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ATTITUDES OF ZIONIST INTELLECTUALS TO THE ARAB POPULATION
IN PALESTINE AS EXPRESSED IN THE LITERATURE BEFORE THE
YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION OF 1908

New York University

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POPULATION IN PALESTINE AS EXPRESSED IN
THE LITERATURE BEFORE THE YOUNG
TURK REVOLUTION OF 1908

BY

CHANA SOSEVSKY

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ABSTRACT

ATTITUDES OF ZIONIST INTELLECTUALS TO THE ARAB POPULATION IN PALESTINE AS EXPRESSED IN THE LITERATURE BEFORE THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION OF 1908

by
Chana Sosevsky

thesis advisor: Professor Max Kortopeter

This study describes the attitudes of the Jewish intellectuals in Palestine and Europe to the Arab population in Palestine in the very early period of Zionist activity, beginning with the first Aliyah in 1881 until the Young Turk Revolution of 1908.

Following a brief introduction to the history of Zionism and Arab Nationalism, the works of Theodore Herzl and Ahad Haam are examined, as each provided impetus and leadership in terms of policy and attitudes. The periodic literature and the fiction of the period are then used to provide important insights into the temper of the time, while a discussion of the "conquest of labor" issue serves as a case study of a sensitive point of contact between the two peoples. A short epilogue points out that the 1908 Young Turk Revolution aroused a legitimate concern in the Jewish community about a hostility on the part of an organized and articulate nationalistic Arab community.

This thesis concludes that prior to 1908 Jews had been for the most part able to dismiss lightly the nationalistic flavor of the Arab aspirations in Palestine. Much of their literature therefore expresses a sympathetic and admiring attitude towards their neighbors. The literature also reflects their intuitive reaction

to one human dilemmas involved in the return of a nation to its
ancestral homeland which had been settled by another people.

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INTRODUCTION

The problematic nature of the relationship between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East has long been a subject of concern and analysis to politicians, world leaders and historians. A clear understanding of the evolution of that relationship is crucial before one can even attempt to explore the possibilities for future developments in the area.

This thesis proposes to describe the attitudes of the Jewish population in Palestine and of its leadership in Europe to the Arab population of Palestine as expressed through its periodic literature and belle lettres in the very early period of Zionist activity beginning with the First Aliya (1881) until the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. Until very recently research about the early Arab-Jewish literature has devoted itself to the period immediately preceding the first world war. Historians have often chosen to begin their studies with developments in 1908 since that year marked the end of the leadership of Sultan Abdul Hamid, beginning a period of nationalist ferment throughout the Ottoman Empire. Jews were able until that point to disregard the nationalist flavor of Arab hopes in the area and belittled the serious nature of Arab-Jewish conflict as it reflected itself in sporadic inter-community strife. After 1908 they were forced to recognize the reality of Arab hostilities on a new and more threatening

level.

To investigate the period before 1908, however, is to explore the feelings of Zionists toward the Arab people before they had become a major threat to the Zionist cause. It is to study their instinctive reactions to the moral and human dilemma involved in the settling of Jews in their ancient homeland, now occupied by another people.

Following a short introduction to the history of Zionism and Arab nationalism, this thesis will attempt to outline and describe the attitudes of early Zionists in Europe and in Palestine to the Arab population of Palestine as they were expressed in the literature. It will attempt to answer in part the question asked by many observers in that troubled area as to how the original formulators of Zionist policy and the first settlers viewed the realities of the situation and the possibilities for Arab-Jewish interaction. The work and memoirs of Theodore Herzl and Ahad Ha'am are crucial in such a study because each provided impetus and leadership in terms of policy and attitude. The periodicals of the period supply a direct impression of the attitudes amongst the intelligentsia and are especially important in that they were particularly influential in affecting the attitudes of a very literate population. The presentation of the Arab in Hebrew fiction affords illuminating insight into the emotional temper of the time. A last chapter devoted to the "conquest of labor" issue serves as a case study of a sensitive point of contact between the two peoples as represented in the Hebrew press.¹

¹Two comprehensive articles written about attitudes

in Hebrew periodical literature and fiction vis a vis the Arabs are Yosef Gorni's "The Roots of the Consciousness of the Arab-Jewish confrontation in the years 1900-1918" (Zionut 1974, pp. 73-110) and Isaac Barzilay's "The Arab in Modern Hebrew Literature: Image and Problem (1880-1918)" (Hebrew Studies, vol. 18, 1977, pp. 23-49). Both, however, use the end of World War I and the beginning of the British mandate as the closing date of their studies and find in that year a crucial turning point in Arab-Jewish relations. This study, on the other hand, finds an important change in the quality of Arab-Jewish relations as a result of the Young Turk Revolution in 1908.

Zionism--The Birth of a Movement

Zionism, deeply rooted in both Jewish religious experience, and in the development of nineteenth century European nationalism, has alternatively been defined as a religious movement, a secular messianic movement and as a nationalist movement.¹

The Orthodox Jew has, since the beginning of the Diaspora, prayed in the direction of Jerusalem and entreated three times daily for the return to Zion--Zion representing a spiritual condition as well as a geographically defined location.

According to Nachmanides, the prominent fourteenth century Biblical exegete and Talmudist, the injunction to inhabit the land of Israel, Mitzvat Yishuv Haaretz, is a divine command.² According to Maimonides, the twelfth century codifier and philosopher, while settling the land is not a Biblical injunction, the very fact that a significant portion of Biblical commands are dependent on one's presence in the Land of Israel, itself evidences the centrality of the land in Judaic religious practice.³

¹Arthur Hertzberg, The Zionist Idea, N.Y., , p. 17.

²Aryeh Newman, "The Centrality of Eretz Yisrael in Nachmanides," Tradition, Summer 1968, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 21-31.

³Zvi Hirsch Kalischer whose views are discussed in more detail on page 10 of this chapter believed that because of Nachmanides' view it was incumbent upon all Jews to settle in

For the Satmar among other Chasidic sects worldwide and for the Neturei Karta sect in Israel, only the Messiah can summon the era during which the Jewish nation will resume its political existence and any attempt to create a Jewish state prior to his arrival constitutes sin.⁴

Many Orthodox Jews have become Zionists with the conviction that the era marking the formation of the State of Israel is the "beginning of the redemption" (Hatchalta D'geula) and that any Jew who contributes financially and actively to the State is helping in bringing about the messianic period.⁵

Secular Zionists define a return to Zion as a return to Palestine, not contingent upon the appearance of a messiah, nor upon any spiritual transformation. Zionism in this context is a nationalist movement.⁶

It is the purpose of this section of the Introduction to outline the history of secular Zionism in its Jewish

Palestine. See Sam N. Lehman-Wilzig, "Proto-Zionism and its Proto-Herzl: The Philosophy and Efforts of Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer," Tradition, Summer 1926, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 56-57.

⁴Norman Lamm, "The Ideology of the Neturei Karta According to the Satmarer Version," Tradition, Fall 1971, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 38-64.

⁵This view motivated Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai. See page 11 of this chapter.

⁶Reform Judaism traditionally saw itself firmly rooted in the milieu of Western Europe and the United States, defining Zion as any land where a Jew can be fully emancipated and fulfill his moral obligations according to the Jewish heritage. The more recent approach of Reform Judaism to the State of Israel has been strongly supportive, albeit in an entirely secularist framework.

context.⁷

One of the major causes for the advent of secular Zionism was the failure of the Enlightenment to bring about true emancipation for the Jew in Europe. Rationalism, the powerful intellectual force behind Enlightenment and the French Revolution was a system of thought which assumed that natural and human phenomena can be explained through reason. It stood in opposition to clericalism, to the ancien regime, and to persecution of minorities including the Jews. However, anti-Semitism was not totally foreign to the rationalist since he detested clannish superstition and obscurantism, all qualities commonly attributed to Jewish life.

In France, emancipation and the achievement of legal equality began in the wake of the French Revolution and was achieved in 1791. In 1794 there was an interlude of reaction and the Jews who were unfortunately associated with Robespierrean excesses became the targets of renewed anti-Semitism. This was especially true in Alsace-Lorraine where economic conditions were stringent and where Jewish moneylenders were

⁷ It is important to note that Zionism, understood as a movement encouraging the Jewish people to settle in Palestine, was not exclusively a Jewish phenomenon, and it originated much before the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. Nachum Sokolow's two volume work, History of Zionism (London, 1919), describes in detail the Zionism of Bible-reading Englishmen who, during the 1600s, often studied the texts of Scriptures in the original Hebrew. These early Zionists desired to rebuild the Jewish nation in Palestine. It is interesting that many of those Christians also believed that Jews should further be allowed to enter England, which highlights the difference between their Zionism and the Zionism of nineteenth and twentieth century Christians who supported Jewish settlement in Palestine in order to prevent the settlement of Jewish refugees in their respective countries or in order not to have to grant emancipation to Jewish citizens. (Ben Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State, Mass., 1961, ch. 8.)

responsible for many foreclosures.

In 1806 Napoleon convened the Sanhedrin, a meeting of Rabbis and prominent laymen and questioned them extensively regarding their loyalty to religion and state. The purpose of this strategy was to force Jewish leaders themselves to publically deny the nationalistic aspects of Judaism and to limit its scope to a purely religious field. Thus the statement emerged that the Jew was to allow nothing to stand between him and his full duty and devotion to the state which had emancipated him, allowing him in the realm of faith to maintain the concept of his chosenness and his dream of the Messiah.⁸

As a result of this proclamation Jews were promised equality under French law. The Jew continued to revere Napoleon as their great egalitarian redeemer despite the "Infamous Decree" of 1808 in which Jewish moneylending was condemned and the area in which Jews were permitted to reside was limited. Obviously only the memory of the Grand Sanhedrin and the Declaration of Emancipation made its mark upon the Jewish consciousness eager to be assured of its acceptance in European society.

A reactionary mood developed in the early nineteenth century which rejected the tenets of the Enlightenment and rationalism and adopted a Romantic perspective adoring the "fatherland" and the "folk." Politically the Congress of Vienna represented this mood of reaction and in most countries

⁸"Decisions Doctrinaires du Grand Sanhedrin," Paris, 1812, p. 5, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 22.

the Napoleonic reforms were abolished and the position of the Jew was once more endangered. It is not surprising that the trend toward nationalistic exclusiveness, anticosmopolitanism, and xenophobia bore along with it a new brand of anti-Semitism based on the Jew's status of stranger par excellence, rather than upon his religious beliefs. Western European Jews were naturally shocked by this turn toward anti-Semitism, but many chose to interpret it as a result of the incomplete assimilation and acculturation of the Jew into Western society. Many Jews in Germany now joined associations like the Zentralverein (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Persuasion) in an attempt to emphasize their allegiance to the state and their identity as Germans. Others chose conversion as the ultimate attempt toward assimilation into gentile society, convinced that only by denying totally the Jewish heritage can one become truly German or French.

While in Western Europe the position of the Jew was in constant flux since the advent of the French Revolution, progress and reform of any kind were slow to come to Russia and Eastern Europe and movement toward the emancipation of the Jew was almost at a standstill until the 1860s. It was only during the reign of Alexander II that a spirit of toleration seemed to signal a new era for Jews in Russia. Their hopes, already diminishing at the end of his reign when a conservative reaction developed, were dashed completely when a Jew was implicated in his assassination and pogroms resulted. Among the May Laws of 1882 were those forbidding the settling of Jews in rural areas, establishing a numerus clausus in the

Russian school system, limiting the number of Jews in the professions, and culminating in the eviction of the Jewish community from Moscow in 1891. Probably the gravest pogrom of all occurred in Kishinev at the beginning of the twentieth century (1903), encouraged by the Black Hundred and other rightist groups and at best, ignored, if not actually encouraged by the Czarist government.⁹

As a result of the slower rate of emancipation in Eastern Europe, the intellectual life of the Eastern Jewish community also developed differently. Whereas the German and French Jews admired and emulated the sophisticated cultural life about them, backward Russian culture failed to inspire its emulation by the Jewish community.¹⁰ Therefore, the Romanticism of the nineteenth century moved many Eastern European Jews to reach out to their own heritage rather than to become part of the Russian nation. Study of the Hebrew language and classical Jewish texts flourished. While the reform period of Alexander II brought about movement toward Russification among Jews, encouraging them to behave as Jews in the privacy of their home and as Russians in their public and professional lives, conversion never became as prevalent in Russia as it had become in the West. A reaction against

⁹ April 6-7, 1903 and again October 19-20, 1905.

¹⁰ In his discussion of Jewish nationalism, Howard Morley Sachar, in The Course of Modern Jewish History, stresses his disagreement with those historians who lay great emphasis on anti-Semitism as the cause of the birth of the Zionist movement. For Sachar the influence of other nationalist movements and the Romantic Era were the more important factors.

Russification, especially by poets like Peretz Smolenskin, coincided with the end of the liberal era of Alexander II. Smolenskin likened those who denigrated the Jewish tradition to thieves who rob the Jewish people of both the crutch of nationalism and of religion and are then astounded to see it fall.¹¹ His call was initially only for the return to Jewish pride and became a demand for the return to Palestine only after the pogroms of the 1880s.

Although the history of modern Zionism begins in effect in the late nineteenth century with the development of the Hibbat Zion movement and with Herzl's commitment to the cause, there were earlier in the century cogent and explicit expressions of the Zionist ideal.

Moses Hess, a German born Jew, exiled to France, wrote Rome and Jerusalem in 1862. A man of Bohemian lifestyle and largely non-Jewish involvements, Hess became disillusioned with the quality of the revolutions of 1848. He predated Herzl in his keen understanding of the problem of anti-Semitism and in his arrival at the conclusion that only a land of their own would solve the Jews' problem in Europe. Hess noted the change in the nature of nationalism from the "liberal nationalism" of the Enlightenment era to the "romantic nationalism" which spoke to the national soul and the history of the folk. In the development of "romantic nationalism" it seemed to Hess that the hope of assimilationist Jewry and of the Reform Jewish movement to achieve acceptance and emancipation

¹¹ Peretz Smolenskin, "The Haskalah of Berlin," 1883, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 155.

died. How can a Jew share in the folk history of another nation?¹²

Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai (1798-1878) and Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer (1795-1875) spoke to the religious problem involving the nature of messianic intervention and the return to Zion. Both were deeply influenced by nationalist movements in Italy, Germany, the Balkans and Poland. They claimed that Jewish nationalists must precede the Messiah in beginning Jewish settlements in Palestine and thus speed his arrival. In Seeking Zion (Drishat Zion), published by Kalischer in 1862, he writes,

My dear reader! Cast aside the conventional view that the Messiah will suddenly sound a blast on the great trumpet and cause all the inhabitants of the earth to tremble. On the contrary, the Redemption will begin by awakening the support among philanthropists and by gaining the consent of the nations to the gathering of some of the scattered of Israel into the Holy Land.¹³

These three forerunners of Zionism were uniformly ignored by the Jewish community. In fact, Herzl later claimed that he had never read Rome and Jerusalem, a tract which so closely echoed his own thinking. Hess, Alkalai and Kalischer all spoke of Zionism at a time when the Jews of Western Europe were only beginning to feel the sweet taste of emancipation and when it was so important for the Jew to loudly declare his German, or French identity. The Orthodox world ignored

¹²Hess apparently had more hope for French Jewry, where it seemed that "liberal nationalism" would predominate and less hope for Jews in Germany where the nationalism had assumed a very romantic tone.

¹³Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, Drishat Zion (Seeking Zion), 1862, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 111.

the works of the two rabbis largely because in their fight against assimilation and religious reform they had become so sensitive to the infiltration of nontraditional thought that they felt threatened by any rabbi who spoke of the modern manifestations of nationalism in foreign lands.¹⁴

In discussing the advent of Zionism in the late nineteenth century it is important to note that anti-Semitism in its late nineteenth century form was probably the most important factor in the development of the movement.¹⁵ The 1870s saw the degeneration of the position of the lower middle class in Germany, with the concomitant possibility that this class might become associated with Marxism. The use of anti-Semitic propaganda in order to diffuse class anger toward the state became common practice among the leadership. Eventually Bismark, realizing the usefulness of Jew-baiting, overcame his discomfort with an anti-Semitic stance and lent the practice its respectability. In France, although there was an equivalent reaction to the liberal revolution, anti-Semitism did not immediately become as forceful. Edouard Drumant's severely vituperative publication, La France Juive (1886) did become popular among royalists and clericalists but it was only with the advent of the Dreyfus scandal¹⁶ that

¹⁴Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁵The discussion of late nineteenth century Zionism follows closely Sachar's treatment of the subject. (Howard Morley Sachar, The Course of Modern Jewish History, N.Y., 1958, pp. 221-239. While legal emancipation had been achieved in Western Europe by 1871, it was precisely then that a new wave of anti-Semitism began to sweep over Europe.

¹⁶For a detailed description of the Dreyfus affair see p. 18 of this Introduction.

anti-Semitism became a burning national issue.

A very new and seminal factor in the spread of anti-Semitism was racism, a pseudo-scientific approach to the origin of peoples and their qualities. Proponents of the myth of Aryan superiority were Count Joseph Arthur Gobineau, the prophet of racism, the composer Richard Wagner, and Houston Stuart Chamberlain, who in his Foundations of the Nineteenth Century sought to prove that all valuable contributions to society were in effect due to the Aryan personality. Nietzsche's works, while not essentially racist, were easily distorted for propagandist purposes.

The attitude of enlightenment-oriented Jewry toward the recurrence of anti-Semitism trends in the early nineteenth century had generally been that Jews had obviously not assimilated enough into the society among which they lived and that they had not yet proven that they would be a constructive and cooperative element in society. This attitude, while defensive, was yet optimistic for there was the implied hope that through its own efforts Jewry would be able to bring about its own emancipation. Whereas anti-Semitism had traditionally been on religious and cultural grounds and therefore escapable through conversion, the newer concepts of national characteristics and racism barred the avenues of escape to the Jew. It became imperative for the Jew to attempt to deal with the problems of his Jewishness more affirmatively.

Two events, the pogroms of the 1880s in Russia, and the Dreyfus scandal in France, highlighted the naiveté of attempts to escape one's Jewish origins. In the desperate efforts

to solve a problem which threatened the survival of the Jewish community, the concept of modern secular Zionism was born.

Leo Pinsker, born in Russian Poland in 1821, was a prominent assimilated Jew who insisted that Russian language and culture be adopted by Russian Jewry. As a result of the pogroms after the assassination of Czar Alexander II, he abandoned his active assimilationist stance. In Autoemancipation, published anonymously in 1883, Pinsker hypothesized concerning the nature of anti-Semitism. His theory was that the Jews were victimized in the various European countries because of their status as strangers who, unlike other aliens, could never offer hospitality nor retaliation. The Jewish nation was but a spiritual creature, a ghost, among the nations. He says:

The relations of the nations one to another may be adjusted fairly well by explicit understandings, by arrangements based upon international law, treaties, and especially upon a certain equality in rank and mutually admitted rights...No such equality in rank appears in the course of the nations with the Jews...

The Jewish people has no fatherland of its own though many motherlands, it has no rallying point, no center of gravity, no government of its own, no accredited representative. It is everywhere a guest and nowhere at home...

This ghostlike apparition of a people without unity or organization, without land or other bond of union, no longer alive, yet moving among the living, this eerie form scarcely paralleled in history, unlike anything that precedes or follows it, could not fail to make a strange and peculiar impression upon the congress of nations.¹⁷

Pinsker suggests that the lack of national self-respect

¹⁷ Leo Pinsker, Autoemancipation: An Appeal to His People by a Russian Jew, 1882, quoted in Hertzberg, pp. 181-186.

and confidence can be corrected only by establishing a homeland preferably with the help of cultured and moneyed Jewry in Western Europe. In regard to the location of the Jewish homeland, he insists that while Palestine is preferable, the Jew must relocate to any other hospitable area if necessary.

Pinsker found an audience among Jewish intellectuals now rejecting enlightened assimilation. It is interesting to note that while pogroms had previously occurred in Russia, it was only during the 1880s that Jewish intellectuals felt propelled toward nationalism rather than toward more extreme assimilation. The pogroms of the 1880s, unlike those which had preceded them, had the approval of journalists, university students, and the Russian intelligentsia. The enlightened university-educated Jews, who had always felt that they had more in common with educated Russians than with their poverty-stricken fellow Jew, now realized that anti-Semitism was common to all classes and that within Russian society the Jew can find no haven. Jewish students, comforting weeping fellow Jews in a synagogue in Kiev following the massacre, expressed the following emotion:

We are your brothers, we are Jews like you. We regret and repent that we considered ourselves Russians and not Jews until now. The events of the past weeks--the pogroms in Eliaavetgrad, in Balta, here in Kiev and in other cities have shown us how tragically we were mistaken. Yes, we are Jews.¹⁸

Among those who harkened eagerly to Pinsker's impassioned plea were members of the Hibbat Zion groups (Love of

¹⁸Abraham Cahan, Bletter Fun Mein Leben, 1926, vol. 1, p. 500, quoted in Halpern, p. 62.

Zion) which were independent societies and associations, the major purpose of which was to encourage and promote emigration to Palestine. These groups, established in various cities in Russia and Poland, varied in their religious orientation and goals, some concentrating on active aliya (emigration to Israel) and some on providing funds to those making the aliya (olim). The First Aliya members emigrated from Kharkov in 1881. In 1882 members of the BILU¹⁹ group of high school and university students left Odessa hoping to organize new agricultural settlements on socialist lines. Only 16 of the original 600 Biluim arrived in Palestine. The new olim met a surprisingly negative response from the orthodox Jewish community of Jerusalem who looked askance at their impious ways,²⁰ and from the Turkish authorities who forbade Jewish immigration to Palestine in 1893.²¹ They found themselves totally unprepared for both the emotional and physical hardships they encountered in the rugged and inhospitable land. Unfortunately they were forced to resort to dependence on aid from European Jewry, mainly from the great patron, Baron Edmund de Rothchild. Although Rothchild did become active in the support of the new communities established by Eastern European emigrants,

¹⁹ BILU is derived from the Hebrew initials of "Bait Ya'akov l'chu Venelcha" (House of Jacob, Let Us Go).

²⁰ The Jewish community in Jerusalem which for generations had relied on funds from Europe (Chaluka), feared that the new olim would compete with them for these funds.

²¹ The attitude of the Ottoman state to Jewish settlement in Palestine had been quite positive from 1840 until 1880. At that point Turkish relations with both England and Russia were strained and immigrants from Russia seemed untrustworthy in the mind of the Sultan.

his relationship with the settlers, especially in regard to their essential goals of independence and social equality, was unfortunate. In time, these early settlers became not very different from ordinary plantation owners, using cheap hired labor and working for commercial profit.²²

In Europe the 1884 Kattowitz Congress of the Hibbat Zion movement set up the machinery which was to represent Zionist activity in the East until the first World War. Pinsker was elected President at that meeting but although such slogans as "return to the soil" were stressed, the organization became involved in relatively petty issues and was never able to effectively clarify the scope of its activity. One of the many problems besetting the organization was a lack of cohesiveness and wranglings between the orthodox element, the secularists and the cultural Zionists which served to severely limit its contribution toward the Zionist cause.

Whereas there existed in Eastern Europe a deep longing for Palestine and a passionate nationalistic feeling among many Jews, the institutions designed to deal with Palestinian settlements were highly ineffective, and it was only when Zionism became a burning ideal in the West that effective moves were made to turn the dream of the return to Zion into a reality. The Dreyfus trial and scandal of 1894-1898 was that traumatic event which proved to many Western Jews that anti-Semitism was and would forever be a burden and barrier to Jewish emancipation.

