewpoints of Nahman Syrkin and the representatives from Eretz Israel and those of Nir and M. Edelman, representatives of the Polish party. This dispute continued during the deliberations of the World Poalei Zion delegation in Eretz Israel in 1920 and for several years after that.

One of the issues that would divide the World Union of Poalei Zion in the future was brought up at the Stockholm meeting, i.e., the relationship to the International: to support the Socialist International, whose leaders supported bloody conflict, or to switch to the newly established International in Moscow, the Comintern.

The profound differences of opinion with respect to these issues brought about the split that occurred one year later, at the fifth conference held in Vienna in the summer of 1920. The movement was divided into two factions of Poalei Zion that maintained their own separate world unions: Left Poalei Zion and Right Poalei Zion. Almost all the members of the party in Poland joined the Leftist faction.

Zvia Balshan / THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WORLD UNION OF POALEI ZION AND ITS ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION

In August 1907, the World Union of Poalei Zion was established in The Hague as an umbrella organization for the Poalei Zion parties around the

world for the following reasons: to coordinate operations associated with their efforts towards upbuilding Eretz Israel and deal with common problems that might arise in the connection with those efforts and to present themselves as a world federation within the World Zionist Organization and as a special section in the Second International.

In August 1920 in Vienna, the Union split into the Right Union and the Left Union. The overt and direct grounds for the split was the attitude towards the Third International, but in fact the breakup occurred because of the fundamental differences of opinion concerning the focus of their endeavors that had existed in the Union since its inception: work in Eretz Israel or creative work; the attitude toward the World Zionist Organization and participation in the Congresses and their other endeavors; the status of the party in Palestine within the Union and the question of the structure of the Union. This dissension was closely related to the organization members' divergent approaches toward socialism. The decision to join the Third International, which brought about the split, was directly connected to these issues. The present article does not go into detail about that decision.

The Union was established in the shadow of these philosophical conflicts, which were also perpetuated in its articles of association. World War I, the October Revolution, and the Balfour Declaration only sharpened the old discord and wrapped them in new, more relevant ideological forms.

Thus it appears that the seeds of the Union's failure were planted in its foundations. It is therefore particularly important to examine the ideological struggle that accompanied the founding of the union, and to study the problematic issues contained in the articles of association.

Dov Evron / HASHOMER HADATI IN POLAND – THE PHILOSOPHY AND THE EMULATION

The article examines the philosophical structure of the Hashomer Hadati movement, i.e., the overall philosophy and world outlook that they were struggling to formulate, the theoretical and practical goals, plans and methods. From the methodological point of view, the article discusses these issues on a nationwide basis with respect to Congress Poland and Western Galicia and not on a local basis.

In the second section, the article traces the development of emulation in Hashomer Hadati, critical emulation and the struggle with this issue. The problematic nature of emulation had already surfaced in the early days of this national-religious youth movement. The article notes these observations and examines the effect of imitation and the struggle with it while relating to the fact that the youth movement in Congress Poland, Western Galicia and Upper Silesia endangered itself when it took the unpopular step of choosing the movement's name, Hashomer Hadati. Its association with "Hashomer Hatzair" was obvious from the moment the movement moved from the stage of innocent imitation to the stage of critical imitation, in which the similarities and the differences between these two movements were defined. This natural tendency to enter the critical emulation stage aroused opposition among rabbis and Mizrachi leaders. The article examines this opposition and its effects.

Shula Keshet / THE YAMIM VE'LEILOT AFFAIR: IDEOLOGICAL CENSORSHIP

Natan Bistritsky-Agmon's book, Yamim Ve'Leilot, a long novel (over 700 pages) written in a powerful expressionist style, was one of the first works that dealt with the historical-social reality of the Third Aliyah. The novel, which was based on the Upper Betania commune, was considered a milestone in the history of Hebrew literature. The first edition of the work was published in 1926, shortly after the historical events which served as its inspiration had taken place. It aroused mixed reactions among readers and critics and particularly among those involved in the Betania commune. They felt that the motif used by the author to describe the experiences of the first Hashomer Hatzair olim to arrive in Palestine distorted the "truth" and that it was a radical and overly passionate presentation of the figures involved. The indignant criticism leveled by Meir Yaari, the undisputed leader of Hashomer Hatzair, and the dominant figure of the Upper Betania group, brought about heavy censorship of the novel, whose second edition was published in 1940 by Sifriyat Hapoalim.

The opening discussion of the article is based on the text itself and focuses on the ideological direction of the work. The first version of the novel is compared to a collection of other works written during this period which describes the experiences associated with the upbuilding of Eretz Israel by means of images, symbols and thematics taken from messianic philosophy. In Bistritsky's work the problematic and ambivalent genre, which attracted other poets and authors during this period, was realized in symbols and language taken from the other messianism, i.e., false messianism. For the readers of that period, the scandalous implications detracted from the work.

The second half of the article is devoted to the clarification of the ideological censorship that was forced on the author by the editorial board headed by Meir Yaari and Yaakov Hazan. The comparison of the editions and the definition of the censor's objectives it contains is

trailblazing research that has not yet been carried out by literary research.