²²See chapter on Conquest of Labor, p. 118.

Albert Dreyfus, a wealthy Jewish captain in the French army was accused with only the slightest circumstantial evidence of complicity with the Germans and collusion to deliver a valuable artillery manual into German hands. When after having exiled and jailed him for four years, the government became aware of evidence linking Walsin Esterhazy to the deed, there was an attempt to conceal the evidence in order to protect the honor of the French army. When new evidence became available and Esterhazy committed suicide, Dreyfus was retried and again found guilty with mitigating circumstances. At this point the scandal broke as a liberal pro-Jewish press battled a rightist clericalist anti-Semitic faction. As a result of the affair political and military careers were created and destroyed. The trauma felt by the Jewish community of Western Europe was incomparable, for despite the pro-Jewish agitation and despite the downfall of the powerful rightist faction, it remained that anti-Semitism had attempted and succeeded in bending the machinery of justice in the Republic of France. Several years later Dreyfus was exonerated and admitted to the Legion of Honor, but the affair had already made its indelible impression upon the minds of many Jews.

One of those to whom the Dreyfus scandal highlighted the gravity and permanence of the Jewish problem was Theodore Herzl, the correspondent to the Paris trial from the Neue Frie Presse of the Hapsburg Empire. Herzl's training at law and prominence in the field of journalism enabled him to publicize and begin to implement the plan for the solution to the

great problem facing his people. In 1896 he published The Jewish State (Der Judenstat), a concise statement of the necessity of the founding of the Jewish state as the only means by which to rid both the Jews and the non-Jewish community of the curse of anti-Semitism.²³

Rejected by the wealthy and prestigious Western Jews, Herzl found support and love amongst the masses in England and in Eastern Europe where thousands lined the streets as he drove through their cities. A passionate nationalism elicited by his magnetic appeal and timely message in effect created the Zionist movement. The First Zionist Congress of 1897 was marvelously attended and the number of communities and Zionist-oriented groups and organizations represented grew at each succeeding conference.

During ensuing congresses rifts became apparent between different factions in the Zionist movement. It was divided along both religious and philosophical lines. Ahad Ha'am (1856-1927) represented the spiritual or cultural Zionists who emphasized the need for a spiritual rather than a political home in Palestine. Herzl led the "political Zionists" who insisted that a charter was the one important factor in creating the state. The Hibbat Zion movement represented the "practical Zionists" to whom emigration and working the soil was primary.

It was becoming increasingly clear after 1897 that the various factions were pulling the movement in different

²³For additional details concerning Herzl's Zionist career, see the chapter on Herzl.

directions, and in 1903 and 1904 the Zionist movement faced its worst crisis and its continued existence became questionable. After the pogrom in Kishinev, Herzl felt compelled to accept Britain's latest suggestion that Uganda be the Jewish national home. At the Congress of 1903, Dr. Max Nordau's speech recommending Uganda as a Nachtsyl (shelter for the night), was received with such hatred and fury that he claimed that he felt it rising at him from the audience in waves.²⁴ The Russian delegates, including those from Kishinev who had most to gain from the plan, left the auditorium and formed their own congress committing themselves irrevocably to settlement in Palestine.

Fortunately, the Zionist movement was spared having to make a decision which would have permanently scarred it when England rescinded its offer of an area which many Englishmen felt was too valuable to be donated to the Jews. After Herzl's death the new president of the movement, David Wolffsohn, was able to effect a compromise among the factions and the breach was healed. In 1907 the goals of the movement were specified as calling for a charter, continued settlement, and emphasis upon both a spiritual center and the rejuvenation of the Hebrew language in Palestine. Thus all three factions were represented satisfactorily.

The Second Aliya, beginning in 1901 poured almost 20,000 olim into Palestine. Like those of the First Aliya, they intended to work on agricultural settlements.²⁵ Philosophers

²⁴Sachar, p. 277.

²⁵The strong commitment of the members of the First

such as Aaron David Gordon who urged that manual labor has resuscitating effects upon national groups, and Nahman Syrkin and Ber Borochov, who emphasized the socialist goals of the new settlements provided the ideology which inspired the olim to tenaciously adhere to their plans despite the hardships they faced.

Zionism, most often defined as Jewish nationalism differs from other nationalist movements in various ways.²⁶

Aliya to establish agricultural settlements in Palestine rather than engage in trade or commerce which had been particularly Jewish occupations in Europe was an interesting phenomenon stemming from several trends in the Jewish experience. Firstly, the Jewish national memory of ancient Palestine before the Diaspora was of an agricultural society. Prayers, recited three times daily, beseeched G-d for timely rains and rich harvests. Although Russian immigrants had forsaken traditional orthodoxy in their young adult lives the impact of these strong images remained with them. The nineteenth century Hebrew literary revival in Europe glorified the old Jewish agricultural tradition, lyrically describing the strong ancient Jewish nation, living peacefully and prosperously on its fertile land. When in the late nineteenth century the agriculturally based Narodnik movement gained popularity in Russia²⁷ attraction of Jewish revolutionaries, the soil was again strengthened. In addition the olim of the first and second aliyot were in their immigration closing the door on their European pasts, and rejecting the trades which they felt had debased their people in Russia and Europe and had engendered the anti-Semitism from which they were now fleeing.

²⁶ Halpern provides, in chapter 4 of his book, an excellent discussion of the differences between Zionism and different forms of nationalism upon which the following section is based.

While national movements generally express themselves in a struggle for independence and sovereignty over a land in which at least a large portion of the population dwells, for the Zionist movement no such land existed. This situation was complicated by the differences in opinion among Zionists as to whether the goal of political sovereignty, which is assumed to be the essential principle of all other national movements, is most important to Zionism. For Herzl, for example, settlement was worthless without the political charter while Ahad Ha'am insisted that a spiritual center was primary.

Whereas nationalist movements generally seek to revive lethargic national feelings, Zionism had to do battle with two very viable and energetic positions, orthodox and reform movements in Judaism. Both at various times were vociferously opposed to the fledgling movement.

Is Zionism tied to the physical entity of Palestine? On that issue too there existed a variance of opinion. Ideologists such as Ahad Ha'am, Borochoy and Gordon felt that only in Palestine can the Jew feel at home and that there existed in the Jewish national memory a longing for its old land. Pinsker and Herzl, while admitting the validity of these ideas, nevertheless insisted that in order to insure its survival the Jew might be forced to create a new national home.

In 1908, the challenges facing the Zionist movement were many. Relations between the movement and the non-Jewish world were difficult and even relations between Zionists and the Jewish community at large were not simple. Burdened as

the movement was with divisiveness in its own ranks it remained to be seen whether a momentum could be established to realize its aims.

The Rise Of Arab Nationalism

It is undoubtedly a true indication of the spirit of energy, innovation, and a search for national fulfillment, which are characteristic of the nineteenth century, that the same crucial years that marked the resurgence of Zionistic thought also saw the beginning of the rise of its natural adversary, Arab nationalism. The two movements obviously share an interest in the same general geographic locale in the Middle East. More importantly, in the case of both Arab nationalism and Zionism, a nation which had at one time in the distant past, enjoyed a glorious period of power and culture, and which had since that time become subservient to other powers, was experiencing a rebirth, drawing upon its history, language and culture in order to rebuild national identity.

Kemal Karpat, in his introduction to Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East, defines the purpose of a nationalistic ideology as reinterpreting history to create pride in the past and confidence in the future and to identify an ethnic group with a particular region. In addition, it introduces new ideas by adapting them to the

past experience and values of the people.¹

For example, a major area of discussion, among nationalists as well as religious reformers in Islam, became the glorification of the era of pure Islam which coincided with the age of Arab supremacy in the Middle East from 622-945. A movement for a return to a religious and social environment reminiscent of that era thus began the salafiyya movement which served as a foundation for Western nationalist ideals. Even among Christian Arabs, the era of early Arabic glory, albeit under Islam, became the ideal toward which all Arabs, Christian and Moslem alike, must work.

Who is an Arab? The term originally referred to the Bedouin of the desert, the nonurban element of Middle Eastern society. Until the nineteenth century a citizen of one of the cities in the area was defined according to his religion: Christian, Moslem, or Jew. The term "Arab" gradually came to identify one who resides in the Arab world, and though he need not be of pure Arab ancestry, who assumes the manner, traditions, and most crucially, the language of the Arab people.² The designation "Arab" could therefore refer to both Moslems or Christians, since Arabization, not Islamization had become the identifying criterion by the late nineteenth century.

The Arabs remained acutely aware of their cultural and linguistic uniqueness within the Ottoman Empire and of

¹Kemal Karpat, ed., Political and Social Thoughts in the Contemporary Middle East, N.Y., 1968, Introduction.

²George Antonius, The Arab Awakening, Philadelphia, 1939, p. 18.

their very special status within Islam. This awareness can be defined as their Arab consciousness. When this consciousness became the basis of their demands for political rights, Arab nationalism was born.³

In attempting to assess the influence of early nineteenth century personalities and events on the evolution of Arab nationalism one cannot overlook the effect of Napoleon, the Wahhabis, and Muhammad Ali on the Arab people. Napoleon, who arrived in Egypt in 1798, was crucial in that he shocked the Middle East out of a period of stagnation into a confrontation with the Western world, its power, and its culture. The arrival of the printing press, which helped return to the Arabs their own literary tradition, and the resentment Napoleon inspired against the encroachment of Western influence, perhaps helped sow the seeds of Arab consciousness and discontent.⁴

A very early phenomenon, often described as the initial manifestation of nationalism in Arabia was the Wahhabi movement which was a concentrated attack on the religious laxity of the Ottoman government and Sultan and the influence of the ungodly West. Although the Wahhabi movement was religious in scope, calling for the return to the purity of an earlier era in Islam, it remained significant in that it recalled

³Yehoshua Porath, The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918-1929, London, 1974, p. 20.

⁴Hisham Sharabi, Arab Intellectuals and the West, Baltimore, 1970, p. 35.

an age of Arab supremacy.

To the student of Arab history, perhaps the most obvious manifestation of Arab nationalism at its early stage is the rise and success of Mumammad Ali and his son Ibrahim. During Muhammad Ali's political and military career he rose to the position of Pasha of Egypt in 1805, conquered Syria in 1831, and was granted the hereditary title of Pasha of Egypt in 1841. Under his leadership the Egyptian administration became politically, economically, and militarily almost autonomous.

In Syria the earliest forums for discussion of nationalism and related concepts were the Learned Societies of the 1850s. The Society of Arts and Sciences and the Oriental Society were composed primarily of Christian Arabs; the Syrian Scientific Society formed in 1857 included Arabs of all religious denominations. Of this group Antonius says that it was "the first outward manifestation of a collective national consciousness and its importance in history is that it was the cradle of a new political movement."⁵ It was the Secret Society of Beirut (1875), however, which was the first group formed with the explicit purpose of publicizing nationalist thought. Composed originally of Christians, it eventually attracted Moslems and Druze as well. The Placard Society, which seems to have worked in conjunction with the Secret Society, exhibited posters, the authorship of which remained forever unknown, calling the Arab nation to revolution.

⁵Antonius, The Arab Awakening, pp. 51-54.

The extent of the effect of the Secret Society on Arab nationalism is frequently debated among historians. The general consensus is that both the Secret Society and the Placard Society were premature in their assumption of strong nationalist feeling among the Syrians and the Lebanese. According to a resident of Beirut during those years, the main reaction to the placards was curiosity as to their authorship, and a general opinion that these declarations were but a symptom of Arab unrest in light of Turkish misrule.⁶ It is probable that the placards did give direction to many complaints against oppression,⁷ but there seems to have been a definite reluctance to make a complete break with Turkey.

The history of early and mid-nineteenth century Lebanon created an ambiance of restlessness, dissatisfaction, and openness to Western thought which are essential to the success of nationalist activity. A major factor in Lebanese history had always been an unusually constant contact with the West. Special relationships existed between various religious groups and different Western countries. For example, France represented the Malakite and Maronite interests while the Druze were protected by Great Britain. The many educational institutions established by Western missionaries produced a great number of literate Christian Lebanese, who became

⁶Zeine N. Zeine, The Emergence of Arab Nationalism, N.Y., 1958, pp. 58-59. Zeine quotes from Consul General John Dickson's correspondence from Beirut to the British Ambassador in Constantinople. (Great Britain, Foreign Office, 195/1368 Dispatch #3, Conf., Beyrout, 17 January 1881.)

⁷Antonius, The Arab Awakening, pp. 79-84.

familiar with a Western language, political thought, and philosophy, and who were receptive to nationalist propaganda.

On the other hand, Moslem Lebanese attended Moslem schools where instruction remained in Arabic and concentrated on Arab culture. Since a thorough knowledge of language and literature are necessary in developing nationalist thought and in creating publicity for the cause, the students of these non-Western Moslem schools were in fact better prepared than their Christian countrymen to become the developers of nationalist philosophy and propaganda.⁸

The 1860 massacres in Lebanon, albeit sparked by Christian tendencies toward expansion, clarified in the minds of Christian Lebanese the oppressive and evil nature of the Ottoman administration. As a result, "the seed of patriotism was sown and a movement came into being whose impact was Arab and whose ideology was nationalist instead of sectarian."⁹

Since the Arab provinces formed an intrinsic part of the Ottoman Empire, it is essential to explore the effects that events and personalities in the Ottoman sphere may have had on Arab consciousness in the late nineteenth century. When in 1876 Midhat Pasha justified the constitution to the Sultan arguing that it would certainly diffuse the discontent of the Arab populace, it is doubtful that he had a clear understanding of the workings of the Arab mentality. He was attributing the discontent totally to the prevailing oppression

⁸Antonius, The Arab Awakening, pp. 92-93.

⁹Ibid., p. 60.

and did not consider at all that it might have been a product of burgeoning nationalism.¹⁰

In order to placate the Arab population, Abdul Hamid vitalized his Caliphal role, emphasizing his personal saintliness, supporting religious institutions and funding the repair of Moslem shrines. He appointed Arabs almost exclusively for palace positions, keeping the Sublime Porte and the ministries in Turkish control.

During the years which marked the birth of Arab nationalism, there were many Arabs who although they felt restricted and oppressed by the Hamidian regime, also felt that the Ottoman Empire was the solely surviving unified Islamic state and that the Islamic community could only remain unified and powerful by supporting the Empire. Nevertheless, Arabs remained cognizant of the Hamidian tyranny. When the political tension between Turkey and Russia culminated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, the fires of discontent were fanned. Arabs were forced to fight a distant unknown enemy, and conscription, which had always been a sensitive point among Arabs and which was probably one of the major causes of the unpopularity and downfall in Syria of Ibrahim Pasha, Son of Muhammad Ali, became a point of contention and much discussion among revolutionary secret societies in Syria and Lebanon.

Ironically several of Abdul Hamid's policies which were meant to facilitate a stronger hold on the Arab provinces had secondary repercussions which were totally unexpected.

¹⁰ Antonius, The Arab Awakening, p. 73.

The construction of the Hijaz railway, the purpose of which was the collection of taxes amongst the Arab population and the elimination of transportation problems for the pilgrimage, also helped strengthen the flow of communication amongst the various Arab nationalist groups. Arabs received excellent military training under German specialists like Colonel Von der Goltz, who was recruited by Abdul Hamid to strengthen the Ottoman military machine. Later these officers took on leadership roles in various battles for independence.¹¹

In regard to the relationship of Arabs to the Young Turks, it is interesting that those Arabs who did join the movement in 1908 did so in terms of their Ottoman citizenship and not as Arab nationalists. They looked forward to a period of equality and democracy under Ottoman rule. When the Young Turks almost immediately after the revolution began to dwell on Turkish nationalism and on Turkish ethnic qualities, many Arabs were forced to develop similar attitudes and to use similar tactics in regard to their own culture and heritage.

As the nineteenth century drew towards its close, the influence of the intellectuals on the Muslim community strengthened in the direction of promoting Islamic and Arab pride and thus inadvertently supporting nationalist activity. Much of the intellectual activity during that period was a response to the challenge of superior Western technology and military

¹¹Ibid., pp. 77-78.

strength.¹²

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897), the originator of the Pan-Islamic movement, emphasized the acceptability of reason in Islam which accords much dignity to man and to the possibilities of human endeavor. He wrote that since the Islamic world had failed to develop properly because of Turkish misrule, it can only regain its former glory and fulfill its potential if it finds internal unity. Assabiyya, solidarity as expressed in the Pan-Islamic movement, was to al-Afghani the only means by which the Islamic world could ever compete successfully with the West.

Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), one of al-Afghani's most prominent followers and colleagues, supported a Salafiyya, a recalling of the ways of the ancestors in order to unify all Moslems. For Abduh it represented the most effective method of stripping Islam of dogma and superstition, in order to arrive at a pure Islam which accepted reason and was open to change. Only a purified Islam could conceivably compete with a rationalist and technologically sophisticated West.

For Rashid Rida (d. 1935), one of Abduh's most influential disciples, the only significance of Salafiyya lay in its power to return Moslems to a purer form of worship. The contribution of Abduh and Rashid Rida was essentially in their strong

¹²C. Ernest Dawn distinguishes between different types of reactions to the challenge of Western technology. The conservative Moslem insists that the Islamic world is superior and continues to reject any attempts at Westernization. Some admit to some inferiority in the Moslem world but insist that a return to a purer form of Islam would enable the Moslems to compete with the West. Abduh and other such thinkers insist that Islam must accept the changing world and become part of it. (C. Ernest Dawn, From Ottomanism to Arabism, Illinois, 1973, pp. 122-147.)

call for a return to an Islam of the early period, which lead to a glorification of the Arab heritage itself.

A more directly Arab nationalist approach was taken by Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi (1849-1903), a Moslem from Aleppo whose two major works, Umm al-Qura (Mother of Cities) and Taba'i al-Istibdad (The Character of Tyranny) popularized the Western principles of national rights and government by will of the governed, and emphasized the importance of the Arab people. Implicit in his thought was the assumption that politics and government are subject only to the will of man. He also was a firm believer in the separation of church and state, an ideal quite revolutionary to Islam.¹³

As the twentieth century opened, nationalist demands, while still rather infrequent, became more explicit. A strong statement was made by Negib Azhoury in his manifesto, La Reveil de la Nation Arabe,¹⁴ and through his organization "La League de la Patrie Arabe." In the essay Azhoury accused the Turkish Empire of tyrannizing the Arab population and of fomenting intrigue and religious divisiveness amongst them in order to subdue them. He warns that a new era of national and racial consciousness is dawning and that Arabs are increasingly aware of their homogeneity. He foresees an independent Arab empire encompassing all Arab-speaking nations excluding Egypt and North Africa. The effect of Azhoury's writing on Arab nationalism was negligible, but he did come to the attention

¹³ Sylvia Haim, Arab Nationalism, California, 1962, pp. 9-15.

¹⁴ Azhoury, La Reveil de la Nation Arabe, Paris, 1905.

of Zionist thinkers because of his warnings that Zionists and Arabs in Palestine would ultimately be in severe conflict.¹⁵

Among the influences working upon the development of Arab nationalism in the nineteenth century was the similar but distinctly separate movement toward Egyptian independence. Although the population of Egypt were devoted Moslems and were actively involved in the Pan-Islamic movement there was always the feeling amongst them that the political destiny of Egypt was to develop separately from the rest of the Arab world. While Arab nationalism was anti-Ottoman in scope, Egyptian nationalism was anti-British and pro-Ottoman.

The very first crisis in the nationalist movement in Egypt which had echoes in the Arab world was the Urabi rebellion of 1881. Urabi, who was of peasant origin, suffered deeply from the preference given to Turks and Circassians in the Egyptian army. Very successful at the start of his military career, Urabi had not been promoted for seventeen years when he organized his revolt, which could be classified as almost racial in nature, representing the demand of the Egyptian fellah class in the army.

The core of Egyptian nationalism lay in the reaction of the populace to British control. But ironically it was the positive aspects of the British administration which lead to the development of the Egyptian nationalist movement. Egyptian affairs were so competently managed as to allow the

¹⁵ See Chermoni's response on p. 74.

majority of the population to go about their ordinary routines and intellectuals and revolutionary leaders were free to address themselves to the broad ideological problems inherent in the situation.¹⁶ The press remained unfettered and a myriad of newspapers and magazines were free to publicize anti-British propaganda.

Anti-British sentiment amongst the populace again crystallized essentially around the 1907 Dinshaway incident, where in retaliation for the death of a British soldier, several villagers were publicly executed and others were harshly punished. This brought the fellah population to a clear acceptance of the nationalist ideology of the intelligentsia which had until then made little impact amongst them. In addition many of the thinkers who had until that point concentrated on Pan-Islamic philosophy now turned to the more immediate and pressing problems at hand.

Mustafa Kamil (1874-1908), the leader of the nationalist party and editor of the influential Al-Liwa, was one of the first ideologists who felt free to exploit the students for political ends, encouraging strikes such as the one of 1906 in the law school. His major influence was in strengthening sentiments of nationalism and patriotism. The nationalist party which he lead was formed in 1907 and had a platform demanding a constitution and parliament, increased education, use of the Arabic language in government, increased use of Egyptian officials and removal of capitulations.

¹⁶Nadav Safran, Egypt in Search for Political Community, Cambridge, 1961, p. 61.

Whereas Kamil was militantly anti-British and pro-Ottoman and French, Lufti al-Sayyid (b. 1872) spoke from the perspective of moderate nationalism. He proposed to utilize the vast experience of the British administration in preparing his people for ultimate independence. Before independence could be achieved a national consciousness had to be developed and the "national characteristics" of the Egyptian people had to be modified. He saw his countrymen as weak of character, lacking an independence of spirit, and having a totally self-defeating attitude to authority. These flaws he claimed resulted from Egypt's history of servility.

The movements of Arab and Egyptian nationalism were each unique and separate, the Egyptians emphasizing the particular aspects of their heritage as opposed to Arabic tradition. There were, however, important areas of cooperation which influenced the development of both movements. Nationalist leaders in Egypt such as Mustafa Kamil and Lutfi al-Sayyid, through their charisma and techniques¹⁷ had impact on nationalist groups in the Middle East. Because the press was severely censored in Arab lands much of the ideology and propaganda of Arab nationalism was developed within Egypt by Syrian and Lebanese emigres. This affected Egyptian thought especially through the introduction of French liberalism into Egyptian culture, while it allowed Arab nationalist writings to be smuggled into Arab lands. Al-Mugattaf, a journal established in 1887 and Al-Hillal, established in 1892, were

¹⁷Mustafa Kamil, for example, felt free to exploit and encourage the activism of student groups, as in the 1906 law school strike.

seminal in popularizing scientific, social, and historical knowledge in both Egypt and in the Arab lands.

Arab nationalism developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries under the influence of religious institutions, the Ottoman regime, other revolutionary or nationalist movements, and particularly charismatic thinkers and leaders. By 1907, however, the movement remained embryonic in form and impact. The Young Turk revolution of 1908 spurred the Arab Nationalist movement to a growth of activity and influence and the Arab Nationalists soon became a force with which the Turks and the Western World, and then Zionist neighbors in Palestine, were soon to be forced to reckon.

JEWS AND ARABS IN PALESTINE AS REFLECTED
IN THE WORKS OF AHAD HA'AM

With the exception of Theodore Herzl, the architect of political Zionism, the most influential Zionist philosopher and critic of the movement was Asher Ginsberg, most often known as Ahad Ha'am.¹ His works are especially relevant to the study of the Jewish attitude in regards to the Arab population in Palestine largely because, of all Zionist theoreticians, it was he who was concerned with the possible conflict between the two peoples. Actual references in his writings to the Arab problem as he saw it are few but emphatically stated. However, very crucial are several of his philosophical articles on subjects seemingly far removed from the Palestinian question where is formulated an outlook which largely governed his views on international relations, morality, and the Jewish people.

Born in 1856 into a family of Chasidic tradition² and trained intensively in Talmudic lore, Asher Ginsberg gained access to the world of Haskalah³ while in Odessa. As

¹The phrase "Ahad Ha'am" translated literally means "one of the people" implying that the author was writing not as an individual but as a mouthpiece for the spirit of the Jewish people as a whole.

²The Chasidic movement concentrated on pious observance of religious law in all its detail as well as on the development of an atmosphere of joy and enthusiasm in all aspects of worship.

³Hebrew enlightenment.

a result of the massacres of 1881 he lost his faith in Haskalah as an answer to the Jewish problem and turned to Zionism through the Hibbat Zion movement.⁴ He soon became its chief critic, writing his first scathing article, "Lo Zo Haderech" (This is Not the Way) in 1889.⁵ His visit to Palestine in 1891 and 1893 only confirmed his disappointment with the goals and achievements of the Hibbat Zion program and its settlements. The two articles entitled, "Emet M'eretz Yisrael" (Truth from Palestine) which resulted, provoked the cynical anger of staunch Zionists. Ahad Ha'am subsequently formed the Society of Bnei Moshe (Sons of Moses), an organization which required of its membership a high standard of ethical conduct and self-disciplined devotion to the Jewish nation, language and culture which he felt was lacking in Hibbat Zion circles.

In 1896 Ahad Ha'am took the editorial chair of the new publication Hashiloach, a magazine which became the hallmark of literary excellence in Jewish circles, and because of its editor's insistence on a totally nonpartisan position, became the forum for all viewpoints on the Jewish scene as

⁴Ibid.

⁵In this article Ahad Ha'am commented on the failures of the various Palestinian settlements. He claimed that prospective olim were being encouraged to emigrate with promises of material profit which were unrealistic and self-defeating. Encountering the great difficulties and discomforts of adjusting to differences in climate they become easily discouraged. Ahad Ha'am demanded that the Jewish nation be re-directed toward nationalistic goals and pride in their heritage and language. Thus fortified they could easily withstand the hardships, inconveniences, and dangers inherent in immigration to the land of their dreams.

well.

Ahad Ha'am's most significant contribution to Zionist ideology became known as "spiritual Zionism." Well understanding the obliqueness of the concept, he explained that he meant Palestinian society to be "the expression in matter and space of the thought and culture of a people."⁶ Ahad Ha'am saw the Jewish nation as distinct in regard to its moral nature. He believed strongly in the Jewish mission to point out to all other nations the true essence of morality and justice. Unlike leaders in the Reform movement who believed that the Jews could accomplish this mission only through permanent dispersion in the Diaspora, Ahad Ha'am felt that the mission had to be discharged by founding a society with high standards of morality, ethics and justice. Recognizing that it was impossible to settle all Jews in Palestine, he proposed to establish there a spiritual center which would radiate its values to a greater part of the Jewish people in the Diaspora. He explained,

The object of the movement is only to create for our people a national center, the influence of which on the Diaspora, will be spiritual only in the sense that it will strengthen the morale, increase their sense of unity,⁷ and provide a suitable context for their life as Jews.

In practice, Ahad Ha'am's spiritual Zionism affected his stance on matters of policy in Palestine. In discussing the issue of creating a totally Jewish labor force, for example, Ahad Ha'am explained why it was not crucial in his

⁶Bentwich, Ahad Ha'am and his Philosophy, Jerusalem, 1927, p. 19.

⁷Ibid., pp. 11, 19.

view of cultural rather than political Zionism to capture the entire labor market. He wrote,

I do not ask for instance what is the use of a Hebrew colony which employs Arab labor and not exclusively Jewish labor. That question is important if we regard the present yishuv as the foundation of a state. But if we look at it only from my point of view, asking how it can influence the spirit of the people as a whole, this drawback, serious though it is, cannot be regarded as fatal. If a large number of settlements of a truly Hebrew character are established, there is no doubt that they will have a great influence on Jewish life, even if they don't employ exclusively Jewish labor.⁸

While Herzl was most concerned with the political viability of Jewish settlement in Palestine and denied the usefulness of any efforts at enlarging the Yishuv until a charter had been attained, Ahad Ha'am felt that a successful limited settlement in Palestine was crucial in order to psychologically orient the Jewish people toward pride in their national heritage. Herzl's major concern was on behalf of oppressed Jews; Ahad Ha'am's interests centered upon the plight of a beleaguered Judaism. Fortunately in the beginning of the twentieth century Zionism was able to integrate the values and aims of both cultural or spiritual Zionism as expressed by Ahad Ha'am and Herzl's political Zionism.

Ahad Ha'am's impact on young Zionists of his generation was powerful, although his views were unpopular with those leaders who differed sharply with him on the issues of Zionist policy. He seemed to lack an appreciation of the emotional appeal and romance of the Zionist cause and was referred to as a "detached seer" and "moral conscience" who

⁸L. Simon, Letters, Essays, and Memoirs, London, 1946, p. 260. (Letter to M. Dizengoff, London, 1912.)

often seemed like "a mourner at a wedding feast."⁹ In an essay entitled "Moses" written in 1904, Ahad Ha'am commented that the prophet, the man of truth, must "concentrate heart and mind on his ideal" the righteousness of which cannot be subverted for matters of temporary expedience "even at bidding of love or pity."¹⁰ He comments, however, that when the time comes when the ideal must be embodied into action half measures and compromise become essential, and the prophet keeps silent. Ahad Ha'am obviously recognized that his ultra-moralistic position would at times become impractical, and that in striving to achieve Zionist goals bold strides would be taken which perforce would involve human weakness and moral susceptibility.

For Ahad Ha'am the Arab presence in Palestine was strong and crucially important. He saw the Arab population as an obstacle to the regeneration of the Jewish spirit in the ancient homeland. An unpopulated land would have been preferable in establishing a national home for the Jewish culture which, in its newly reborn state, needs to be nondefensive and not susceptible to the impact of a foreign environment. Why did he nevertheless insist that the spiritual center of Judaism be reconstituted specifically in Palestine? He answers that while centuries ago the Jewish nation had been vigorously able to create a new national center, they now

⁹Bentwich, p. 11.

¹⁰Ahad Ha'am, "Moses," Hans Kahn, Nationalism and the Jewish Ethic, New York, 1962, p. 212.

were spiritually and physically attenuated and had to rely on the old attachment to a historic home and language. To overlook the nation's history would be akin to destroying the national memory which to the weakened Jewish people was invaluable in rebuilding.¹¹

In "Truth from Palestine", written after his disappointing first visit to Palestine in 1891, Ahad Ha'am dealt with the realities of Arab-Jewish relations and implied an inherent respect for the peoples of the Middle East. European Zionists, he says, are incorrect in thinking that the Arabs remain ignorant of Jewish colonizing activities. They remain silent and largely passive only because they thus serve their own economic purposes. He writes,

The Arabs, especially the urban dwellers, know and understand our actions and our desires in the land, but they make themselves as if they do not know, because they do not see in our actions now any danger to their future and they are attempting to somehow exploit us also, to derive some benefit from the new visitors while they can. The nation is laughing at us in their heart. The farmers are happy about the establishment of a Hebrew colony amongst them because they get good wages for their work and enrich themselves...The workers of the big properties are happy with us too because we pay for their lands of stone great prices which they never before saw even in a dream. But if there will come a time that the lives of our nation in Palestine will develop to such an extent that they will press a bit or much on the position of the native, the latter will not easily leave their place.¹²

In regard to the opinion among westerners that the Ottoman state was governed through bakshish (bribes), Ahad Ha'am pointed out that its leaders were

¹¹Ben Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State, Cambridge, 1961, p. 102.

¹²Ahad Ha'am, "Emat M'Eretz Yisrael" (Truth from Palestine), Al Parashat Drachim (At the Crossroads), Odessa, 1895, p. 31.

great patriots and zealots for their religion and government and in questions which relate to the honor of one of these they will fulfill their duty faithfully and no amount of money will influence them.¹³

In regards to the settlements in Palestine Ahad Ha'am was sharply critical of both practical and theoretical aspects of yishuv development. In "This is not the Way" he disapprovingly refers to olim who had emigrated for financial reasons and who, confronting outstanding hardships, attempted to

gain their individual ends by all means in their power and regardless of any distinctions between what is legitimate and what is not, or of the fair name of the ideal which they dishonor.¹⁴

In "Truth from Palestine", he refers directly to Arab-Jewish relations expressing fear that a historically oppressed nation might handle its newly found freedom irresponsibly and that the "serfs of yesterday" might become despots.¹⁵

Ahad Ha'am was quite consistent in his position that Jew and Arab allow one another the opportunity to flourish in Palestine. He made equal demands upon both peoples in this respect. A short digression into the period after 1908 where this study ends, well illustrates this point.

When in 1917 the Jewish community of the Diaspora and Palestine exultantly received news of the Balfour Declaration which gave legal international sanction to Jewish settlement in Palestine, Ahad Ha'am saw both the moral and practical limitations of the document although he joyfully applauded it.

¹³ Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁴ Ahad Ha'am, "Lo Zo Haderech" (This is not the Way), in Simon, Ten Essays, New York, 1973, pp. 13-14.

¹⁵ Hans Kahn, pp. 34-43.

He cautioned his jubilant countrymen that the purpose of the declaration was to "facilitate the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people" and not to reorder Palestine as the national home for the Jewish people. The distinction is crucial for the former version allows for the rights of both the native Arab population and for the Jewish olim. Ahad Ha'am explained,

If you build your house not on an untenanted ground, but in a place where there are other inhabited houses, you are sole master only as far as your front gate...This position, then, makes Palestine common ground for different peoples each of which tries to establish its national home there and in this position it is impossible for the national home of either to be complete.¹⁶

Conversely, Ahad Ha'am was also convinced that Arabs do not have the legal or moral right to prevent Jewish settlement among them. Should the time come when the Jewish population outnumbers the native Arab population in Palestine, as long as economic and agricultural factors allow both nations to prosper, the Arab population should have no recourse but to accept the situation.¹⁷ Consistent with his demand that each nation be able to develop to its own potential, Ahad Ha'am was appalled when in 1925 there was the possibility of the Jewish settlement becoming part of an Arab state. In an angry letter he wrote,

The point is that if we are really going to be subjects of Hussein, there is an end to all our hopes and all our work in Palestine, and no one can know whether and when it will be restored. So far as I am concerned, I do not

¹⁶Ahad Ha'am, "After the Balfour Declaration," Kahn, p. 160.

¹⁷Halpern, p. 336.

see myself being politically an Arab; I think that if this happens I shall leave Palestine. I had rather die in the Diaspora than die and be buried here in the land of my ancestors if this land is to be regarded as an Arab country in which we are strangers.¹⁸

It is crucial in reading Ahad Ha'am's works that one be aware of the moral standpoint from which he surveyed the Middle Eastern situation, and understand that in each and every protest or condemnation of Jewish or Arab activity in Palestine, the emphasis lay on equal rights and high standards of justice in the relation between nations.

The clearest expression of Ahad Ha'am's views about the relationship between the individual and society and of the moral code which binds men and nations together is contained in his philosophical articles. Together with his critiques of Zionist policy and observations on yishuv life these are collected in the four volumes of Al Parashat Derachim (At the Crossroads).

The purpose of his article entitled "The Transvaluation of Values," written in 1898, was to debate the coterie of young Jews who had adopted the fashionable Nietzschean philosophy and were attempting to apply it to Jewish life. Ahad Ha'am rejected the stereotype of the physical superiority and selfishness in the Nietzschean concept of the "Blond Beast."¹⁹

¹⁸ Simon, Ahad Ha'am: Letters, Essays and Memoirs, p. 296. (Letter to L. Simon, Tel Aviv, 1924.)

¹⁹ Ahad Ha'am, "The Transvaluation of Values," (1898), in Kahn, p. 168. Ahad Ha'am describes the Nietzschean Superman as "the strong man who has both the power to complete his life and the will to be master of his world without considering at all how much the great mass of inferior beings may lose in the process and the rest (of society) were created only to subserve his end, to be the ladder on which he can climb up to his proper level."

Adherence by Jewish "young men" as he calls them, to these notions offended Ahad Ha'am for two reasons. First, as a moralist he was naturally repelled by the utilitarianism and selfishness implicit in a philosophy which encouraged the subjugation of one's fellow man, use of physical force and violence, and militant aggressiveness.²⁰ Second, he felt that Jews could never effectively compete in the physical sphere and would perforce become "the tail of the lion in the sphere of the sword...in order to set up a mean lowly altar to the idol of physical force."²¹

He recommends that Jews "adapt the wisdom of the world to our national genius," making use of the humanistic elements in the Nietzschean system and rejecting the specifically Germanic element. In doing so they will "be importing into our literature ideas which are new but not foreign."²² The People of the Book, the Jewish people, can take up the ideal of the Superman but "must depend on our aesthetic and moral bent" in identifying him.²³

In his article "Supremacy of Reason," Ahad Ha'am

²⁰ Ahad Ha'am's strongest outcry against the tendency towards violence between Jews and Arabs in Palestine came in 1922, in reaction to Jewish retaliation to Arab attack. He wrote a letter published in Haaretz saying,

Jews and blood...are there two greater contradictions than those? Is this the dream of the return to Zion which our people dreamt for thousands of years? That we should come to Zion and pollute it with the spilling of innocent blood? But there is growing in it (the movement) a tendency to sacrifice on the altar of the "revival" its prophets, the great moral principles for which our people lived and suffered and for which alone it thought it worthwhile to become a people in the land of its fathers...If this be the Messiah, let him come and let me not see him.
Iggerot Ahad Ha'am (Vol. VI, p. 205.), Tel Aviv, 1954.

²¹Ibid., p. 170. ²²Ibid., p. 171. ²³Ibid., p. 172.

identifies in Maimonides' philosophy a typology similar to the one Nietzsche described. For Ahad Ha'am the Superman is the Tzaddik, the pious spiritual man who attains wisdom, defined by Ahad Ha'am as the "apprehension of the Eternal Being by rational proof."²⁴

However, unlike Nietzsche's Superman who, in order to develop may ignore society's needs or moral behavior, the Tzaddik is unconditionally bound to subordinate himself when his and society's needs come into conflict.²⁵ For Ahad Ha'am no goal, no matter how crucial, can override morality and justice.

While Ahad Ha'am clearly delineates his view of social morality and the relation between the individual and society in "Transvaluation of Values" and "The Supremacy of Reason" he extends his moral philosophy to international relations in the article entitled "Judaism and the Gospels." One significant difference between Judaism and other religious systems, claims Ahad Ha'am, is that the highest good in Judaism is always a collective concept, being defined in terms of the nation or humanity at large. In the liturgy, therefore, few prayers are personal in nature, and almost all are phrased in plural terms. The Gospels, on the other hand, deal with the striving for a very individual and personal salvation. Morality in Christian terms is based on the verse "Whatever ye would that men do to you do ye even so unto others." (Matt.

²⁴ Ahad Ha'am, "The Supremacy of Reason," (1905) in L. Simon, Ten Essays, p. 174.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 185.

VII 12, Luke VI 31). The Judaic counterpart is Hillel's "What is hateful to thyself do ye not unto thy neighbor." (Shabbat 31a) The distinction between the two positions can be best understood, says Ahad Ha'am, as the distinction between altruism and justice. According to the Judaic moral and social system all men are created equal. Consequently it cannot be demanded of one that he do more for others than he does for himself.²⁶ According to the Christian principle it is incumbent upon man to treat his neighbor not as an equal but as a being with superior rights. Ahad Ha'am defines this sort of behavior as altruistic in nature.

Christian altruism applied to international relations would force nations to forfeit their own positions and power in order that neighboring countries could thrive. Since naturally this is an untenable standard, says Ahad Ha'am, in actual practice among Christian countries, international morality is essentially ignored and international egoism translated as patriotism has become standard international behavior.²⁷ The Judaic moral standard, on the other hand,

²⁶The emphasis on strict equality in Judaism is pointed out in the oft quoted discussion of the moral dilemma which arises when two friends find themselves in a situation where only one has provisions enough to survive. The Talmud emphatically denies that one may forfeit his own life voluntarily in order to spare his friend.

For do what thou wilt there will be a life lost; and who has told thee that his blood is redder than thine. Perhaps thine own is redder. (Sanhedrin, 74a)
On the other hand one may never kill another in order to survive since the opposite rule also applies, "Be killed and kill you must not." (Peshachim 25b)

²⁷Ahad Ha'am, "Judaism and the Gospels," in L. Simon, Ten Essays, p. 242.

can and should be applied to international relations. Since according to standards of justice no one nation is obligated to sacrifice its well being in the interest of other nations, each is able to develop to its own potential while recognizing the right of the other to do so without hindrance.

Patriotism, that is, national egoism must not induce it (the nation) to disregard justice and fulfill itself through the destruction of other nations.²⁸

As we have seen, Ahad Ha'am's attitude toward Arab-Jewish relations was totally consistent with his views about the individual and society and of the moral codes which apply to both individuals and nations. For Zionists in Palestine actively involved in the frequently complex dealings with Arabs, Ahad Ha'am's sharply critical abstract moralistic stance at times inspired heated animosity. He was, however, overwhelmingly well received amongst the idealistic young members of the Second Aliyah for whom he formulated the goals and ideals for which they continued to strive.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 243.

THEODORE HERZL AND THE ARABS IN PALESTINE

The two great architects of Zionist ideology were Ahad Ha'am and Herzl. Whereas Ahad Ha'am appealed through the emphasis on cultural Zionism to the hearts and minds of educated and nationalistically aware Russian Jews, it was Herzl whose name became synonymous in the minds of all Jews with the founding of a new Jewish state. Herzl was the product of fin-du-siecle Vienna, cultural and artistic center of Europe, stronghold of the rationalism and humane nationalism of the eighteenth century and the birthplace of the authoritarian racism which was to become the fatefully significant philosophy of the twentieth.¹ Jewish families, Herzl's amongst them, felt comfortable in the anonymity of cosmopolitan Vienna where legal discrimination against them had ceased.²

As a feuilletonist and later as correspondent for the prestigious Neue Frie Presse,³ Herzl became increasingly

¹An excellent analysis of the Viennese milieu at the end of the nineteenth century appears in the introductory chapters to Elon's biography of Herzl. (Amos Elon, Herzl, N.Y., 1975)

²Because there were few thoroughbred Viennese, strangers felt at home there. Herzl's background was typical. He was Hungarian by birth, Jewish by religion, adhered to German cultural patterns, and was of Austrian nationality.

³The Neue Frie Presse was outstandingly popular in the homes of educated Jews of whom it was said, "They do not keep the Sabbath. They do not keep the dietary laws. They keep the Neue Frie Presse." (Elon, Herzl, p. 99.)

conscious of a newly revitalized anti-Semitism which he was convinced would doom the Jewish community of Europe.⁴ He began to energetically pursue solutions to the "Jewish Question,"⁵ his efforts in this direction intensifying dramatically as a result of the celebrated Dreyfus trial.⁶ It was at that juncture that Herzl came to a firm decision that only the creation of a Jewish homeland would conclusively resolve a most difficult problem which beleaguered both the Jewish community and European society at large.⁷

⁴It is a common misimpression that Herzl was first confronted with anti-Semitism in the form of the infamous Dreyfus affair and that this event alone inspired in him a desire to find a solution to the Jewish problem. In 1882 he had the occasion to review Eugen Duhring's The Jewish Question as a Racial, Ethical and Cultural Problem and was appalled and frightened by the blatantly hateful diatribe passing in the guise of social and scientific commentary. A year later Herzl resigned from his literary fraternity Albia because of its anti-Semitic position. In 1891 the suicide of Hans Kana, a young discouraged and destitute Jewish writer and Herzl's closest friend, again brought the tragedy of hatred of the Jew prominently to mind. As a correspondent he also had the opportunity to cover the French political scene during the era of greatest growth of French anti-Semitism.

⁵Herzl's proposals which were to put an end to anti-Semitism were remarkable in their scope and originality. At one point he fantasized about a duel between himself and a prominent anti-Semite which would serve to highlight the problem. In another plan he proposed the dissolution of the entire Jewish nation through mass conversion. In 1874 he wrote The New Ghetto, where his first real Jewish hero does not flee his heritage but fights to uphold it. The actual plan for a Jewish homeland developed after he covered the Dreyfus trial.

⁶See chapter on Zionism, p. 18.

⁷Herzl believed that in finding a Zionist solution to the Jewish question he would be serving the causes of both European culture and Jewish survival. Arthur Hertzberg, in The Zionist Idea, describes this willingness to leave Europe as "an offer on the part of the Jew to assure the peace of western society by abandoning it for a state of its own, an ultimate sacrifice on the altar of his love for the modern world." (Hertzberg, p. 17.) Emigration was to Herzl the only option which would break the "vicious circle that tied victim and culprit to each other in a mutually harmful embrace."

(Elon, Herzl, p. 131)

Between the years 1895 and 1904 Herzl's attempts on behalf of a Jewish state took many forms. His efforts to enlist the support of the famous Hirsch family were fruitless perhaps due to his own agitated criticism of the Baron's projects in Argentina. Elon, Herzl's biographer, hypothesizes that a more low-keyed approach to Hirsch might have won support and thus might have speeded the Zionist process by decades, possibly achieving success long before the advent of Arab nationalism.⁸ Herzl subsequently published The Jewish State which along with the Journal Die Welt served to broadcast the message of political Zionism among Jewish communities of Russia, Eastern and Western Europe.⁹ In the course of the ensuing yearly Zionist Congresses, unified support of Herzl's

⁸It is unclear whether Elon is here contemplating only a much smoother achievement of the Zionist goal or whether he actually thinks that there might have been a more enduring effect on long-term Arab-Jewish relations. It seems doubtful that the conflict between Palestinian Arab nationalism and Zionism could have ever been avoided, although it is plausible that had the Zionists established themselves in Palestine sooner their confrontation with Arab nationalism would have been on a less defensive and therefore less intensive level, and a friendlier coexistence could have possibly been established.

⁹Herzl's impact was worldwide in scope. However, secularized and well educated Western Jewry for the most part rejected his message in fear that anti-Semitism would be strengthened as a result of his aggressive stance. His influence among Eastern European and Russian Jewry is a bit difficult to understand in light of the fact that as a privileged Westernized Jew he had little prior contact with the squalor of their surroundings nor with the traditional modes of their lives. It seems that for the first time in the wake of the Dreyfus trial, Eastern Jewry felt that their sophisticated wealthier Western brethren finally shared in the agony of hatred of the Jew and could now understand it. The problem of East European anti-Semitism had become internationalized and therefore dignified through Herzl and through his reaction to Western anti-Semitism. (Hertzberg, p. 46)

political Zionist platform was seriously questioned and cultural Zionists, practical Zionists and territorialists battled for control.¹⁰ Herzl staunchly defended his position insisting that a political charter be attained prior to pursuing extensive settlement programs. He said,

If anyone arrives secretly in the night and the fog, he must not be surprised to be accosted by a cry of "Halt, who goes there?" and so much the worse for him if he cannot give a valid answer.¹¹

In quest for political sanction for the Jewish homeland Herzl brought his plan for Jewish statehood before a wide spectrum of political leaders in the East and West, including Kaiser Wilhelm II, Sultan Abdul Hamid, Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph, Czarist Minister of the Interior Wenzel von Plehve, and England's Joseph Chamberlain. His impact on both Jew and non-Jew was strongly enhanced by his striking appearance¹² and his strong reliance on the dramatic and theatrical element in political relations.¹³ His insightful explication of the

¹⁰For a description of the three factions of the Zionist movement, see p. of this study.