The core of the article is a clarification of this affair, which combines literary and social relationships and describes the power struggle in the ideological-social organizations of the times.

Dan Laor / VARIETIES OF ZIONISM: THE CASE OF S.Y. AGNON

This article discusses the way in which Shmuel Yoseph Agnon related to Zionism. The article begins with Agnon's Zionist biography, his early history, the formation of his Zionist consciousness against the backdrop of the times and the physical setting, his Aliyah to Eretz Israel during the Second Aliyah, his Yerida as well as his decision to come on Aliyah again in 1924, while involved in the process of "Hazara B'tshuva". The article then turns to a detailed discussion of the Zionist content of his work. The main emphasis is on his short stories and novels, although other material is also presented, quotations from various contexts, such as notes, speeches, interviews for journals, along with other non-literary texts that are directly relevant to the subject. The discussion dealing with the author's literary works not only focuses on those whose main topic is Zionism, such as the novel *T'mol Shilshom* or the short story "Tahat Haetz", but also works in which Zionism is touched upon indirectly, such as "Oreach Nata Lalun" or "B'levay Yamim".

The article asserts that various aspects of Zionist thought occupy a central place in Agnon's writing and that the author's well-defined approach to this philosophy emanate from his Jewish-religious world outlook and from his daily life. Agnon recognizes the dead-end quality of Jewish life in the Diaspora and his writing unequivocally points to Eretz Israel as the indisputable alternative. Nevertheless, he believes that Zionism is the conscious or unconscious fulfillment of the historic and

religious yearning of the Jewish People for Eretz Israel as expressed in various ways in the traditional Jewish culture. This approach immediately exposes the weakness of the Zionist enterprise (and afterwards of the State of Israel): it may offer a safe haven for Jews, but it does not hold the promise of an appropriate solution for Judaism and the Jewish tradition. Yitzhak Komer, the main character in T'mol Shilshom, who is torn between the secular city of Jaffa and the traditional Jerusalem, is a victim of this social and ideological reality. The Agnon works that portray this conflict symbolize both the expectation that the split between secular Zionism and religion and tradition will be healed and the aspiration for a Jewish renaissance in Eretz Israel. The declaration made by the narrator at the end of "Oreach Nata Lalun" should be interpreted in this light. He announces that "It is the Batei Midrash and synagogues outside of Eretz Israel that will define Eretz Israel". The ideological foundation and particularly the way of dealing with Zionism found in Agnon's literary works display a spiritual connection to the philosophy of Rabbi A.I. Kook by presenting a Zionist national-religious viewpoint that seeks to close the historic gap between religious Judaism and the nationalist-Zionist trend.

Yuval Frenckel / ULTRA-ORTHODOX AND RELIGIOUS JEWRY IN JERUSALEM DURING THE SIEGE

A firmly established myth is associated with the battle for Jerusalem during the War of Independence in 1948. Its main contention is that Jerusalem did not succeed in mobilizing its full human potential because of its demographic structure and particularly because of religious "elements" from the old Yishuv that did not join the fight and even put out a white flag and sought to capitulate and surrender Jerusalem to the foreign authorities.

The purpose of this article is to examine this myth and to attempt to present as balanced and authentic a picture as possible of the religious and ultra-orthodox communities in Jerusalem and investigate whether or not they mobilized to defend their city during the War of Independence. The article describes the disposition of the religious and ultra-orthodox forces that operated in Jerusalem, while attempting to estimate their overall numerical scope and the importance of the groups themselves. In addition it examines the attitudes of the various religious trends towards the fledgling state and how they were incorporated into the defense forces.

Shalom Ratzabi / THE CONTROVERSY OF EXILE DENIAL DURING THE THIRTIES

The "Exile denial" idea in Jewish national philosophy originated with a new way of looking at the Diaspora. Exile was no longer perceived on the basis of a-priori, metaphysical assumptions, instead it was looked upon as a social and historical phenomenon. The theorists of the new Jewish nationalist philosophy sought to understand it and to discover its sources, which they planned to use as the basis for a "changing and redeeming social endeavor". The distinction between the idea of "Exile denial" and the traditional view of the Diaspora can be seen in the following assumptions: A. The Diaspora does not have a purpose or a meaning; B. Exile is a negative phenomenon, and not necessarily because it threatens survival and causes hardships, but rather because it distorts the order of life and destroys the authentic creativity of the nation and the individual; C. Given modern nationalism, the Diaspora has become untenable. Thus there is no remedy for it in its present form. If the People of Israel seeks to survive as a nation it must return to its homeland and establish its state there

At the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties the dispute regarding the final goal of Zionism was renewed. At the same time the controversy surrounding the idea of "Exile denial" took on new momentum. According to several points of view, it was the litmus test for the essence and goals of Zionism.

Since the radicals in Brit Hashalom sought legitimation of their viewpoints in the theories of Ahad HaAm, it is natural that this matter, like other issues that involve assumptions and concepts derived from the philosophies of Ahad HaAm, would play a central role in the renewed controversy. In light of this, the article examines the sources of their opinions and the link between the denial or support of Jewish tradition and the concept of "Exile denial".

תקצירים באנגלית