¹¹Herzl, "Address to the Third Congress," Zionist Pamphlets, N.Y. 1917, p. 19.

¹²Herzl, described by admirers as a "scion from the house of David" (Bein, Theodore Herzl, A Biography, p. 24), was always seen as magestically tall although he measured only 5'8". (Elon, p. 9)

¹³Herzl put great stock in what Elon calls the mise-en-scene, believing that masses could be manipulated through sight and sound. On the occasion of the World Zionist Congress an observer commented to him that "This movement is all noise." He replied, Yes, of course. But noise is everything. A sustained noise is in itself a memorable feat. All of world history is nothing but clamor, clamor of arms, clamor of ideas on the march. One must make use of the noise, yet despise it. (Elon, p. 256)

It is possible that because of this great confidence in the crucial role of leadership, Herzl foresaw few problems in regard to the Arab population in Palestine where no charismatic leadership was in evidence.

crucial importance of a flag amply illustrates his keen grasp of the human element in political life.

And then you might have asked mockingly, a flag? What's that? A stick with a rag on it? No sir, a flag is more than that. With a flag one can lead men wherever one wants to, even to the Promised Land.

For a flag men live and die. It is indeed the only thing for which they are ready to die in masses if one trains them for it. Believe me, the policy of an entire people particularly when it is scattered all over the earth can be carried out only with the imponderables that float in thin air.¹⁴

In attempting to delineate and describe Herzl's approach to the problem of Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine, it is crucial to determine the point in his political career at which Herzl had decided that Palestine would be the optimal homeland of the Jews. There is ample proof that at the very early stages of his Zionist efforts, Palestine was not the land of choice. In a notation of 1895 he wrote,

The promised land--nobody thought to look for it where it really is, within ourselves. The promised land is where we shall take it...The promised land is where it is all right for us to have hooked noses, black and red beards and bandy legs without being despised for these things alone, where at last we can live-as free men on our own soil and die in peace in our own homeland...So the despised appellation "Jew" may become an honorable appellation like "German", "Englishman", "Frenchman", in short, like that of all civilized peoples.¹⁵

Herzl's lengthy memorandum "Speech to the Rothchilds" of 1895 rejects Palestine as a possible choice on account of its proximity to Europe and difficulty of climate. Herzl suggests that a committee of geographers and scientists would be

¹⁴Herzl, The Complete Diaries of Theodore Herzl, Patai, ed., N.Y. 1960, Vol. I, pp. 27-28, June 3, 1895.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 101, June 14, 1895.

best equipped to decide on the optimal location of the Jewish homeland.¹⁶ In The Jewish State Herzl mentions both Palestine and Argentina as possible choice areas for Jewish settlement. He writes,

Shall we choose Palestine or Argentina? We shall take what is given to us and what is selected by Jewish public opinion. The Society will determine both these points. Argentina is one the most fertile countries in the world, extends over vast areas, has a sparse population, and a mild climate...Palestine is our ever memorable historic home. The very name of Palestine would attract our people with a force of marvelous potency.¹⁷

In his critical study of The Jewish State written in 1931, Chaim Weizmann opines that Herzl was not serious in his proposal that Palestine be considered a prime location for the Jewish homeland. He suggests that Herzl included it as an option only to pacify some Hibbat Zion factions.¹⁸ It seems more likely, however, that Herzl was in all seriousness weighing the significance of optimal climate and geographic conditions against the emotional attachment of a people to its national home. It is clear, however, that by the 1897 Zionist Congress in Basel, settlement in Palestine had become the goal of the Zionist movement.

In light of the delay between the birth of the Zionist idea in Herzl's mind and the decision that Jews must relocate particularly in Palestine, and in view of the fact that Herzl's

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 129, June 13, 1895.

¹⁷ Herzl, The Jewish State, pp. 95-96.

¹⁸ Weizmann's study of 1931 was intended to defend his position favoring equal rights for Jews and Arabs in Palestine. Weizmann was attempting to prove that both Herzl's and Max Nordau's writings were sympathetic to his approach.

entire Zionist career spanned only nine short years, it is at least feasible that the lack of serious attention given to the Arab question might be attributed to the lack of sufficient time and the preponderance of other more immediate and pressing issues. Another possible explanation may lie in Herzl's conception of political realities. Herzl was a great believer in the mise en scene in the staging of political events and situations. A strong belief in the crucial significance of stage direction implies the almost omnipotent position of the director.¹⁹ Herzl perhaps thought that the Arabs would never voice strong objection to Jewish settlement simply because they lacked great leaders who could stage their national protest. It is interesting that Herzl took great interest in the evolution of nationalism in Egyptian society. Attending a lecture on the subject of irrigation in Egypt in 1903, he looked about him at the audience of young intelligent and enthusiastic Egyptians. Impressed and moved, he recorded his impressions.

They are the coming masters...It is surprising that the English do not see this. They think they are going to deal with the fellahin forever. One wishes one could come back in fifty years to see how it has turned out.²⁰

The presence of a similar activist group of young Palestinians who could have provided leadership to the Arab nationalist cause was not in evidence until after the Young Turk revolution of 1908.

¹⁹Elon, p. 148.

²⁰Ibid., p. 369.

In referring to components of Palestinian society Herzl often ignored the presence of the Arabs in the land. In an address to the Zionist Congress of 1898, for example, he characteristically neglected to mention the Arab natives in discussing the area's resources. He said,

A developed Palestine is indispensable from the point of view of both culture and commerce....The Turks have excellent qualities. They are brave, magnanimous, capable of sacrifice, but they do not possess those qualities which are requisite for the industrial development of a country. Therefore they would be both strengthened and enriched by the acquisition of a peaceable, enterprising, national element imbued with the very qualities which they lack.²¹

Significantly, throughout his trip to Palestine in 1898, during visits to numerous Arab villages, Herzl registered in his diary only the presence of a "mixed multitude of beggars, women, and children" and suggested that the Arabs might be useful in draining the swamplands.²² Elon, commenting on Herzl's oblivion to the realities in Palestine, says,

The natives seemed to have vanished before his eyes as in their own Arabian nights or else they assumed no political importance at all in his mind. It is the happy faculty of idealists to overlook the visible, a price they pay for seeing the unseen.²³

While largely ignoring, in those early years, the problems involved in the confrontation between Arab and Jew, Herzl did stress the interest among Zionists to contribute largely in the well being and development of the peoples of the Middle East. Motivated by his own confidence in Western

²¹Herzl, "Address to the Second Congress," Zionist Pamphlets, p. 14.

²²Herzl, Diaries, Vol. II, p. 743.

²³Elon, p. 290.

culture, Herzl formulated a two faceted Zionist goal. Zionists, he explained, yearn to achieve the humane and peaceful solution to the Jewish problem while establishing a just society which would disseminate Western culture in underdeveloped areas.

In a speech in 1899 he referred to the Zionist "dream for the great eternal truth." He contrasted the Zionists with the Crusaders who returned to uncivilized Europe with the civilization, culture, and technology of the East in "the folds of their clothing."²⁴ He added,

Zionism will return to the Eastern lands all that is good, all that is most elevated, all that is great from the lands of the West from which we will begin our travels.²⁵

In Die Welt, in 1899, Herzl denied the chauvinistic, exclusivistic element in Zionism, saying,

Antagonism between the various nations and the Jews will be created only in case the Zionists will appropriate for themselves wild chauvinistic practices. We imagine ourselves devoted to the unity of all nations, and if we want to work on behalf of this unity, we will find that the Zionist ideals do not contradict the humanistic ideas of the love of humanity at large. But we do not want to be cosmopolitan, lacking identity. We want to admit to our nationality while we concern ourselves with the more elevated ideals of humanitarianism...We want to be true to ourselves. Then it will be more believed that we can be true to others who are deserving.²⁶

Recognizing the universal concern for the holy places, Herzl assured the Kaiser in the course of their meeting in

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Herzl, "Hatzionut, Idial Sh'ain Lo Sof," (Zionism, An Ideal Which Has No Limits), Kitvei Herzl, Vol. I (Bifnei Am V'olam -- Before Nation and World), Warsaw, 1922.

²⁶Ibid., p. 381. (An article from Die Welt, July 6, 1899)

Palestine that no man's religious rights or sensitivities were to be in any way violated by Jewish settlement in Palestine since it was understood by all that Palestine is the cradle of all religious groups. To the Second Congress he explained the intention of the Zionists in regard to Jerusalem, most cherished of all religious sites. He said,

No spot on earth has been coveted as this and many nations have desired it so intensely that the ardor of their longing has dried it up. If there is such a thing as legitimate claim to a portion of the earth's surface, all people who believe in the Bible must recognize the rights of the Jews. As a matter of fact they may do so without envy or anxiety for the Jews are not, and will never become, a political power.²⁷

Herzl therefore suggested an extraterritorial status for the Holy City referring to it as a res nullius (property belonging to no one individual) in the most sublime sense of the word which belongs not to one nation but to the entire civilized world.

During the course of the first few Congresses there were few solemn voices and little serious questioning regarding the future of Jews and Arabs in Palestine. A.S. Yehuda, a young scholar specializing in Islamic studies, tried unsuccessfully to draw Herzl's attention to the problem in private conversation.²⁸ During the Second Congress, Leo Motzkin, returning from an expedition to Palestine recorded the presence

²⁷ Herzl, "Addresses to the Second Conference," p. 13. An interesting clarification of Herzl's position on Jerusalem appeared in an exchange of letters published in Die Welt, June 18, 1899.

²⁸ See p. 85 of this study.

of approximately 650,000 Arabs making specific mention of incidents of conflict between the Arab and Jewish communities, and verbalizing the fear that the moral and cultural standards of the Jewish colonists might slowly deteriorate as a result of the proximity of another less civilized culture.²⁹ The most popular outlook, however, was expressed by another representative who informed the Congress that the land was largely unpopulated and that no conflict between the two peoples could pose a problem in Palestine because both nations originated "from the branch of Shem."³⁰ Explaining and rationalizing for the very lighthearted approach which predominated at the first few Congresses, Elon comments,

They (the members) considered themselves servants of of one of the most humane, just and worthwhile causes imaginable...More susceptible than most people of their time to the power of ideas over the minds of men, they ignored the power that similar ideas might have over the minds of the Arabs. There are few things as egocentric as a national revival. The delegates were sure that the Arabs of Palestine would welcome the enterprise with open arms. Anyone who would have claimed the opposite, and there was no one, would have been dismissed as an utter madman.³¹

Within the Zionist circles Herzl came into little contact with persons familiar with the Middle Eastern situation. Herzl did, however, receive due warning from the Arab world. In 1899 Rabbi Zadok Kahn, the Chief Rabbi of Paris, was the recipient of a long letter from a distinguished Palestinian

²⁹Protocol Stenographi Bacongress Hatzioni Hasheni (Stenographic Transcription of the Second Zionist Congress), Warsaw, 1899, p. 106. (Motzkin's address)

³⁰Ibid., p. 74. (Dr. Mandelstam's address)

³¹Elon, p. 260.

Arab, Yussef Ziah al-Khalidi, a former mayor of Jerusalem and representative of Jerusalem in the Ottoman parliament. The letter, addressing itself to the oncoming confrontation between the Zionists and the Arab population of Palestine, was passed along to Herzl who was to respond. Admitting to the Zionist demands, al-Khalidi wrote,

Who could deny the rights of the Jews in Palestine? Mon Dieu, historically it is certainly your country. And what a miraculous spectacle if the Jews were reconstituted once more as an independent nation, happy and respected... as in the days gone by. But unfortunately the destiny of nations is governed not only by abstract concepts, however pure and noble they might be. One must consider reality and respect established facts, the force, yes, the brittle force of circumstance. The reality is that Palestine is now an integral part of the Ottoman Empire and what is more serious, it is inhabited by other than Israelites.³²

In light of the religious significance of Palestine, al-Khalidi, doubtful that Herzl could ever convince the Sultan to grant a charter to the Jews, warned that the Zionists would be forced to fall back upon the force of "cannons and cuirasses." He therefore suggests that the Jews find an area for resettlement elsewhere.

In response to al-Khalidi's reference to the possible use of force in the Middle East, Herzl protested,

As you yourself said, there is no military power behind the Jews. As a people they have long lost a taste for war...They are a thoroughly pacific element and fully content if left in peace.³³

Regarding the welfare of the Arab population in light of Jewish immigration, Herzl promised,

³²Ibid., pp. 311-312. (quoting from Central Zionist Archives--CZA-H III O 13 (French))

³³Herzl, Igerot Herzl (Correspondences), vol. III, Tel Aviv, 1943, p. 209.

You see a different difficulty in the existence of the non-Jewish population in Palestine. But who desires to evict them from there? Their private welfare and prosperity will increase from our bringing our property there. Do you think that an Arab who has land or a house which is worth three or four thousand francs in Palestine would be upset to see that his land is rising five or ten-fold? This will necessarily happen with the arrival of the Jews. This matter has been explained to the inhabitants of the land, that they will have wonderful brothers and that the Sultan will have loyal subjects who will make this territory flourish.

Herzl remained consistent in his rejection of any plan which would involve a threat to the Arab population of Palestine. At one point a wealthy landowner offered to sell a large tract of land in Palestine to the Zionists. Herzl rejected the offer explaining, "We cannot disinherit these poor fellahin."³⁴

Perhaps the most explicit and detailed analysis of Herzl's attitude to the Arab problem is presented in the utopian novel, Altneuland, written in 1903. Whereas The Jewish State made minimal mention of Palestine as the location of the Jewish homeland reflecting Herzl's willingness to consider other alternatives, the country called "Altneuland" in the novel is quite clearly distinguishable as Palestine and therefore deals with Palestinian realities.

The plot of the work is very simplistic reflecting the author's lack of interest in its literary impact. It involves two fin-du-siecle desenchantes, Jew and Gentile, who retire to an isolated isle for a period of twenty years, visiting Palestine briefly at the start and close of their journey. Palestine in the span of those twenty years (1903-1923) develops an ideal society, now known as "Altneuland",

³⁴ Ibid.; Elon, p. 260.

to which they are ultimately drawn. The autobiographical elements of the story lie in the several characters who are clearly distinguishable from among Herzl's family, friends, and political opponents, and more importantly in the distinct atmosphere of fin-du-siecle.³⁵

Socially and culturally the society of "Altneuland", as Herzl pictured it, incorporates all that is progressive and elevated in the European environment, including the arts, theater, ballet and opera. European customs and fashions are mimicked fully.³⁶ In regard to language, the most classic gauge of nationalistic affiliation, German is used almost exclusively in daily life, while Hebrew is relegated to religious worship and occasional song. A fascinating but disturbing assumption on Herzl's part is that Jews are singularly uncreative and totally dependent on European culture. Their talent seems to lie only in adapting European cultural accomplishments to their own milieu.

A most basic premise in Altneuland is the virtue and beauty inherent in tolerance and brotherly love. Within the novel there is a political debate between two factions of Altneuland society about the rights of non-Jews to incorporate

³⁵There are references to the suicides of several friends of the hero, clearly reminiscent of Hans Kana, Herzl's comrade who had taken his life in desperation. The young hero is also unlucky in love, like Herzl himself whose personal life was fraught with strife.

³⁶There is a rather lengthy segment in the novel where the two heroes, anxious to attend the ballet in Altneuland, are unable to do so without the requisite white gloves, which they painstakingly acquire. The emphasis on appropriate dress is again reflective of Herzl's interest and insistence on standards of elegance and style.

themselves into the New Society. One of the heroes, David Litwak, speaks in favor of tolerance and acceptance.

It would be unethical for us to deny a share in our commonwealth to any man wherever he might come from, whatever his race or creed. For we stand on the shoulders of other civilized peoples. If a man joins us--if he accepts our institutions and assumes the duties of the commonwealth--he should be entitled to enjoy all our rights. We ought to pay our debts and that can be done in only one way, by the exercise of utmost tolerance. Our slogan must be, now and always--"Man thou art my brother."³⁷

Obviously inherent in an attitude of tolerance and brotherhood in a Middle Eastern society is a good relationship with the Arab population of the Jewish land. The Arabs are represented in the person Reschid Bey, one of the hero's devoted friends, a guest at the traditional Passover Seder, and activist in the political election. He is thus described in the novel:

He studied in Berlin...His father was among the first to understand the beneficent character of the Jewish immigration and enriched himself because he kept pace with our economic progress. Reschid himself is a member of our New Society.³⁸

In addressing himself to Arab modes, Reschid speaks of the political rights of women. He says,

No one is obliged to join the New Society and those who do join are not compelled to exercise their rights. They do as they please. So it is with our women and their rights.³⁹

There follows a description of Reschid's wife, Fatima, and a discussion of her life-style.

"She is a friend of ours," said Miriam of Reschid's wife. "She is well bred and well educated. We often see her but only in her own home. Reschid adheres strictly to

³⁷ Herzl, Altneuland, Leipzig, 1902, p. 152.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 68-69. ³⁹ Ibid., p. 75.

Moslem customs and that makes it difficult for her to come to us." "But," added Sarah, "You must not think that that makes Fatima unhappy. Theirs is a very happy marriage. They have charming children. But the wife never leaves her home. Surely, peaceful reclusion is also a form of happiness."⁴⁰

Most indicative of Herzl's attitude to the Arab problem is a conversation, presented here in part, wherein Reschid is questioned intensively by the visitors, especially the more cynical Kingscourt, the non-Jew, as to the reaction of his people to the new government and to the changes in their homeland.

"Were not the older inhabitants of Palestine ruined by the Jewish immigration? And didn't they have to leave the country? I mean, generally speaking. That individuals here and there have gained proves nothing."

"What a question! It was a great pleasure for all of us," returned Reschid. "Naturally the landowners gained most because they were able to sell to the Jewish Society for high prices or to work for still higher wages. I, for my part, sold my lands too because it was to my advantage to sell...After I had sold them to the New Society I took them back for lease...Since I wished to join the New Society I had to submit to its land regulations. Its members have no private property in land.

Those who had nothing stood to lose nothing and could only gain. Opportunities to work, means of livelihood, prosperity. Nothing could have been more wretched than an Arab village at the end of the nineteenth century. The peasant's clay hovels were unfit for slaves. The children lay naked and neglected in the streets and grew up like dumb beasts...Now everything is different. They benefited from the progressive measures of the New Society whether they joined it or not. When the swamps were drained, the canal built, and the Eucaliptus trees planted...the natives (who were naturally best acclimatized) were the first to be employed and were paid well for their work. These people are better off than at any time in the past. They support themselves decently and the children are healthier and are being taught something. Their religion and ancient customs are in no way interfered with. They have become prosperous, that is all."

(Kingscourt remarks) "You're queer fellows, you Moslems. Don't you regard these Jews as intruders?"

"You speak strangely, Christian," responded the friendly

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 80.

Reschid. "Would you call a man a robber who takes nothing from you and brings you something instead? The Jews have enriched us...Why should we be angry with them? They dwell amongst us like brothers, why should we not love them? He (David Litwak) prays in a different house to the G-d who is above us all. But our houses of worship stand side by side, and I always believe that our prayers, when they rise, mingle somewhere above, and they continue on their way together until they appear before Our Father."

(Kingscourt again asks) "Very fine. Sounds reasonable. But you're an educated man. You've studied in Europe. I hardly think the simple country or town folk will be likely to think like you do."

(Reschid responds) "They more than anyone else...I did not learn tolerance in the Occident. We Moslems have always had better relations with the Jews than you Christians. When the first colonists settled here half a century ago, Arabs went to the Jews to judge between them and often asked Jewish village councils for help and advice. There was no difficulty in that respect. So long as the Gezer policy (recommending exclusion of non-Jews) does not win the upper hand all will be well in our brotherland."⁴¹

Herzl, in Altneuland, makes mention of Arab contribution to Palestinian culture before the arrival of the Jewish population, although from references within his political writings and speeches he seemed to have barely recognized the existence of an Arab population. Note the following exchange.

"We Jews introduced cultivation here," Steinek the architect said.

"Pardon me, sir," cried Reschid Bey with a friendly smile. "But this sort of thing was here before you came, at least there were signs of it. My father planted oranges extensively...This used to be my father's plantation. It's mine now."

"I don't deny that you had orange groves before we came," thundered Steinek. "But you could never get full value from them."

Reschid nodded. "That is correct. Our profit has grown considerably. Our orange transport has multiplied tenfold since we have had greater transportation facilities to connect us with the whole world. Everything here has increased in value since your immigration."⁴²

In light of Altneuland it becomes difficult to maintain

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 121-125. ⁴²Ibid., p. 121.

that Herzl remained unaware of the Arab people or of the possibilities for conflict. The questions with which he deals, though simplistic and naively stated, are too explicit, too direct to imply an ignorance of the situation. The astonishing absence of any reference to the Arab people in most of his diary, especially in notations recorded during his visit in Palestine, and the fact that Altneuland was written in 1903, a year before his death, suggests an awakening late in Herzl's career of a more serious concern with the problem. However, the attitudes of the Arab population and the threat posed to it in a financial sense concerned Herzl, whereas Arab nationalism did not. Another reason for Herzl's disregard of the nationalist hopes of the Palestinian people was that their nationalist movement was in its invisible stages in 1903. We will find that few observers on the political scene in Palestine commented on it before 1905⁴³ and that it became an important factor only after the revolution in 1908.

Altneuland met with bitter criticism on the part of influential Zionists and a heated exchange of articles ensued.⁴⁴ Ahad Ha'am voiced his strongest objection in reference to the Passover Seder festivities, described in the novel, in which Moslems and Christians participated. He rejects the

⁴³Elon, p. 350. In 1905, the first important document representing the Arab nationalist viewpoint in Palestine was published by Negib Azhour. See p. 33 of this study.

⁴⁴One of the most vocal critics of Herzl's Altneuland was Martin Buber who subsequently became deeply involved in plans for Arab-Zionist cooperation. Surprisingly, he objected to the novel on the grounds that it "contained no single quality expressive of the folk characteristics of the Hebraic revival." (Elon, Herzl, p. 350.)

self-demeaning posture of Altneuland Jewry where, in the name of tolerance and brotherhood, non-Jews are included in the private religious ritual of Judaism. The Altneuland Jew, says Ahad Ha'am, attempts "to pull him (the non-Jew) by the fringes of his garment into our national and social life even if he has no intrinsic connection with this life." Such "tolerance" is professed by freed slaves who "still hear the clanging of their chains in their ears."⁴⁵ Ahad Ha'am respected the Moslem and Christian yet carries a strong sense of Jewish identity which required a religious and national autonomy within Palestinian society.

In direct reference to Herzl's simplistic analysis of the Arab problem and the Arab reaction to mass Jewish immigration Ahad Ha'am asks,

How nice is this idyll. It is however a bit hard to understand how this society became so clever as to find enough land for the millions of Jews who would return from the Diaspora, if all the land that the Arabs had previously worked, i.e., most of the fertile land in the land of Israel, had remained in their hands and nothing had been taken from them?⁴⁶

Ahad Ha'am's questions on this point and on similar matters remained largely unanswered since Max Nordau, co-founder of the World Zionist Organization, in his response chose to avoid concrete issues and arrogantly dismissed Herzl's Eastern European critic.

⁴⁵ Ahad Ha'am, "Altneuland," Al Parashat Drachim (At the Crossroads), vol. II, p. 157.

⁴⁶ Ahad Ha'am, "Chet V'onsho," (Sin and Restitution), in Ibid., p. 164.

It is obvious that Herzl attempted, in formulating Zionist ideals and goals, to respond to a Middle Eastern question largely within a European framework. Steeped in the realities of anti-Semitism and political imperatives, he devoted little time or thought to a systematic analysis of the Palestinian situation. Clearly, in the course of his nine year long Zionist career, he was confronted with the question of the future of the Arab people in Palestine and strove to resolve it in the most simplistic fashion and with great optimism and naivete, albeit with tolerance and good will.

ARAB-JEWISH RELATIONS IN THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The periodical literature of an era is an especially crucial tool for an attitudinal study since it can easily document the continuous evolving and changing aspects of relationships.¹ In addition the press, especially in largely literate and educated populations, effects and influences public opinion. Articles on the subject of Arab-Jewish relations until 1908 may be divided into three categories. The first group constitutes the reaction in the Jewish press to literature emanating from the Arab world. The second reflects the interplay of opinion amongst the Zionists themselves concerning the political and social problems inherent in the Arab-Jewish relationship. The third group of articles reflect the impact of the Arab-Jewish relationship on both peoples in a cultural sense.

¹Yosef Gorni, "Shorosheha Shel Teudat Haimut Haleumi Hayehudi-Aravi Vehishtakfuta Baitonut Haivrit Bashanim 1900-1918," (The Roots of Consciousness of the Arab-Jewish Confrontation in the Years 1900-1918), Zionut , pp. 73-110. Yosef Gorni in this article classifies the periodical literature in terms of the various positions the authors took on the Arab-Jewish question. He groups the various approaches as: altruistic, integrationist, separatist, liberal practical (moderates), and socialist constructionist (conquest of labor proponents), and argues that all were rooted in the principles of the Zionist idea.

The impact of Arab nationalism and anti-Zionism was as yet unnoticed in Jewish circles when Sapir published his article, "The Hatred for Israel in the Arab Literature," in 1899. Sapir concludes that Arab anti-Semitism in the Arabic works is not an expression of the view of the entire people. Rather, he sees in it "the voice of specific factions, which are few in number and great in activity and influence."² He classifies the various types of responses to the Jew on the basis of religious affiliation among Arabs. About Moslem Arabs he writes,

That is one of the nations or the one nation who is close to our soul and in his day we fared well, and in his love for us and his affinity to us there is still a possibility for the days to come.³

Sapir admits that in his own day the Moslem Arabs are "spiritually downtrodden and as if in a deep sleep. They can awake only if an outside movement will influence them to the good and with truly good intentions encourage them to a new life."⁴

According to Sapir, because the moral and legal structures of Judaism and Islam are so similar, anti-Semitism was able to creep into the fabric of Moslem life only when the Arab power was challenged by Jewish strength. As soon as victory lay firmly in Moslem hands, anti-Semitism ceased. The relationship between Arab and Jew became even more harmonious as the two nations drew closer culturally and intellectually. Sapir warns that the danger of Arab Moslem anti-Semitism in

²Sapir, "Hasinah Leyisrael Besifrut Haaravit," (The Hatred to Israel in Arabic Literature), Hashiloach, XV, 1899, p. 222.

³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., p. 227.

his day lay in the ignorance amongst the Moslems which allows anti-Jewish propaganda promulgated by other religious sects to significantly influence Moslem attitudes. For example, Sapir explains that much of the anti-Jewish material in Islamic works originated in the confusion amongst Islamic scholars of Jewish and Protestant dogma, especially understandable since Protestants frequently used Hebrew texts in their diatribe against Islam, and after all "in time of pressure one cannot distinguish between friend and foe."⁵ Sapir cautions that the major influence in spreading virulent anti-semitism amongst Arabs is the Catholic clergy, especially the Jesuits, while Protestant writings in Arabic contain very subtle nuances of anti-semitic nature.

Sapir decries the silence amongst the Zionist leadership and in Jewish literary circles in regard to the literature emanating from the Arab world. He recommends that Jews become actively involved within the Arab world of letters, and that they sharply protest anti-Semitic slander so that they may become "in those countries, in the language and literature, important contributors and not mere visitors."⁶

⁵Ibid., p. 228.

⁶Ibid., p. 232. The necessity to establish a more active press in both Hebrew and Arabic in order to combat propaganda unfavorable to the Zionist cause was expressed by Druyanov, a prominent journalist in 1909. He writes,

It is necessary for us to have an adequate press of our own in Hebrew and in Arabic through which the Palestinian public might attain an accurate conception about the matters of the yishuv and ways in which it can grow and improve. But first it is imperative to create peace between Jews and Arabs so that hearts will not be prepared to accept immediately the poison of hatred with which the press are filling them. ("Klapei Hasakana" (Facing the Danger), Kitvei A. Druyanow, Tel Aviv, 1909, vol. 1, p. 403.)

That Jews and Arabs have an affinity and similarity in terms of values and moral framework was an idea also expressed by Pines in his article in Haaretz in 1891 where he writes,

The Arab nation living in Palestine is close in language and customs to the Jewish nation. Most of Mohammed's lore is derived from Jewish sources, the law of circumcision, immersion, prayer and some of the prohibitions on foods...The voice emanating from atop all the mosques, "There is no G-d but Allah" is but an echo of the voice that preceded it by two thousand years amidst thunder and lightning from Sinai...When two nations reside together which differ from each other from within and without, there is no possibility that envy and competition will not come between them which brings about repressed hatreds. The Arabs and Jews resided together for hundreds of years in the east and in the fields of Spain, and befriended one another in peace and blessing in the land.⁷

While Sapir in his article reflects on anti-semitism as a prime factor in Arab-Jewish relations, by 1905, Negib Azhour's virulent anti-Zionism became the focus of Jewish concern. Azhour, a Christian Arab and former Ottoman official in Jerusalem, in Paris founded a society called La Ligue de la Patrie Arabe and wrote the manifesto, Le Reveille de Le Nation Arabe dans L'asie Turque, which contained a very strong attack on Zionism. He writes,

Two important phenomena of a similar nature yet opposed, at present manifest themselves in Asian Turkey. These are the awakening Arab nation and the latent effort of the Jews to reconstitute on a very large scale the ancient kingdom of Israel. The two movements are destined to combat one another continuously until one is beaten by the other.

In an article entitled, "Hatenua Haaravit Umegamoteha" (The Arab Movement and its Aspirations), Chermoni reviews Azhour's work in order to compare Arab and Zionist goals and to examine

⁷Pines, Haaretz, 1891.

areas of possible conflict. Chermoni opines that the lack of unity, education and literary awareness combined with pressure from the various European powers would prevent the type of overnight revolution prophesized in the work, where "12,000 Arabs will in 12 hours rid themselves of the 1200 Turks who rule them."⁸ Chermoni assumes that the Arab movement has a certain momentum, and that it can at some point pose a threat to Zionist aims. However, he suggests two steps in the strengthening of the Zionist position in Palestine. Firstly, the Jews must quickly increase the number of settlements within the Yishuv and secondly, while doing so, they must take care to "create an equal and friendly relationship with their Arab neighbors."⁹

In "Hatenua Haaravit Bekidmat Asya" (The Arab Movement in the Middle East) Chermoni examines Jung's Les Puissances Devant la Revolte; La Crise Mondiale de Demain written in France in 1906 and again questions the need to take Azhour's and Jung's admonitions quite seriously having seen no significant developments within the Arab national movement since the publication of Azhour's manifesto one year before. He strongly questions Jung's contention that the various rival European powers in their attempt to prevent a largescale takeover in the Middle East by any one of them would welcome the growth of Arab power in the area. It is his feeling that each of

⁸ Aharon Chermoni, "Hatenua Haaravit Umegamoteha" (The Arab Movement and its Aims), Hashiloach, XVII, 1905, pp. 377-390.

⁹ Ibid., p. 390.

those powers--Russia, Germany, England and France--would allow only a nonmilitary and nonaggressive group such as the Zionists to grow powerful in one country in order to counter the development of a real threat to their own influence in the area.

In terms of the long-range impact of Arab nationalism on the Middle East, Chermoni reflects quite seriously on the validity of an Arab national movement.

About the question, is there basis to fear the danger of an Arab movement, we think we can easily respond that for the time being there is no such danger. Temporarily, and we underscore that word, there is no Arab movement in Asian Turkey, because the Arabs are divided according to tribe, class, and religion, and unity between the various parts of the widely separated factions of this impoverished nation is possible only if the nation becomes more cultured and less fanatical. Among the Arabs even on a small scale this idea, the idea of a national revival has a right to exist just as do our idea and the idea of the Czechs and others. And we must pay heed to this matter because there is no doubt that this idea will develop in the lands of the Arab tongue, and will spread together with the proliferation of the railroads and European settlements. A day will come that this movement about which only Azhour, Jung, and others of their like prophesy today will in fact appear in one form or another.¹⁰

Chermoni goes on to angrily denounce the indifference of the Zionist leadership to anti-Zionist literature emanating from Europe and the Arab world. Just as Azhour's and Jung's works were received with interest in the European press, Chermoni felt that a Zionist response would receive similar recognition. The failure of the Zionists to refute anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic slander was, in Chermoni's view, unpardonable.

¹⁰Chermoni, "Hatenuah Haaravit Vekidmat Asyah" (The Arab Movement and the Middle East), Hashiloach, XVI, p. 463.

In "Aravi Bizchut Haivrim" (An Arab Defense of the Jews), published in 1907, Chermoni discusses the work of a Christian Arab, Farid Qatsab, The Arab Kingdom, the Curia Romana and the Fictitious Jewish Danger, a bitingly sharp critique of Azhour's work. Chermoni assumes that just as Azhour had been the mouthpiece of British propaganda, and Jung the representative of French biases, Qatsab in this work served as the spokesman of Turkish authorities. Qatsab denies the validity of Azhour's manifesto, contending that the large number of Moslem Arabs would never have entrusted their national hopes to the hands of Azhour, a Christian. Chermoni is encouraged by Qatsab's enthusiasm on the score of Zionist aspirations, claiming that his views represent the opinions of not one Arab, but the more crucial good will of the Turkish authorities. Chermoni therefore sees a good relationship with the Turks as an essential element of Zionist strategy.¹¹

One of the earliest essays on the subject of Jewish attitudes to Arabs is Yitzchak Epstein's "Sheela Neelama" (The Unseen Question), which was first presented as a talk at the seventh Zionist Congress of 1905 and was published in Hashiloach in 1907. This work was important in that it created a dialogue and controversy which found continuous expression in the press. Epstein's most important premise is that in order to establish a strong Jewish hold in Palestine, cooperation with the Arab fellah is crucial. Therefore extreme

¹¹Chermoni, "Aravi Bizchut Haivrim" (An Arab in Defense of Jewish Rights), Hashiloach, XVII, Jan. 1908, pp. 360-365.

caution must be taken not to attain land from urban absentee owners, who had gained access to it through unjust practices, thus uprooting the fellah who would bear the Jewish settler eternal hatred.¹² Nor would employing the resident fellah on newly acquired Jewish land accomplish the desired aim of compensating him for his loss. While Epstein admits that the new settlements immeasurably improve the living conditions in surrounding Arab communities, he warns that,

To the good, our name is not mentioned but it is engraved to the bad in memories which will not fade. It is hard to buy friends but how easy is it to acquire enemies among the simple fellahs. Strong is the anger of a people expelled from their land.¹³

Recognizing the imperative of expanding Jewish settlement in Palestine, Epstein suggests that Zionist settlement be pursued only in unsettled, mountainous, or arid areas.

We shall again conquer through science and sweat what our forefathers conquered with swords and we will redeem the land not from the Arab fellahs, but from draught, wilderness, and desert.¹⁴

An interesting aspect of Epstein's article is the odd combination of humanitarianism and political utilitarianism expressed within it. Epstein is generous in his assessment of the Arabs as a people. He cites their strength, industriousness, patience, and love for their land, but assumes the

¹²Yitzchak Epstein, "Sheela Neelama" (The Hidden Question), Hashiloach, XVII, 1907, p. 204. Epstein likens Jewish negotiation with these landlords for the purchase of lands as "speaking to the in-laws forgetting the groom." Pines, in an article written in 1882 in Hamelitz, also warns of the hostility resulting from the unjust purchase of lands from owners who had acquired lands under questionable circumstances from the fellahs.

¹³Ibid., p. 199. ¹⁴Ibid.

cultural superiority of the Jew. He implies a moral responsibility on the part of the Jew to share medical and educational facilities with the less fortunate Arab neighbor, warning simultaneously that should such cooperation and tolerance be lacking the Jew might find that he had tampered with a sleeping lion. Epstein cautions that the Jew deal carefully with the Arab but concludes his article on an optimistic note quoting a passage from Jeremiah, "Let us teach them the good way and let us also be built."¹⁵

In her strong retort to Epstein's essay Nechama Puchatzevsky, writing from the settlement Rishon Letzion, partially denies the severity of Arab anti-Semitism, pointing out their awareness of the improvement in the quality of life promoted by Jewish settlement in Palestine. She claims, however, that at the root of Arab resentment lies the landless condition of the Jews. She refers to the "eternal hatred for a nation exiled from its land"¹⁶ and points out that anti-Semitism in Russia, too, where Jews were engaged in revolutionary work on behalf of the Russian people, stems only from their rightless condition itself.

Puchatzevsky rejects Epstein's suggestion that Jews develop marginal farm land for Jewish settlement, explaining that the chaotic financial circumstances of the existing settlements would necessarily bar any heavy investments in the

¹⁵Ibid., p. 206.

¹⁶Nechama Puchatzevsky, "Sheelot Gluyot" (Obvious Questions), Hashiloach, 1907, p. 86.

new land which would be essential to the development of resourceless areas. Whereas Epstein seems to imply that both nations have equally valid claims to the land, Puchatzewsky is certain that "if one is to consider rights, which belong to those who had them first, our rights have precedence."¹⁷ In the hope of fulfilling those rights and the historic destiny of the nation in Palestine, Zionists must seek to maximize the amount of land available for settlement. This must be their first priority, and although the Jew does bear a moral responsibility to help his less fortunate Arab neighbor, it may never be fulfilled at the expense of progress toward the establishment of the Jewish national homeland.

The debate surrounding Epstein's article continued with the lengthy three part essay by Yizhar Smilansky (writing under the pen-name Vofsi), entitled "From Fantasy to Reality" which systematically challenged most of Epstein's contentions. Smilansky questions the validity of the Arab claim to Palestine documenting the numbers of Palestinian Arabs and Jews who had long established residence in the lands.¹⁸ Contradicting

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁸ Yizhar Smilansky (Vofsi), "Min Hadimyon el Hametziot" (From Fantasy to Reality), Haolam, 1908, 442-44, 456-58, 466-68, 480-82, 493-95. A.D. Gordon addresses himself to the problem of the categorical natures of claims on land in an article entitled "An Irrational Solution" written in 1909. (Kitvei A.D. Gordon, Tel Aviv, 1925, vol. 1, p. 28.)

If Palestine is ours, it is not the Arabs' and justice is with us in all we do, because there is nothing wrong with it in a sense of business justice and if it is theirs, then it is not ours and we must relinquish it altogether. But what can we do if reality does not conform...The fact is a reality that the land is ours so long as the nation of Israel lives and has not forgotten its land. And from the other point of view there is no deciding that the Arabs have no part in it. The question is in what sense and to what degree it is ours and theirs, and

Epstein's contention that the Arab feels emotionally attached to the land, he sites the tendency among more modernized Arabs, especially the Lebanese, to seek their fortunes far afield from their native villages.

In terms of the suggestion that Jews settle and farm only marginally productive lands, statistical evidence is presented in "From Fantasy to Reality" that the fertile farm lands were in 1907 supporting only a fraction of the population which had historically farmed and prospered on it. Large Arab and Jewish populations would benefit if Jews could purchase such land and maximize productivity through intensive farming methods and with modernized equipment exponentially increase its yield. Settlement in arid and mountainous regions exclusively would be financially impossible because the Jewish community in the diaspora which had not been supporting settlements even in fertile lands all that generously, would surely not invest in the questionably profitable venture of irrigating and farming nonfertile areas.

On a more philosophical plane Smilansky disagrees with Epstein's discussion of nationalism, egotistical selfishness and morality. Epstein confronts the problem thus,

Each time that a supposed national good conflicts with human justice the good becomes a national sin which is unpardonable.¹⁹

Smilansky denies that the Jew has a moral obligation to service

how to weigh the claims of both sides. The question is not a simple one and demands much consideration. One thing is clear: that the land will belong more to the side which can suffer for it more and work it more.

¹⁹ Epstein, "Sheela Neelama," p. 199.

the Arab national cause. He rejects the "Diaspora Mission" which encourages the Jew always to sacrifice self-interest in order to demonstrate his altruism and generosity. He subscribes to a healthy nationalism which considers its own needs first while respecting the rights of other nations. If Epstein's recommendations were followed, insists Smilansky, the seemingly amoral situation would develop where the weaker, less populous Jewish nation would invest its finances and energies in the aid of the Arab nation which is numerically and militarily at an advantage.

An article in Hapoel Hatzair of 1908 by Moshe Smilansky echoes this view.

If we may not rob the fellah or treat him cruelly, so that those who are robbed may not themselves become thieves, we are not required to help them to become stronger...Our goal should be to become a majority in our land and any action contradicting that goal is a national sin. As we enrich ourselves, we approach the ideal of majority. Until we become a majority in terms of quantity, let us at least be a majority in terms of quality.²⁰

Cautioning the Jewish yishuv against precipitously modernizing Arab life, Smilansky urges restraint. His perception of the moral dilemma regarding Jewish responsibility in that sphere is clear.

Such an act which puts the weak in the hands of the strong is immoral. A moral act is one which allows the weak to be like the strong...If we don't want to remain weak, begging for mercy from our opponents, let us be strong like them, and even more than them, and we shall be equal and make peace like other equal people.²¹

²⁰ Moshe Smilansky (Cheruti), "Of Yishuv Matters," Hapoel Hatzair, 1908, quoted in Gorni, Perakim Beidiologiya Shel Tenuat Hapolaim Baaliya Hashniya (Chapters in the Ideology of the Labor Movement in the Second Aliya), Tel Aviv, 1966, p. 34.

²¹ Ibid.

Beyond the problems emanating from the nationalist or economic perspective in Arab-Jewish relations, questions arose in the early period concerning the possibilities for close cultural ties between the two nations and the possible changes such close connections could effect on Jewish culture and life-style.

In "Masa Arav" (An Essay About the Arabs) published in 1907, Yehoshua Radler Feldman (using the pen-name Rabbi Benjamin) argues that the racial bonds and shared ancestry must lead toward brotherly cooperation between Arab and Jew.²² In "Av-Ellul" he describes the reverberations in the Jewish soul at the sound of the religious chants echoing from the mosques during the Ramadaan. Commenting on the similarities between the two cultures he exclaims, "Ellul, Ramadaan...It is all within the race. The race is all."²³ Therefore, says Rabbi Benjamin, an important goal in Palestine would be to fuse the two nations who already share an ancestral past by strengthening the cultural bond between them through equalizing their standards of living.

Y.H. Brenner, his very good friend whose views ran strongly to pessimism in regards to Arabs in Palestine, argued strongly with Rabbi Benjamin's humanitarian outlook. He

²²Rabbi Benjamin (Yehoshua Radler Feldman), "Masa Arav" (An Essay about the Arabs), 1907, in Al Haqvulin (At the Borders), Jerusalem, 1922, p. 98.

²³Rabbi Benjamin, "Av-Ellul" (Hebrew equivalent to July-August), 1908, in Ibid., p. 208. The Hebrew months of Av and Ellul are two of the most significantly solemn seasons of the Hebrew year. In Av the destruction of the Holy Temple is commemorated and Ellul is the month preceding the New Year.

actually questioned the morality in the publication of Rabbi Benjamin's humanitarian essays.

Because in such an idealized attitude toward the world in dreams of childhood...like these which have no base in the deepest instincts in man, there is in my opinion an immorality, yes immorality, being a sort of fluttering dust emanating from a nonrealization of the bitterness of reality.²⁴

Jewish interest in the Arab population of Palestine manifested itself in curiosity about its history, mores, and language. A series of anthropological studies regarding the customs of the Palestinian fellahs and bedouin appeared primarily in Luach Eretz Yisrael and Luach Achiasaf and bore titles such as "A Picture of the Life of the Bedouin," "The Arabs in Palestine," and "From the Life of the Fellahs."²⁵ The many travelogues describe sometimes lyrically, though often depreciatingly as well, the impressions of Jews on first impact with the Arabs. The variety of reaction to the Arabs in this type of writing is apparent through the comparison of "A Sketch of a Voyage to Palestine" by Eldad Haglili and Yaakov Rabinowitz's "In Palestine." The former article published in Luach Achiasaf of 1908 admiringly reflects on the advantages of life in the Middle East.

While in the West leisure eventually brings the wealthy class to boredom so that they spend days at the hunt or compete in horseracing... (the Arab) awakens his nerves with a cup of black coffee, enjoyingly drawing smoke from his pipe...and gives full sway to his rich imagination.²⁶

²⁴Y.H. Brenner, Kitvei Y.H. Brenner, vol. 8, p. 256.

²⁵A. Tur-Malka, Luach Eretz Yisrael, 1901, pp. 127-43; Zalman Ben Turim, *Ibid.*, 1905, pp. 99-114; Samu'el Rēfaēlowitz, *Ibid.*, 1901, pp. 49-77.

²⁶Eldash Haglili, "A Sketch of a Voyage to Palestine," Luach Achiasaf, 1905, #22, p. 10.

The relationship between Arab and Jew is described by Haglili as courteous though a distance is usually maintained because of the Moslems' hesitation to establish intimate relations with the infidel. Rabinowitz's major impression of the Arabs in Palestine, on the other hand, is one of alienation and dismay at the disdain and disrespect with which the Jerusalemite Jew is treated by the Arabs. He writes,

For a moment we forgot that we were in Palestine, and thought that we are in one of the towns of the Pale...The Jesuit priests had already been able to poison their Arab coreligionists with a hatred for us, but the Moslem had not yet become poisoned thus. Nevertheless we felt quite depressed. We do not feel ourselves free in the land of our fathers. Even now after twenty-five years of work here we have not yet arrived at the position of free men who do not have to consider the hatred of others.²⁷

The enthusiastic desire to integrate Arabic culture into Jewish literature had prompted many translations of Arabic poetry and folk tales into Hebrew during the early years of Zionist settlement. David Yellin, a Jerusalemite scholar who was active in this effort, felt that through the study of Arabic literature one can arrive at the Jewish sources which had become part of Arabic folklore because they so well suited the Arab spirit. He points out the clarity of language and thought which is common to the "sons of Shem", the Arabs and Jews which had made this type of cultural sharing so effortless and natural.²⁸

Abraham Shalom Yehudah, the young Arabist whose efforts

²⁷ Yaakov Rabinowitz, "Be'eretz Yisrael," Hashiloach, pp. 448-49.

²⁸ quoted in Geula Yardeni, Haitonut Haivrit Beeretz Yisrael 1863-1908 (Hebrew Journalism in Israel), Jerusalem, 1969, p. 322.

to alert Herzl to the Arab-Jewish dilemma fell on deaf ears at the Second Zionist Congress,²⁹ expressed the need for Jews to extrapolate a clearer understanding of the Arab spirit from Arabic literature.

It must surely please the Jewish reader to know the ways of the Arab nation, its customs and its way of life, because it is so close to our fathers' when they resided in this land and in its customs and habits, in its nobility... He (the Jew) will be even more pleased to know that many of our brethren in Palestine found peace amongst the Arabs and lived securely with them.³⁰

Yehuda's famous correspondent, Shaul Tzernichovsky, could not agree more. He bade the Jews

delve into Arab letters in order to learn of the great nobility, love of the land, desire for freedom and war-like spirit which is the stamp of a living nation...all of which was lost to us but remained intact in the residents of the land, our Arab brothers. They are obviously recognizable in their poetry, should it be translated to our tongue. If they would enter our literature they would surely influence it, their strong spirit would aid us in relieving ourselves for the bonds of hated slavery and the chains of submission and fear embedded with us.³¹

The goal of widespread interaction in the cultural sphere between Arab and Jew remained, however, a subject of heated controversy on the Jewish scene. Joseph Klausner, under the pen-name Ish Ivri, in an essay published in 1907 presented strong arguments opposing cultural sharing between the two nations. He comments on the tendency among the young olim, especially of the vibrant Second Aliya, to dress in Arab style and to imitate and accept Arab modes and values.

²⁹A.S. Yehuda, "My Early Meetings With Herzl," Zionews, July-August 1943, pp. 26-27.

³⁰Yardeni, p. 323.

³¹A.S. Yahuda, "Chalifat Michtavim Im Tzernichovsky al Hashira Haaravit," (Correspondence with Tzernichovsky About Arabic Poetry), Hadoar 24 (1944), p. 523.

He happily concedes that some of the changes developing in Jewish life patterns in Palestine are natural and beneficial.

The Jews emigrating from Russia to the land of Israel are finding roots in the old-new terrain...We settlers in the land, are no longer wanderers, like flowering visitors who are here and tomorrow again in Russia or Paris or New York or Melbourne but rather as permanent residents who are concerned with all that occurs in the land...It is inconceivable that this type of new settler will not look carefully into the lives of old settlers, and it is impossible that the old settlers will not influence him to a certain degree.³²

However, Klausner cautions that in Palestine the Jew who finally has occasion to develop his own educational system and literary institutions, at last independent of foreign influences which had confined his development in Europe, would again be limited and defined by the framework of yet another strange culture. Finding few signs of an effect of Jewish culture on the life of the neighboring Arabs, and much within the young Hebrew literature which evidenced emulation of Arab modes, Klausner was appalled at the disproportionate impact of Arab culture on Jewish life. In looking about at the young olim he admires their fearlessness, pride, and love of nature but would much prefer to see these traits develop more gradually as the effect of the new agricultural life-style and closeness to the soil rather than as a result of envy of the Arabs. He decries the idolization of those Jews who had learned Arabic and become expert horsemen and comments that even the idealization of those fearless young men who had won respect and admiration in neighboring Arab communities marks

³²Joseph Klausner (Ish Ivri), "Chashash" (Misgivings), Hashiloach, 1907, p. 574.

an overly strong impact of the more primitive culture on Jewish values. Cynically Klausner comments that throughout the generations in the Diaspora the Jew had somehow managed to familiarize himself with the language and customs of his country of residence without attending the recommended night courses which had been organized in order to swiftly assimilate Arabic language into yishuv life.

In the wake of the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 the discussion of Arab-Jewish relations changed significantly. Initially the press reflected an atmosphere of optimism and hope. In "Turkiya Hachadasha, Hayehudim, Vehatzionut" (The New Turkey, the Jews and Zionism) Yachov Rabinowitz foresees an era in which the Jewish nation will be recognized on an equal basis with the other nations in the empire under the new constitution. He urges that the Jews not act on the behalf of Arab nationalism in the empire because,

It is better that Turkey be a country with one half million Jews amongst twelve nations rather than it be divided into two halves of a kingdom, one half of which shall be 200,000 Jews amongst four of five million people of another nationality.³³

Rabinowitz concludes that Jews must be "good nationalist Jews, good Ottomans, and peaceful neighbors to the nation with whom they reside."³⁴

The early enthusiasm of the period immediately following the revolution quickly diminished, however, as an obvious

³³Rabinowitz, "Turkiya Hachadasha, Hayehudim, Ve-Hatzionut" (The New Turkey, the Jews, and Zionism), Hashiloach 19, 1908, p. 557.

³⁴Ibid.

degeneration of Arab-Jewish relations on the local level began. Jews became increasingly concerned about the growing Arab nationalism and its effects on the yishuv. Ben Gurion in an article written in 1910 suggests that the new wave of violence against Jewish settlements resulted not from the feeling of lawlessness in the land but from the fact that "each nation desires to strengthen its position in agriculture, in industry, business, and labor, and to supersede any other nation."³⁵ He urges that a more strongly unified position be established in Jewish circles and that Jews be certain to energetically express their demands for equal protection from the Turkish authorities.

Conflict is strongly present, in the works of even the most humanistic authors after the revolution. In "Between Abraham and Ibrahim" of 1912 Rabbi Benjamin assumes that severe conflict exists. In the imaginary conversation between Arab and Jew, the Jew, Abraham exclaims,

But know one thing Ibrahim. My place here I will not leave. We two will meet from now on willingly or unwillingly, daily. And it would be best that this meeting should take place in good will. Even though we have both said that battle will not frighten either of us, let us keep our armaments for others.³⁶

In the aftermath of Y.H. Brenner's violent death in 1921³⁷ Rabbi Benjamin rejects his friend's description of

³⁵David Ben Gurion, "Lebirur Matzavenu Hamedini" (Clarifying our Political Situation), Achdut, July 1910, p. 88.

³⁶Rabbi Benjamin, "Bein Avraham Veibrahim" (Between Abraham and Ibrahim), 1912 in Al Hagvulin.

³⁷Brenner died in an Arab attack on a secluded neighborhood in 1921. The fact that he had chosen to reside there surrounded by Arabs and the fact that some of his more optimistic and humanistic comments of Arab-Jewish relations were expressed shortly before his death seems to suggest that he had modified his totally pessimistic outlook somewhat at the end of his life.

him as utopian or ultrahumanistic. He points to "Abraham and Ibrahim" where he had not envisioned Arab and Jew embracing and forever avowing warm friendship, but where the discussion had made mention of coexistence and peace and not love. Critics point out, however, that this work and several other of Rabbi Benjamin's later works reflect a revolution in the author's perspective due to changes in the reality of Arab-Jewish relations after the upheaval in Turkey and the resultant surge toward Arab nationalism in Palestine.

Careful study of the Zionist periodical literature concerning the Arabs before 1908 seems to point to an awareness on the part of the Jewish community in Palestine that a bitter conflict between Arab and Jew while both struggled to express their nationalism in Palestine was certainly in the realm of possibility. Some journalists were aware of the murmurings of Arab nationalism in the shape of Azhour's manifesto. However the nature of the Arab community was such that it seemed clear to most astute political observers that the majority of Palestinian Arabs were unprepared culturally, economically and religiously to form a unified force against the Zionists, their concerns with economic survival being their primary interest at that point.³⁸ Even Yitzchak Epstein,

³⁸ Ehud Ben Ezer points out in his study "Between Romanticism and the Bitterness of Reality" that Herzl amongst many other Zionists who were involved in the realities of the conditions in the yishuv felt that while a nationalist awareness was probably developing amongst the Arabs, their need for economic stability and cultural modernization would override their desire for autonomy and would enable Zionists and Arabs to reside peacefully together.

the first journalist to discuss seriously the "unseen question" of Arab-Jewish conflict believed that the problem could be amicably resolved if Jews were careful not to remove the fellah from his land and if they would generously offer educational and medical aid to their less fortunate Arab neighbors.

Aside from the periodical literature which addressed itself primarily to the issue of Arab-Jewish conflict, many articles stressed the affinity and similarities between Arabs and Jews and urged increased involvement in Arab literature and Arab life. Authors like Pines, Sapir, A.S. Yehudah and Rabbi Benjamin stressed the bonds of race, history and tradition between Arab and Jew and optimistically looked forward to a harmonious and mutually beneficial coexistence between the two nations. It was only in the period following the Young Turk Revolution, after the initial euphoria and optimism had quieted, that yishuv leaders began to recognize that a new era of nationalist chauvinism had dawned and that the potential for Jewish-Arab animosity was growing.

THE HEBREW BELLE LETTRES AND THE ARABS

In order to arrive at a clearer understanding of the emotional climate of an era, historians often turn to the belle lettres. Though it is difficult to make accurate generalizations from the very specialized framework of the artist's viewpoints and sensibilities, fictional works do reflect the undercurrents of attitude and sensitivities of the nation at large.¹

In the early period the environment of the Palestinian yishuv was described at length primarily by two authors, Moshe Smilansky and Y.H. Brenner, who differed radically in emphasis and style and are most often described respectively as the romanticist and realist of the era. Smilansky, especially in Sons of Arabia, lovingly detailed the life patterns, prevailing attitudes and social structure of the Arab fellah

¹The development of the Arab-Jewish dilemma within Hebrew literature has been extensively studied by Ehud Ben Ezer, an Israeli author and literary critic of note in such articles as "War and Siege in Hebrew Literature After 1967" (The Jewish Quarterly, Fall 1978, pp.20-29) and "Between Romanticism and the Bitterness of Reality, the Arab Question in our Literature" (Shdemot 46, Spring 1972), in two symposia. Another of the more detailed surveys of the topic was prepared by Isaac Barzilay, entitled "The Arab in Modern Hebrew Literature, Image and Problem (1880-1918)" (Hebrew Studies, 1978, page 8.). Most studies spanning the entire development of Hebrew literature in Palestine from the period of the First Aliya until the present attempt to trace the depiction of the Arab personality and Arab life through the periods of romanticism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the moral questioning about Arab-Jewish relations in the 1948 era, to the fatalistic pessimism reflected in the Hebrew literature at present.

and Bedouin. Brenner described the relationships between Arab and Jew in negative terms, emphasizing in his poetry and prose the primitive, hostile and alienating aspects of reality in Palestine although he was fascinated by the beauty and exoticism of the Arab milieu.

As early as 1906, while still in London preparing for his trip to Palestine, Brenner was already wary and skeptical and referred to "suffering at the hands of our Arab brothers."² In a letter to Rabbi Benjamin, his close friend, he commented on the latter's humanistic essay "Masa Arav,"³

About the Arabs it is not true (referring to what Rabbi Benjamin had written). They are our enemies in the land, and in general all of this is in my eyes, if you will forgive me, rubbish.⁴

Bein Mayim Lemayim (Between the Waters), a novella written in 1909, reflects Brenner's anxiety and depression in regard to life in Palestine. Brenner refers to "a stage of siege"⁵ and alludes to the Jews' burden of exile which he felt was heavier in Palestine than in Europe.⁶ Referring to difficulties in finding employment he despairs, "They (the Arabs) are involved in everything. Even here we are... strangers."⁷

²Y.H. Brenner, Igrot Y.H. Brenner (Letters...), vol. 1, Tel Aviv, 1941, p. 260.

³A more complete discussion of Rabbi Benjamin's "Masa Arav" on page 83.

⁴Brenner, Igrot, p. 337.

⁵Y.H. Brenner, Bein Mayim L'Mayim (Between the Waters), Kol Kitvei..., vol. 4, p. 48, Tel Aviv, 1960. See footnote 10.

⁶Ibid., p. 55. ⁷Ibid., p. 42.

The most direct and strongest comment on Arab-Jewish conflict in Between the Waters is the central episode in the novella where a Jewish guard is attacked and fatally injured by Arab marauders.

It was one of the ordinary arguments with the Arabs. The Arabs have arguments and complaints. They attack periodically. In recent days they had begun to uproot the plantings nightly. In one week they had uprooted twelve hundred plants. Tolerance had failed. The Jewish guard stood on duty. He called for help. The marauders hit him, wounded him, killed him.⁸

Brenner's cynical description of a eulogy by "one who tried to enter the psychology of the Arabs" refers to the Arab and Jewish claim to the land and likens the Palestinian situation to an erupting volcano.⁹ This passage, begun in bitter sarcasm, concludes in a painful and agonizing recognition of the heartrending tragedy of the Arab-Jewish dilemma.

Mikan Umikan (From Here and There) written by Brenner in 1911, again involves an Arab attack on a group of three travellers and the subsequent death of one.

The hunchback, all the documents for his trip back to Russia in his pocket, walked...admiring the Judean hills in the distance. The Arab horseman met them, coming from the side, stood for a moment, and asked a question. The travellers, not knowing a word in the foreign tongue did not understand the question. The horseman turned to them once more, but with a different voice.¹⁰

The passage describes the brutal attack after which its perpetrator "galloped away straight to his nearby tranquil village."¹¹

⁸Ibid. ⁹Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁰Y.H. Brenner, Mikan U'mikan (From Here and From There), in Kol Kitvei, vol. 4, p. 144. Although this novella, as well as "Between the Waters" were written shortly after the period dealt with in this study, there is a direct continuum within Brenner's writings from the period preceding his arrival in Palestine in 1909. These novellas best illustrate an attitude which remained constant until shortly before Brenner's death.

¹¹Ibid.

The victim, on his deathbed, recalls the incident and exclaims,

The signs are not good, the sign that the murderer is a native of the land, a native...his language the language of the land...he stands on his land...while he, the victim, he and his brother are strangers here, strangers.¹²

Brenner felt that the Jewish community reacted to acts of violence perpetrated against them in fear and defeatism, rather than through strength and courage. The dread of initiating a blood feud with Arab neighbors was so strong as to inhibit the yishuv in its ability to react forcefully to prevent reoccurrence of such episodes. In this novella only the victim's little son Amram, rejecting the traditional Kaddish prayer for the deceased, will commemorate his father's death through militancy.

From Here and There, like Between the Waters, articulates, though depreciatingly, the liberal tolerant position vis-a-vis the Arabs. The old grandfather, father of the deceased victim is described thus,

But the old man, the old man always spoke thus: "We may not pass judgment. We do not know them and let us not be like the Europeans who pass negative judgment on us because they do not know us. True, the natives are in a state of lowered moral standards, but we should not judge them unjustly. Let us not forget their ancient culture. The Arabs will reawaken and revive and truthfully we should revive them with us. We argue for Jewish labor because we need it itself. We must train ourselves in labor. In it we see the reawakening of the Jew and the human within us, but were it not in our case an abnormality of 'luftmenschen' were it not that work is so necessary for us ourselves, we should be happy that our settlements are giving a livelihood to the Arabs." Thus he would speak until it became unpleasant...and more than unpleasant. A wonder! Did he forget everything? Was it erased from his memory all that a member of that "ancient culture" did to him?¹³

¹²Ibid., p. 174.

¹³Ibid., p. 226.

Brenner's ambivalence to the Arab-Jewish question is clearly crystallized in the last passage of the novel where the pacifist grandfather and the young militant orphaned grandson, Amram, stand together symbols of hope and strength. Brenner, although pessimistic and fearful, recognized the more liberal humanistic-optimistic approach vis-a-vis the Arabs, but unwilling to ignore the potentialities for hatred and strife stood torn between the two positions. It is interesting that he has frequently been seen as a major proponent of the liberal tolerant position. Literary critics and leading writers of the generation following Brenner's death chose to read an oft quoted passage written shortly before he died in 1921 as Brenner's central message. In it he depicts a chance meeting between himself and a young Arab boy.

At that moment I blamed myself for the serious fault of not teaching myself Arabic. Here was...an orphan worker ...a young brother! Whether the theory of the scholars is right or not, whether you are related to me by blood or not, in any case responsibility for you rests on me. It was for me to enlighten you, to let you taste human relations...contact between people...from today and through generations...without any precise objective...without any deliberate aim except that of a brother, a friend, and a comrade...

"Goodbye, sir." The lad withdrew from me swiftly seeing that I was troubled and the conversation was over. But in his parting greeting one could see all the same, his great satisfaction that he had been able to engage unexpectedly in a worthwhile conversation with an adult and to speak with as much good sense as an old man uses on these occasions.

"Goodbye, my friend," I whispered and I pondered on about him and me. I continued wandering in the darkness of the evening.¹⁴

Lest one be tempted to hypothesize that Brenner had

¹⁴Y.H. Brenner, "From the Notebook," Kol Kitvei Y.H. Brenner, vol. 7, p. 116.

by 1921 taken an about-face position on Arab-Jewish relations, a careful reading of the passage immediately preceding the above quoted section would quickly dispel any such theory of a deepseated change in his philosophy.

With darkness I walked in the dust of the orchard paths at the edge of the city. All belonged to the people of the land, to the Arabs. To them. I chanced to pass before one homeowner, a small effendi sitting at the gate of his yard in the company of two aging neighbors, and also one young man, of about twenty years, dressed in his keffiyah, amongst them. I greeted them. They did not answer. I passed and turning my head backwards I saw that their not answering had been purposeful and hostile. The young man sat even straighter, looking directly before him, with a kind of victory. "We resisted greeting the Jew."

So it is.

I reflected bitterly. If it is true that the natives are of our race, and that in the fellah there is even some of the blood of the remnants of Israel...I have no choice, I must pass before them, if they will it or if they will it not, but I prefer to meet a Lithuanian from around Kovna rather than these...from the East.¹⁵

Literary scholars have been nevertheless hard put to reconcile the passage about the young Arab lad within the larger context of Brenner's views. Yaakov Rabinowitz, in an article commemorating the tenth anniversary of Brenner's death suggests that this humanistic passage along with Brenner's decision to reside in Abu Kabbir where he was killed in an Arab attack in 1921 evidenced a sort of lapse in judgment

¹⁵ Ibid. Ben Seagal in his essay "The Arab Image in Israeli Fiction" (The Jewish Quarterly 21, 1973) comments that Brenner saw the Arab-Jewish dilemma through Smilansky's "folksy" humanistic perspective. He obviously bases his reflections solely on the reading of the passage about the young Arab boy and ignores the other rather strong implications of negativism in Brenner's attitude. Thorough studies of the Arab as reflected in Brenner's writing are two of Ehud Ben Ezer's articles, "Y.H. Brenner V'hasheela Haaravit" (Brenner and the Arab Question) (Keshet 13, 1970-71) and "Y.H. Brenner, Bein Alivut L'tzviut" (Brenner Between Wretchedness and Militarism) (Keshet 48, Summer 1970).

on the part of Brenner in the last years of his life.¹⁶ Critics have also attempted to define an evolution in the writings of both Brenner and Rabbi Benjamin as the situation in the yishuv progressed and evolved. The optimistic Rabbi Benjamin became increasingly pragmatic in his thinking as the realities of Arab antagonism to the yishuv became evident. Brenner, on the other hand, whose reaction to the Arabs stemmed largely from disappointment and lack of confidence in the Zionist leadership and in the possibilities for success in the yishuv, became more secure as the years went on and as the number of successful settlements grew. With the realization of the effectiveness and growth of the Zionist endeavor, the Arabs became less threatening to him and he began to more frequently see them in terms of their human needs.¹⁷

It is crucial in understanding Brenner's view of Arab-Jewish relations that his early Palestinian works be seen within the larger context of his writing and of his outlook on life and philosophy. Many of Brenner's major characters are, like himself, members of the uprooted generation, self-probing, despairing, overwhelmed by life and often suicidal. As Jews they are self-criticizing and hopelessly pessimistic. Confirmed Zionists, they feel strongly that the solution to the desperate Jewish question lies in the land.

A land, a land that we might soon attain, a land in which we can soon begin to build our houses. A land, not for

¹⁶Yaakov Rabinowitz, "Al Brenner" (About Brenner), Maznayim, 22, 1932, pp. 5-9.

¹⁷Ibid.

the lost past, but for tomorrow, for the coming generation, for the orphans of Nemirov after twenty years and after fifty years and after one hundred years.¹⁸

However, arriving in Palestine, soon discouraged and disillusioned, they begin to see the yishuv thus:

A plurality of thousands of separate Jews spread out, isolated, with no more value than any other such settlement in another place. The same ghetto with all its attributes, negligence, poverty, mixture of languages, Jewish livelihoods, the work of strangers, dependence on the good will of the non-Jew, existence as the minority, fear of the neighbor, emigration, alienation.¹⁹

In this larger context of frustration and disillusionment Brenner's bleak view of Arab-Jewish relations must be seen as only one of many areas of discontent.

An important element of Brenner's view of the Arab lies in his envy of the rootedness and grace of Arab existence as compared with the fumbling awkwardness of the yishuv Jew in a new environment. He envies the fellahs who though they are often physically unclean remain spiritually and emotionally unsoiled, far removed from the pollution of a hypocritical and immoral world.²⁰ He wistfully notices a young Arab village girl "of a straight and proud bearing, carrying a heavy load upon her head with gracious ease."²¹

In Atzabim (Images), a tale involving the long difficult voyage from Europe to Palestine, Brenner compares the fellah to the Biblical Patriarchs. Moshe Smilansky and Zeev

¹⁸ Brenner, "Michtavim Mirusya" (Letters from Russia), Hameorer, 1906, p. 9.

¹⁹ Brenner, From Here and There, p. 151.

²⁰ Brenner, "Atzabim" (Images), Kol Kitvei, vol. 4., p. 3.

²¹ Brenner, Between the Waters, p. 35.

Yaavetz, too, frequently drew parallels between Arab custom and costume and the patriarchal traditions described in the Torah.²² The conclusions drawn by the various authors differ sharply, however. Smilansky and Yaavetz implied a connection between the new olim and the Arabs since the return to the Promised Land was to them a sort of return to pre-exilic Jewish culture. Brenner, however, remained convinced that Zionism, predominately a European phenomenon, was not rooted in an interest or affinity for patriarchal life, long forgotten, but was a reaction to the miseries of a long Diaspora.²³ In fact a significant proportion of traditional Jewry had remained closely familiar with the pastoral tradition of the Jewish nation through the study of Bible and prophets while secularized Jews had become reacquainted with the pastoral traditions through the works of literature devoted to the pre-exilic era which had become popular in the nineteenth century.²⁴

Brenner's heroes, like those of Smilansky and Yaavetz, often dress in Arab garb and affect Arab custom and modes of speech. The little grandson Amram, in From Here and There, for example, who for Brenner clearly represents the only hope for success in Palestine, is described as "a little Arab" who is as free in his motions "as an Arab of the desert."²⁵ In

²² See page 113 of this study.

²³ Brenner, Between the Waters, p. 8.

²⁴ Mapu's Ahavat Tzion (1853), for example.

²⁵ Brenner, From Here and There, p. 227.

the same story, an elated oleh, witnessing for the first time the sight of Jewish laborers, riding upon donkeys and dressed in local costume happily exclaims, "This is it! A new world!"²⁶

Although Brenner often seems disillusioned and cynical, even bitter, he maintains what Yosef Gorni calls, "the spark of hope in the abyss of disillusionment."²⁷ He finds comfort in the development of the children of Palestine as characterized by little Amram and in the strongly idealistic grandfather. The character Oved Etzot in one of the closing passages in From Here and There expresses the conflict between the hopelessness of reality and the desire for joy within Brenner.

Life is good. It is not terrible. For it is pleasant to live, pleasant to work, to walk about, to drink tea, to look skyward, to think. According to logic nothing is worthwhile...but the fundamental instinct within me says live, live for the good.²⁸

In terms of the Palestinian experience Brenner remained hopeful that Jews would be able to establish roots there. He writes,

To live, yes to live, and a man must, let us not say that he must but that it is good for a man to settle in one place. To settle, to find roots...to remain here. There is no reason to wander. One need not wander. An old truth.²⁹

Unlike Brenner, Moshe Smilansky who arrived in

²⁶Ibid., p. 153.

²⁷Yosef Gorni, "Hatikva Shebayeus" (The Hope Within the Disillusionment), Asufot 2, November 1971, pp. 5-29.

²⁸Brenner, From Here and There, p. 234. Moshe Moskowitz comments on the positive elements in Brenner's writings in the article, "A Shrub in the Desert: The Hebrew Fiction at the Turn of the Century," Jewish Social Studies 36, 1974, pp. 301-315.

²⁹Brenner, From Here and There, p. 235.

Palestine in 1890 from Kiev became almost immediately acclimatized to life in the Middle East, working in several settlements before establishing his own farm in Rehovot. His works, especially Bnei Arav (Sons of Arabia) are richly descriptive of Arab village life, mores and values, and explore deeply the various forms of Arab-Jewish relationships.³⁰ While critics frequently make light of Smilansky's tales calling them "maudlin and sentimental" or "mawkish and paternalistic"³¹ they are nevertheless significant because they reflected what Fichman terms as "the first meeting between us and the natives while our perception was innocent and while we had the thirst of youth for visions."³²

Smilansky and Brenner, who are frequently compared, vary strongly in terms of style and approach. Two very important factors accentuate the differences between the two authors in relation to their attitude to the Palestinian situation in general and to the Arabs in particular. Brenner's comments about the yishuv must be read in the context of his earlier experience in Europe and in the light of the fate of European Jewry at large. Smilansky reacted to the people and soil of Palestine exclusively. While Smilansky described and related to Arabs as individuals, Brenner, except in his famous passage from From the Notebook quoted in this study,

³⁰ Moshe Smilansky, Bnei Arav (Sons of Arabia), Odessa, 1911. The various stories in Bnei Arav were published between 1908 and 1911.

³¹ Segal, p. 48.

³² Fichman, "Zichronot V'hirhurim" (Memories and Reflections), Moznayim, vol. 1, 1934, p. 83.

saw them always as a group, as an entire people. Ehud Ben Ezer delineates the significance of this phenomenon thus:

In Smilansky, that is to say in the Romantic period, there is a distinct relating to the Arab as an individual. And this is one of the crucial tests, if one relates to the Arab as an individual or as a group. Where one relates to him as an individual there is a romantic or moral approach. Where one relates to him in terms of a group, this is always associated with an approach of alienation, dread, and hostility.³³

While Smilansky did attempt in Sons of Arabia to give the reader an insight into the customs and mores of Arab village life, he nevertheless felt free in these stories, rather than in those based on yishuv life, to imbue his personalities with temperaments, values, physical and emotional characteristics which might effectively embellish his tale. In his yishuv stories, on the other hand, Smilansky became the patriot as well as the storyteller and commented on the social and political problems in Palestine. While it is true that there is an implied criticism of Arab values and social institutions inherent in the Arab tales whose heroes are most often the unfortunate, the persecuted and rootless elements in Arab society, the author's main intention was to capture the imagination of the reader, giving free reign to fantasy.

Love, usually characterized as obsessive infatuation, plays a crucial role in Smilansky's Arab tales, usually moving the hero toward a tragic end. In "Chavaja Shoded", for example, the gentle hero assassinates his beloved after she had been defiled by his enemies, and becomes a notorious

³³ Ehud Ben Ezer, "The Arab Question in Our Literature--Second Conversation With Ehud Ben Ezer," Shdemot, Spring 1972, pp. 44-47.

marauder. This story obviously reflects the Arab's great respect for chastity and purity, perhaps at the expense of his humanity, but most strongly emphasizes Smilansky's insight that love determines, often disastrously, the course of one's life. Love is an overriding influence in "The Daughter of the Sheikh", "Mohammed the Shepherd", "The Death Kiss" and in "Chatan." Smilansky allows those passions and characteristics which he feels heavily influence the development of human personality and destiny to become exaggerated in these stories of primitive emotionality. Thus while love plays an important role in the Smilansky's yishuv stories as well, his Jewish characters are not as overwhelmed by its power as are his Arab characters.

Among the virtues which Smilansky recognized and appreciated in Arab fellah and bedouin society are the devotion between parent and child, courage, loyalty, hospitality, nobility, and love for the land. The latter is most crucial for Smilansky for whom adama (land), as differentiated from karka (property), is defined as "a cosmic element, an attribute of nature...always conquerable, yet never conquered." Land unifies men "irregardless of race, religion, nationality, world view, wealth or riches."³⁴ Mohammed, the starving hero in "A Hungry Nobleman" attempts to explain his overwhelming desire to return to his draught-ridden South thus:

³⁴Yizhar Smilansky, "Sheelot Shelo Hechlidu" (Questions Which Were Never Crystallized), Haaretz, April 12, 1974, p. 20.

"I miss the South."

"The South?" I asked wonderingly and laughed. "There is no tree and no green grass there now."

Mohammed's face became fully alert. His eyes shone and he changed as if to another man. Something awoke in him, something alive and strong.

"Don't, Chavaja, don't talk like that. There is no more beautiful a place than the South. That is the land of G-d, the blessing of Allah. There is nothing to divide between heaven and earth there. The land remains and is what G-d created it. There is nothing to block your gaze to the end of the skies. There in the wind hovers the soul of my son..."

His eyes looked south searching as if for a loved one. I did not say anything. I knew that when Mohammed wants something he could not refrain from it. I felt that I was dealing here with longings which drive man from his sane mind."³⁵

Smilansky's conception of that connection between a man and his land in human terms, lead him to recommend that Jews take special precautions when purchasing Arab lands in order to avoid displacing the Arab fellah.³⁶

Smilansky recognized in the Arab personality a capacity for nobility and dignity which he expressed through the characterization of the character Mohammed who explains to his Jewish employer:

It is true that I haven't worked and I don't know how to work. I have the body of a rich man and the soul

³⁵ Moshe Smilansky, "Atzil Raev" (A Hungry Nobleman), Hashiloach, vol. 17, 1907, p. 245.

³⁶ Yizhar Smilansky in his article in Haaretz mentions five principles emphasized by Moshe Smilansky in 1914 in regard to land buying policy. Jews should not buy land which they know had been unjustly appropriated by Arab effendis. They should never take over Arab graveyards even when they fall within boundaries of land purchased by Jews. One third of the purchased land must always remain in possession of the fellahs who must be taught to farm it effectively. While only Jews must farm Jewish land the relationship between Arab and Jew must be honorable, just, peaceful and cooperative.

of a poor man, and I can't work, but I also can't take advantage of others.³⁷

Many of the tales in Sons of Arabia are told from the point of view of the Jew who sympathizing with the troubled Arab, attempts to help him. Thus in "Mabruk" the Jew arranges for the asylum of an escaped young Arab girl in the home of an Arab friend. In "The Scapegoat" a Jew is absorbed and almost possessed with the fate of a black man who had been chosen to be "guilty" of the crimes perpetrated by the various members of an effendi family. One senses in these stories a definite rejection of the mores of Arab society which engender such misfortune. More importantly, however, these tales assume the possibility and plausibility of warm and affectionate relationships between the two peoples. Beyond the scope of confider-confidant relationship, Smilansky alludes to deep-seated emotional ties between Arab and Jew. He develops within tales like "Latfia" and "Chadera" an atmosphere and emotional climate in which such relationships could evolve yet strongly implies through the various plots that the pressures within both societies could never allow for permanence or stability in such liasons.³⁸

Arab and Jewish characters in Smilansky's Arab tales and yishuv stories confer frequently about problems involving love relationships. In "Hamorah Hachadasha" (The New Teacher), for example, an Arab worker advises the hero on matters of the heart, pressing upon his friend the strictures of the

³⁷M. Smilansky, "A Hungry Nobleman," p. 243.

³⁸M. Smilansky, "Latfia," Bnei Arav, vol. 1, p. 1.

austere Moslem customs. Mordechai, the hero, questions his laborer-friend Abd-Allah about Arab custom in a situation of the seduction of a maiden.

"The law? She must die Chavaja."

"She? How did she sin?"

"She is impure. She must die lest she marry another man and defile him too."

"And if she has no kinsmen (to avenge her)? What then is the law from Allah?...If there is no law for impure men, Abdallah, then Allah's law is in itself impure."³⁹

Such discussions again imply a comparison between the two cultures, but also suggest an open avenue of communication between the two peoples on matters touching upon the most basic sensitivities.

Smilansky, like Brenner, utilized the image of the Arabized Jew in his work. In his famous tale "Chavaja Nazar" the Jewish hero takes on Arab dress and becomes conversant in Arabic language and custom. Jewish characters are often described as they are seen through Arab eyes, their prestige within their own community growing in proportion to the respect they had earned among their Arab neighbors. The hero, Chavaja Nazar, is described thus:

The Arabs loved him for his valor, for his quick mastery of a fluent Arabic, for his expertise at horsemanship, similar to theirs. Not only once or twice did he go out to compete with the Arab young men in horsemanship. Riding, he was dressed as one of them and he was armed like them from head to toe. The praise of Chavaja Nazar was always upon their lips. Their greatest praise of him was, "He is like one of us, an Arab son."⁴⁰

³⁹M. Smilansky, Sipurim (Stories), 1934, vol. 1, p. 45, Jerusalem.

⁴⁰M. Smilansky, "Chavaja Nazar," Sipurim, vol. 3, p. 24.

Although Smilansky evidently took great pride in most aspects of Jewish culture and in the development of the yishuv, on occasion he, like Brenner, expressed preference for Arab custom. In "Chavaja Nazar," for example, Smilansky expresses disdain for the devoutly pious Jew, the unkempt inkeeper, expressing admiration for the Arab boatsman "with eyes of fire and a body of marble."⁴¹ While Brenner's attitude reflected an overwhelming self-critical and negative approach to yishuv developments, due to elements of conflict within his own personality, Smilansky seems to reject only those aspects of Jewish life most strongly reminiscent of Shtetl life in Europe.⁴² Characteristically, the old yishuv community especially in Jerusalem, which was firmly rooted in tradition and was economically dependent on the European Jewish community drew the almost closedminded disdain of the young olim who sought to establish a new style of life in Palestine. Smilansky and Brenner awaited the development of a new type of Jew who would internalize those values and modes consonant with the new type of Jewish existence close to the land and in harmony with nature. Therefore for both authors Arabs held a special fascination and charm.

While Smilanski's works generally reflected Arab-Jewish relations at their best, they also related to the potential for conflict and violence between the two communities.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 25.

⁴² Shtetl, the diminutive form of stadt, (city) is the Yiddish equivalent of a small village and usually refers to the small communities of Eastern Europe.

Unquestionably, Smilansky, a staunch Zionist, believed in the return of the Jew to Palestine and in the necessity for the acquisition of agricultural land in order to reestablish the tie between the Jew and his pastoral tradition. However, he also expressed in his fiction the conflicting emotions within the Jewish community as it confronted the issue of the Arab claim to the land and the displacement of parts of the Arab community.

In "Hadassah"⁴³ a group of young workers is suddenly confronted by the old Sheikh, Abd-al-Kadar, and his young militant follower. The scornful attempt of the young Arab to forcefully remove them from the land is immediately rebuffed but a serious discussion develops between the older Arab and the young farmers. Abd-al-Kadar whose family had worked the land for two generations is convinced that "The land is Allah's gift tho those who work it" and that therefore the financial arrangement between the Jew and the absentee landlord is meaningless.⁴⁴ For the Jew, the purchase of land, as opposed to its acquisition by force, legitimizes his claim which he feels is strengthened by his confidence that the improvement of the land through modernized farming practices would ameliorate living conditions for his Arab neighbor as well.⁴⁵

Discussions continue during the following evening amongst the young Jewish farmers who are angered by the derisive

⁴³ Moshe Smilansky, "Hadassah," Im Preda, First and Last Stories, Tel Aviv, 1956, p. 172.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 158-159.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

scorn they had sensed in the young Arab's confrontation with them. These olim were determined that the contemptuous attitude of the Arabs to them as vlad-el-mavet (Children of Death) be eradicated and are even willing to incur suspicion and hatred toward that end. They are certain that negative feelings arising from fear and respect of Jewish strength would surely wane as humane relationships between the two neighboring communities would develop.⁴⁶ More unsettling, however, are feelings of compassion for the old Arab among those young Jews whose "souls were not at peace"⁴⁷ because of the pain they had seen mirrored in the Arab's countenance and in his plea. Yet the major premise remains that since the sparseness of Arab settlement would necessitate only a partial dislocation of the Arab community, the ability of the Jewish farmers to increase the yield of their land by two-thirds, would benefit both Arab and Jew. Smilansky who had infinite respect for the close emotional tie of the Arab to his land,⁴⁸ recognized that in the period of transition a minority of Arab farmers would suffer, at least temporarily, as Jewish settlements grew. The mood in "Hadassah" is therefore wistful, introspective, sometimes militant but never arrogantly self-righteous. Smilansky believed that while threats of attack must be met firmly, a dialogue should be maintained with the articulate reasoning representatives of the Arab community and within the Jewish community itself, so that Jews remain

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 172. ⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 159-160.

⁴⁸See reference and quote from Smilansky's "A Hungry Nobleman."

sensitively aware of the Arab dilemma.

In the story "Abdul Kadir"⁴⁹ Smilansky relates to the Arab-Jewish conflict from the vantage point of the Arab community. He implies that Arab disunity vis-a-vis the Jews was an important factor in the successful settlement of the Jewish farmers in the area. Smilansky presents the full gamut of reaction within the Arab community to Jewish settlement and the labor conflict. The reasoned militant insists (echoing Abd-al-Kadar's argument in "Hadassah") that the only valid claim to land lies with those who devotedly farmed it. The fatalist, feeling himself persecuted by both Jewish and Arab landlords, prepares to work for the Jew in order to benefit from the ameliorated working and living conditions which always develop in Arab villages surrounding Jewish settlements, while the devoted Moslem accepts Allah's will that Palestine be returned to the Jews who historically were its masters. The pragmatic antagonist bides his time patiently until both Jewish land and money fall again into Arab hands, while the hostile militant vows never to cooperate with Jewish endeavors and attacks Jewish settlements periodically. However, the most anguished and most crucial realization as to the nature of the Zionist commitment to Palestine comes to the old Sheikh Abdul-Kadir who sadly exclaims,

That was my solace all along, (that Jews pay us while we do their work) but from the day on which I beheld those young men digging the ditches, digging and singing, my one last consolation was lost.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ M. Smilansky, "The Sheikh Abdul Kadir," Bnei Arav, vol. 1, pp. 82-83.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Beyond the realm of the real issues and conflicts regarding land rights and employment there exists in Smilansky's works, as in the fiction of Brenner and Meir Vilkansky, another eminent author of the period, an aura of menace, due not to the substance of nationalistic or even economic hostilities, but due to a feeling of loneliness and alienation in a strange land. Even in "Chavaja Nazar" where the hero is comfortable with Arab modes and customs, an atmosphere of danger persists. Smilansky describes the fear awakening in the hearts of two travelling Jews as they listen to their Arab guide's vivid descriptions of bloody adventures.

And the eyes of the Arab shone in the dark of the night like two coals, and as he continues speaking his face and eyes become more and more excited, and fear strikes me. This is the night, this is the Arab, and these are his tales of blood.⁵¹

Obviously the strangely exotic East, and the capacity of the native for primitive treachery aroused in all European olim the discomfort of alienation and fear.

A number of works concerning the Arab, other than those of Brenner and Smilansky, appeared sporadically in the journals during the period before and immediately following the revolution in Turkey. These generally echoed the various sentiments expressed by both authors. "Hagalila" by Meir Vilkansky, is reminiscent of Brenner in its admiration for the beauty and grace of Arab womanhood as well as in the atmosphere of fear and alienation which pervades it.⁵² "Abdallah"⁵³

⁵¹M. Smilansky, "Chavaja Nazar," p. 23.

⁵²M. Vilkansky, "Hagalila," Haomer, 1908, vol. 2, pp. 62-105.

⁵³Joshua Ben Moshe, "Adbdallah," Haolam, April, 1908, pp. 212-213.

by Joshua Ben Moshe, and Yardeni's "Ali"⁵⁴ involve the fatalism of love a la Smilansky.

The Arabization of the Jew is an important theme in the works of several authors in the early period, especially Zeev Yaavetz, the noted romanticist who sought in his stories to recreate in modern Palestine the traditions and milieu of his beloved Biblical period. In "The New Year of the Trees"⁵⁵ and in "Travelling Through the Land"⁵⁶ Arab attire represents the freedom and strength of the earlier period, as well as the key toward peace in Palestine where Arab and Jew could coexist only if the Jew would display courage, strength and zeal. Anxious to reawaken within modern Jewry a recognition and love for its past, Yaavetz finds elements in Arab culture which echo Hebrew Biblical tradition and bear striking resemblance to Orthodox Jewish modes. The crucial role of hospitality within Arab social life for example, immediately conjures the image of the Patriarch Abraham in the minds of Biblically versed Jews. Another note of familiarity is the Arab kaffiya about which Yaavetz remarks:

For it is ancient and is a sister to the "tallit" (prayer shawl) with which our fathers wrapped themselves. From afar when one sees a fellah wrapped in his entire costume, it appears to him as the dress of our brethren on the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur).⁵⁷

⁵⁴Yardeni, "Ali," Haolam, 1908, no. 26, pp. 349-350.

⁵⁵Zeev Yaavetz, "A New Year of the Trees," Mivchar Hasipur Haaretz Yisraeli (Selected Israeli Stories), Raphael Patai, Jerusalem, p. 18.

⁵⁶Zeev Yaavetz, "Wandering Through the Land," Kovetz Haaretz, Jerusalem, 1891, p. 3.

⁵⁷Ibid.

"Gida" by Karman reflects a more absolute internalization of Arabic values. The story involves the coming of age of a young man who adopts the values of the old Arab guard Muhammed. From Muhammed the boy learns how to speak Arabic, how to ride and to wrestle, how to become a "gida," a man of valor. In an encounter with a fierce bedouin he is introduced to the importance of the horse, the weapon, and the woman in the gida's life. The boy's courage is later put to the test in defense of his settlement against Arab attack, yet his relationship with the neighboring Arab communities remains constant and close. In this story, as in Smilansky's "Chavaja Nazar," the hero is acknowledged in the Jewish community in relation to the acceptance he finds in the Arab village. The reader is uncertain about whether there is a note of misgiving in the author's comment that the Jewish boy is perceived by Arabs as "more Arab than Jew" and that he is described as "a bedouin, the son of a bedouin, the grandson of a bedouin."⁵⁸ In the same story, however, Karman expresses the admiration felt by the Arabs toward Jewish farmer.

He softens the land and clears it for the next generation for the new strong, proud generation.⁵⁹

This theme of Arab admiration for Jewish culture, ideas, and ideals is perhaps most cogently expressed in "The

⁵⁸Karman, "Gida", Hashiloach, 1907, vol. 17. Note Klausner's (Ish Ivri) article "Misgivings" (Hashiloach, 1907, p. 574) which expressed the same hesitation about Jewish acculturation into Arab society.

⁵⁹Karman, p. 493.

Arab Girl" by Ben Avi, published in Haolam in 1909. The young heroine, having escaped from her home, encounters the enlightened humanity of Jewish culture, introduced to her by her young Jewish friend.

She taught me to speak in your beautiful tongue. She taught me to write, to think. She taught me to love and I love...Freedom! I love freedom. I want to flee from my father's house, to shed my chains, to be like you, the Jews, to work, to learn, to travel, to enjoy, and to love.⁶⁰

Not all Hebrew authors, however, agreed that accelerated modernization imported to the East by the Jew, would benefit Arab society. Zeev Yaavetz lays great stress in his work "Wandering Through the Land" on the strength of tradition as a unifying force and as a bulwark against the pressures which would otherwise fragment traditional society. The following dialogue well illustrates his position.

"What is the nature of this nation? Doesn't it wonder at all the innovations of Europe?"

"The ways of this nation are wonderful," I answered. "The Arab nation is full of ability but nevertheless when one shows all the technology of the European scholars about which all are astounded, they look at it well, conclude that their (the European's) money is great and their wisdom is nil."

"Woe is to such a nation. Doesn't it understand the advantages of culture over ignorance?"

"Don't hurry to eulogize them, because the advantages of such a nation outweigh the disadvantages. They don't accept anything against their will and when they do will they accept much. Such a nation does not bow to anything, unless it recognizes that it is good, and it clings to it with all their strength...This is a nation which upholds its beliefs in fire and water. And if it were quick to listen to other cultures it would be quickly lost."⁶¹

⁶⁰ Ben Avi, "Haaraviya" (The Arab Girl), Haolam, 1909, pp.223-24.

⁶¹ Yaavetz, "Wandering Through the Land," p. 21.

During the period prior to the 1908 revolution in Turkey Jewish writers of fiction reflected their longing to leave behind them their nonlanded urban past and to become integrally connected to a rural life, close to the land. In their fiction they idealized village life and admiration of the grace of Arab village folk, expressing an almost wistful envy of their less cultured but more serene neighbors. Negative responses in the early literature stemmed from feelings of inferiority, alienation, and fear in the new milieu and did not reflect a rejection or contempt of the native population. It was only after 1908 in the period following the Young Turk revolt when a struggle for the land and a real competition between the two neighboring nations began to be expressed in the literature. Moshe Smilansky in an article entitled "Maaseinu" (Our Actions) written in 1914 describes the change in atmosphere and mood which had developed while he had been in Europe between 1909-1911.

When I returned to our land I could not recognize the natives. In the short time which had elapsed between the revolution and today the Arabs had changed completely. The worker in the moshava had changed, the wandering Bedouin had changed and certainly the urban Arab had changed. Before your eyes he is shaking off a deep sleep which had lasted for hundreds of years. A new fresh power is apparent, a power which is cognizant of itself, of its value, and of its future. We are now standing on the brink of an Arab awakening, not only political in nature, which is obvious, but an economic and spiritual awakening. Until now we had associated with a half-wild undisciplined force. From now we will have dealings with a disciplined force, which is beginning to look alertly about it.⁶²

⁶²Moshe Smilansky, "Maaseinu" (Our Actions), 1914, quoted in Ehud Ben-Ezer, "The Arab Question in Our Literature, Second Conversation with Ehud Ben-Ezer," Shdemot, #48, p. 25.

CONQUEST OF LABOR--A CASE STUDY

One of the issues seriously affecting the nature of Arab-Jewish relations is the attempt of young Jewish olim to enter the labor force in Palestine. The large literature of the First and Second Aliya records in detail the push toward kibbush avodah, literally translated as "conquest of labor."¹ This chapter will examine the literature surrounding this particularly difficult and vital issue in an attempt to provide a case study of Jewish attitudes to the Arab population of Palestine.

The First Aliya, spanning the last two decades of the 1800s and ending in 1904, was characterized by the almost exclusive use of Arab labor on Jewish-owned land. The small number of original olim had purchased land and, unable to farm it solely by their own hands, had turned to neighboring Arab villages. David Ben Gurion in 1907 described the urgent need of Arab labor in Petach Tikvah,

It is harvest time and the panic is great. There are no workers...Messengers left hurriedly and excitedly for the distant Arab villages begging the Arabs to "save the community and give us your children for just a few days" ...And what a beautiful sight it was to see little Arab boys and girls from the age of four and upwards leaving the Arab village with the foreman at their head.²

¹See page 136 of this study for illucidation of the implications of this term vis-a-vis the Arab community.

²David Ben Gurion, Jewish Labor, Tel Aviv, 1932, p. 11.

Some Arabs received wages, returning to their villages when their workday was over. Others became inhabitants of the Jewish settlements. These laborers known as charatim³, tenant farmers, received a portion of the produce and provided the yishuv with household services as well.

The use of Arab labor continued as the philanthropic aid of Baron Rothchild became available to the floundering settlements of Zichron Yaakov and Rishon Letzion, and as his administrators became major authorities in yishuv affairs. When the negative results of the Baron's beneficence, the dependency, lack of initiative, and loss of pride, became evident and the lands under his control were transferred to the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) there followed a period of further discouragement and disillusionment leading to the emigration of many young people from Palestine. The settlements therefore increased the use of Arab labor.

Beginning in 1904 the youth of the Second Aliya emigrated to Palestine in the aftermath of the pogroms in Europe.⁴ Unlike the immigrants of the 1880s these olim were products of revolutionary Russia, inspired by the ideologies of socialism and Marxism. They disdainfully rejected the inefficiency, lack of initiative and bourgeois greed which they felt were at the root of the despair in the yishuv.

³The special problems involved in the hiring of these laborers are discussed in Zeev Smilansky's "Poalim Ivriyim o Araviyim" (Jewish or Arab Labor), Hashiloach, 1908, pp. 260-267, 462-469.

⁴Information concerning the Second Aliya and its two major parties was gleaned from Judah Slutzky, Mavo Letoldot Tenuat Haavoda Hayisraelit (An Introduction to the History of the Israeli Labor Movement), Tel Aviv, 1973.

Upon arrival in Palestine, olim most often joined one of the two labor parties, Hapoel Hatzair, and Poalei Tzion. These parties, not yet politically influential, concerned themselves with finding employment for new olim, and providing them with accommodations and communal kitchens. They created a close knit society akin to an extended family, through which the lonely oleh could better adjust to his new environment. The two parties differed in philosophy and perspective. Hapoel Hatzair had more limited goals, striving only to widen labor opportunities for Jews. Its journal by the same name became the voice of these young olim and also the literary platform for many talented novelists and essayists writing about the yishuv.

In time, as it became apparent that a significant infiltration of Jews into the labor market was not in evidence, a spirit of discouragement settled upon the party. In order to combat it, two new trends were cultivated within Hapoel Hatzair. It was hoped that the romantization of agricultural work into a "religion of labor" [\] a la A.D. Gordon would revitalize the waning forces of labor youth.⁵ In addition a tendency began toward hityashvut ovedet encouraging the small scale purchase of land to be farmed directly by the owner.

Poalei Tzion was more left-wing in character, a large number of its members having been Marxists in Russia. The Palestinian environment caused the party to undergo crucial

⁵ See p.130 of this study.

changes, however. The ideal of exclusive Jewish labor replaced the belief in class antagonism, which would have signalled the union of Jewish and Arab labor against the bourgeois Jewish landowner.⁶ In time Poalei Tzion too accepted the principle of hityashvut ovedet translated in more socialist terms through the establishment of settlements which were communally owned and worked. Of the two parties, Poalei Tzion remained more politically oriented and provided the leadership of the Jewish state in later years. It also involved itself most strongly in the movement toward self-defense, some of its members having been active in that cause among the Jewish communities in Russia.

The infiltration of Jews into the labor market remained the pivotal aim of both parties. Obviously there had to be a significant effect on Jewish attitudes to the Arab laborer and on the relationships between the two communities.

The young oleh arriving in Palestine was understandably shocked and terribly distressed to find that his enthusiasm for agricultural work in the new homeland could guarantee him neither a position in one of the moshavot (settlements) nor a livelihood. The journals of the period, especially Hapoel Hatzair, therefore became the platform from which the practice of hiring Arab laborers was heatedly debated.

A primary consideration in hiring local labor in any country is the lower wage which can be paid them. The Arabs

⁶See p. 138 of this study.

working in Jewish settlements most often lived in the neighboring villages where they owned and worked small plots of land. They were therefore not dependent on their Jewish employers for their entire livelihoods nor for constant employment. Consequently it was possible to hire them seasonally and to release them at will. The Jewish laborer dependent solely on his wages would obviously demand higher pay and could not be hired seasonally.⁷ Crucial too was the difference in the standard of living which allowed the Arab to subsist on far less than would suffice for the European.⁸

Another obvious rationale for the employ of the Arab laborer in Palestinian settlements was the vast experience in agricultural work which added to his competence. There was frequent debate as to the value of this type of expertise, in contrast to the open-minded acceptance of modernization and innovation which characterized the inexperienced Jewish farmer. Aharon Aharonson, from Zichron Yaakov, who in 1909 established an experimental agricultural station employing

⁷Frequently prospective Jewish laborers pleaded with farmers not to refuse to hire them on the basis of the wage differential and offered to accept the Arabs' wage, usually to no avail.

⁸Zev Smilansky, "Poalim Ivryim O Araviyim" (Jewish or Arab Labor), Hushiloach, 1908, p. 71; An attempt was made by Chayim Kalvarisky, one of the Baron's officials who was said to have "the soul of a chalutz (pioneer)" to establish a system of tenant farming in Sagera, where Jews would establish living patterns similar to those of their Arab counterparts. The experiment ended in failure since the needs of the two groups were really so different, B. Katzenelson, Sefer Haliya Hashniya (The Book of the Second Aliya), Bracha Chabas, ed., Tel Aviv; Prof. Ben Zion Dinur, ed., The History of the Haganah, Tel Aviv, 1954, p. 40.

large numbers of Arab laborers, justified this practice citing the Arabs' acclimatization to the environment, their resistance to disease, as well as the good relations between the Arab and Jewish communities which would be terminated abruptly if the Arab worker would be neglected. Most crucially, however, he felt that Jews were foolishly and unthinkingly denying the value of an agricultural tradition which spanned centuries.

Of course it is possible to introduce into farming in Palestine many of the improvements established in Europe recently. But, nevertheless, let us not forget that all that the fellahs do was a result of thousands of years. The Arabs are working the lands of Israel for more than a thousand years and before that they worked a land similar to our land. It is impossible that all their work is one big mistake.⁹

One of the more subtle deterrents to the wide use of Jewish labor, however, was the difficulty in establishing a communicative rapport between the newly arriving labor youth and their perspective employers. Eliyahu Zeev Levin-Epstein, one of the founders of the settlement of Rechovot, recalls in his memoirs that the Baron's administrators saw the employment of Jews as but another form of their benefactor's charitable works.¹⁰ This attitude communicated itself clearly to the Jewish laborers and exacerbated the festering resentment between the two groups. The pioneers of the First Aliya felt themselves derided and mocked by the brasher, more revolutionary group.¹¹ Menachem Ussishkin, a primary sponsor and

⁹Aryeh Samsonow, Zichron Yaakov, Parshat Divrei Yameha (Zichron Yaakov, its History), Zichron Yaakov, 1943, p. 340.

¹⁰A.Z. Levin-Epstein, Zichronotai (My Memoirs), Tel Aviv, 1932, p. 156.

¹¹G. Kressel, Sefer Hayovel L'Petach Tikvah, Em Hamoshavot (Jubilee Volume of Petach Tikvah, Matriarch of the Settlements), Petach Tikva, 1953.

force behind youth immigration to Palestine, analyzed the reluctance of farmers to hire newly arrived olim. He claimed that the farmers were hesitant about hiring men who were well aware that the land in Palestine had been financed largely by the European Jewish community and who would naturally see themselves as part owners of that land. The new olim, highly inspired and motivated by socialist and Marxist ideology, would surely expect a more egalitarian position in the employer-employee relationship.¹² There was also the fear that they would attempt to influence all spheres of moshava society. Yosef Shapira, in a memoir of the Hapoel Hatzair, writes,

A great reason for the opposition of the farmer to the Jewish laborer lies in the desire of the Jewish laborer to become a citizen of the settlement and to involve himself with the secular and religious affairs there. Not so the Arab laborer, who at the end of the work day returns to his village and even if he resides in the courtyard of the farmer, does not involve himself with public life and society of the settlement.¹³

Differences between the laborer and landowner groups in outlook and religious orientation helped strengthen the barriers between them.

The Jewish laborer is strange and inscrutable to the colonist in his views and convictions...The irreverent religious convictions and radical ideas...the revolutionary atmosphere which they brought with them...which are highly

¹²Yaakov Tran, in an article in Haolam, 1909, pp. 1-3, entitled "Letakanat Hapoalim Beeretz Yisrael" (Establishment of Laborers in Palestine), writes,

The Jewish laborer recognizes his worth...He cannot see his employer as master. Not so the Arab who easily accepts authority and is accustomed to being submissive.

¹³Yosef Shapira, Hapoel Hatzair, Bemachshava U'Bemaaseh (Hapoel Hatzair, in Theory and Practice), Tel Aviv, 1968, p. 90.

inappropriate to life in Palestine.¹⁴

From the point of view of security, the use of Arab labor and the involvement of Arabs in the development of the yishuv was seen as an insurance against violent attack by Arabs, if not theft. The Arab laborer was considered fortunate among his fellow villagers, being the first in his village to afford to marry and to be selective in his choice of wife.¹⁵ He had abundant money for food and clothing and was able to own livestock which he frequently sold to Jews for a sizable profit.¹⁶ Few Jews saw the Arab as unhappy or exploited within his relationship with his Jewish employer. It therefore seemed plausible that a large number of Arabs working on Jewish land would insure a good relationship between the two communities, while an exerted attempt to replace Arabs with Jewish laborers would be likely to incite resentment among the Arabs.

Reflecting once again¹⁷ the difficult conflict within the Jewish consciousness between the necessity for Jewish involvement in the labor market in Palestine and the human dilemma of displacing Arab laborers, an introspective article in Hatzvi remarks,

In all the countries of Europe we demand justice and equality. In Russia many of us gave our lives in the revolution on the demand of equal rights...in the land

¹⁴Tran, p. 90.

¹⁵Z. Smilansky, p. 111.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷See pp. 109-110 in this study.

of our fathers we look askance at other laborers? Is this to be done by the nation of Israel that had good laws and just ordinances for three thousand years?... We have no choice but to settle in our land in straightforwardness and justice, to live and let others live and our wisdom will help us in this.¹⁸

The protagonists of "conquest of labor" approached the labor issue from various perspectives. There were attempts to find fault with the services provided by Arab labor and to point out the superiority of the Jewish counterpart. Arabs were found lacking primarily in two areas, in reliability and intellect. An article in Haolam states,

The Jewish laborer works diligently while the Arab workers need supervision to watch that they do their job faithfully...The Jewish laborer is straight and truthful. He cares for the property of the master...¹⁹

Even the well considered advice of the seasoned Arab farmer could not be taken at face value, since according to his detractors, the Arab laborer at all times acted from the standpoint of his own self-interest.²⁰ As a resident of the Jewish settlement the Arab remained the stranger. Jewish olim frequently suspected that Arabs mocked and derided them, a fear which seemed confirmed in the aftermath of Herzl's death when Arab observers publically jeered at the outpouring of grief in the Jewish community.²¹ The proximity of the Arab tenant farmer in terms of living space was felt to be disadvantageous since Jewish children might innocently impart to him confidential information which might in some way compromise the

¹⁸Dromi, "Sheelat Hapoalim" (The Question of the Laborers), Hatzvi, vol. 2, 1889, p. 2.

¹⁹Quoted in Tran. The same attitude is reflected in Z. Smilansky, pp. 70-73.

²⁰Ibid., p. 262. ²¹Ibid., p. 264.

delicate relationship between the yishuv and the Turkish authorities.²²

A principle argument against hiring the Jewish laborer stressed his excessive intellectuality, a characteristic which might seriously impair his ability to work industriously at monotonous tasks.²³ Many proponents of Jewish labor saw intellect as a definite advantage in the labor situation.

A man who lacks culture is despite himself an egoist and is unable to think of anyone but himself. The cultured man has principles and he tries to remain true to those principles.²⁴

Uncultured man has difficulty in adopting new methods. Experience and tradition therefore hamper him. Shlomo Lavie in his memoir, Aliyato Shel Shalom Lesh (The Immigration of a Shalom Lesh), records that one prospective employer bluntly explained to him that,

These (the Arab workers) have brought mistakes with them from the orchards of the Arabs, so deeply rooted in them that it is impossible to uproot them. You are yet a clean paper that can well be written upon afresh.²⁵

The article "Poalim Ivrim O Araviyim" (Hebrew or Arab Laborers) in Hashiloach further compares the Jew and Arab in terms of their working habits.

Since uneducated man has only tradition and custom from which it is difficult to waver, all that is not within this tradition and custom he cannot easily absorb... A cultured man can do manual labor if he is idealistic.²⁶

²²Ibid. ²³Tran, p. 1.

²⁴Z. Smilansky, p. 75.

²⁵Shlomo Lavie, Aliyato Shel Shalom Lesh (The Immigration of Shalom Lesh), Tel Aviv, 1947, p. 335.

²⁶Z. Smilansky, p. 74.

It was feared that socially too the Arabs would influence settlement life negatively. Their effect on vulnerable Jewish children would be more harmful, claimed pro-Jewish labor groups, than even the projected influence of the atheistic, free living young olim.²⁷

With the arrival of the socialist-minded Second Aliya, however, a new awareness was brought to the dangers inherent within the Arab employee-Jewish employer relationship and to the hostility which could be generated in that relationship especially if it were to become exploitative.

When an Arab comes to Ein Ganim or to another similar settlement and sees Jewish farmers and laborers working, this is a normal scene to him. In their villages the Arab farmer works with his family and so it is with Ein Ganim. Amongst them coreligionists and men of the same race work together and amongst us too it is so. It is different if we give him his work and act coarsely to him and offend him. This generates hatred.²⁸

These warnings seemed unreal and farfetched to most Jews since few employers saw elements of abuse within their relationship with Arab employees. However, the fear that the Arab might some day lay claim to land he had worked for many years seemed increasingly well founded. Menachem Ussishkin explains in his important pamphlet entitled Our Program,

One day the Arab will arise and see before his eyes the flowering Jewish settlements and few people in them. He will see and know that his hand, his sweat, created all this plentitude and he will find opportunity to clearly and publicly announce his claim for all this plentitude.²⁹

²⁷ Ibid., p. 262.

²⁸ Yaakov Rabinowitz, Al Haavodah Hameorevet (Regarding Mixed Labor), Hapoel Hatzair, 1911. This attitude is also reflected in Z. Smilansky, p. 75.

²⁹ Menachem Ussishkin, Haprograma Shelanu (Our Program), quoted in Kressel, p. 258. The fear that the Arab in his own

Moshe Smilansky, foremost among the Arabophiles and admirers of Arab culture and village life, whose early works were lovingly devoted to that subject,³⁰ clearly saw the danger inherent in the presence of Arab labor on Jewish settlements. His language is surprisingly strong.

In our settlements, in our vineyards and fields, I see a dangerous enemy who is likely to one time rob from us the last of our consolation and the remainder of our hope. I more or less know the Arab, his conversation and his attitude to our venture, and for this reason I say; while the labor in our settlements is not done by us we are standing at the brink of destruction, us and our hope.³¹

It was feared that any increase in Arab nationalism and the resultant hostility against the Turkish authorities would vent itself directly against the Jews in Palestine.³² An article in Hapoel Hatzair written in 1908 explained,

We, richest in experience but poorest in memory from among all nations in the world, are quick to forget the lessons we learned in Russia and Poland. Our diplomacy which knocked so diligently on the doors of kings, forgot completely the native on whose birthland we are building. The fellah is in his mental ability and intellectual competence far above the Russian farmer...is also superior to him in his wonderful patience. He is oppressed and exploited, yet he is silent. All who have power and authority ride upon his back and drain his marrow and his patience is not yet dissipated. But eventually he will reach his limit. Eventually what occurred in other lands and what must necessarily occur from historical imperatives will happen here. The fellah will awaken, will shake himself free, and will attempt to rid himself of his

mind would lay claim to land he had worked is illustrated in an incident recounted in Z. Smilansky's article, "Arab or Jewish Labor." An Arab horseman trespassing on Jewish land is stopped and challenged by the Jewish owner. Refusing to leave, the Arab contends that to any laborer's mind the land which is worked by himself and his family belongs to him.

³⁰ See pp. in this study.

³¹ Quoted in Shapira, p. 86.

³² Shlomo Lavie, p. 194.

oppressors...The Arab laborer working in the Jewish settlements is very happy with his lot, because the hand of his Jewish master is not heavy and he does not curtail his wages. When the day of revenge will come the Arab worker will first vent his anger on his Jewish employer.³³

In terms of the crucial Zionist aim of creating a large Jewish community in Palesine, it was felt that an Arab plurality on the job market would impair the growth of the Jewish population since by continuing to hire Arab laborers the yishuv was encouraging the growth of the Arab population surrounding it.³⁴ The growth of the Jewish community depended on the availability of positions for the less affluent groups within European Jewry. Therefore, employing the Jew was tantamount to opening the gates of Palestine to the flow of Jewish immigration.³⁵ In addition, growth in terms of area size depended on the availability of land. In employing the Arab laborer, thus substantially increasing his income, the Jew was enabling him to keep possession of marginally productive land, thus denying land to prospective Jewish buyers.³⁶ An Arab labor force therefore signalled a curtailed growth of Jewish settlement in terms of both population and territory.

³³ "Haavodah Harealit B'Eretz Yisrael" (The Real Work in Palestine), Hapoel Hatzair, Nov. 1908, p. 3.

³⁴ Shlomo Lavie, p. 194. The plan of importing Egyptian labor into Petach Tikva was vociferously opposed because it would "develop the immigration of strangers and would make it impossible to eventually create in Palestine an absolute majority which is our hope and aim." (Shapira, p. 162)

³⁵ Pasamnik, "Sheelat Hapoalim Hayehudim Bepalestina" (The Question of Jewish Labor in Palestine), Haolam, March 1909, pp. 1, 2.

³⁶ "Haavodah Harealit," Hapoel Hatzair, 1908, p. 3.

The effects of continued employ of Arab labor extended into the sphere of economy and finance as well. Recognizing the improbability of equalizing the communities in terms of population of area, many Zionists sought to gain an upper hand at the very least in terms of wealth. Since Arab laborers who were earning Jewish money were then spending it in their own markets, Jewish wealth was circulating almost exclusively in the Arab community, enabling each Jewish farmer to provide financially for at least three Arab families.³⁷ In an article in Hapoel Hatzair Moshe Smilansky explained,

As we enrich ourselves we approach the ideal of majority. Until we become a majority in terms of quantity let us at least be a majority in terms of quality.³⁸

While the arguments in favor of and opposing Jewish labor in practical terms found frequent expression in the press, the youth arriving with the Second Aliya were motivated less by the disadvantages and dangers posed by the presence of the Arab worker on Jewish land than by their enthusiastic appreciation of physical labor and their burning desire to farm their historic homeland. The major spokesman of their cause was A.D. Gordon who arrived in Palestine in 1904 at age 40, leaving wife and children behind, and quickly became the role model and prophet of Aliya youth. In Palestine he created a philosophy known as the "religion of labor", publicizing his ideas in meetings with the young olim, through

³⁷ Moshe Smilansky quoted in David Ben Gurion, Medinat Yisrael Hamechudeshet (The State of Israel, Renewed), vol. 1, 1969, p. 50.

³⁸ Quoted in Cheruti, "B'inyanei Hayishuv" (On Yishuv Matters), Hapoel Hatzair, 1908, pp.

personal example and through the written word. Rejecting the popular conception that intellect and physical work are mutually exclusive, Gordon stressed the beauty and nobility inherent in manual labor. Within his own way of life and thought he sought to combine the two principles of physical labor and love for the land.

Labor begins to tie together unseen, in an organic bond, land, language, and the whole fabric of national life, the whole national psychology.³⁹

He was horrified with the glaring absence of a sizable Jewish working class in Palestine and saw this situation as a real threat to Zionist success.

Is this to be the redemption of our land? Our whole power is money, money we brought from our exile, which we acquired there from the work and spirit of others. Are we the sons of the nation, which prides itself on being the carrier of the banner of higher morality and absolute justice, not able at all to understand that we cannot redeem our land nationalistically with only money? A land is truthfully but the acquisition of her laborers... Or is this to be the rebirth of a nation who from being a parasite unwillingly comes to be a parasite purposefully. At times individuals can exploit the labor of others for money...but to which low depths must a nation descend in order to base her entire rebirth and the redemption of her land on such parasitism?⁴⁰

Concerning the right of the Jewish people to the land, he wrote,

One thing can be said with certainty that a land will belong more to that side which is more able to suffer for it. Logic dictates this...⁴¹

³⁹ Michael Assaf, The Relations Between Arabs and Jews in Palestine, 1860-1948, Tel Aviv, 1970, p. 44.

⁴⁰ A.D. Gordon, Kitvei A.D. Gordon (The Writings of...), "Al Hadvarim Hanoraim" (About the Terrible Matters), p. 68. Jerusalem. 1952.

⁴¹ Shapira, p. 98, quoting A.D. Gordon.

Gordon compares the relationship between the land and the one who farmed it to the deep personal relationship which exists between the artist and the picture he has painted, as opposed to the superficial legal relationship between the buyer and the picture he has purchased.⁴²

In line with Gordon's thinking there were occasions when the use of Arab labor engendered strong opposition on purely emotional and nationalistic grounds. Ben Gurion refers to the planting of the Herzl forest in which Arab labor was used exclusively. "How strange," he notes, "that it is our fate that even such work is done by others."⁴³ One journalist compared the situation to the inconceivable notion of a Torah written by non-Jewish hands.⁴⁴ Emotions ran so high on that occasion that several young laborers uprooted seedlings planted by Arabs in the forest in a gesture of protest and promptly replanted them, hesitant to inflict significant damage

⁴²Quoted in Brenner, Ktavim (Writings), from Gordon's "Michtav Patuach L'chaverai Hapoalim" (An Open Letter to My Friends the Laborers), p. 73. The problems involved in the moral aspect of land ownership were also discussed by Moshe Smilansky. He wrote, "What is the moral justification of the demand of Israel for its land when it comes to build it not with its own hands." (Quoted in Shapira, p. 86) A.D. Gordon was not alone in rejecting entrepreneurial contribution to society as real. Joseph Aharonowitz, one of the major leaders of the labor movement also refers to the "shame and embarrassment" of a situation where even "On the land of our rebirth we are equipped to be a nation of merchants and peddlers and not of workers and creators." In 1912, however, Joseph Chaim Brenner, subjected Gordon's article "A Bit of Contemplation" to a close critical survey. He points out that only in Palestine, amongst self-critical Jews is financial backing of an entrepreneurial type so disdainfully rejected.

⁴³Ben Gurion, Jewish Labor, p. 4.

⁴⁴Shapira, p. 77.

to any Zionist project.⁴⁵

Memoirs give detailed testimony to the laborers' agony, disappointment and anger upon realizing that they could not easily find employment. Shlomo Tzemach, whose two memoirs, Beginning and The First Year are especially poignant, describes the scene at the location where employers selected their workers daily.

They stood in the workers' market to get a day of work. They stood...and the hoe, the hoe about which they had argued all night, they did not get. The farmer explained, "To pay you four grush which is the wage I pay these small girls, my Jewish heart doesn't permit me. And to pay more, the pocket doesn't permit. In any case stop with this silliness..." The Jewish principle of mercy and the economic principle of the farmer's pocket combined and instead of a day's work advice to stop the foolishness was offered. They returned to the loneliness of their room, their dream pounding in their heart and the cruel reality before their eyes.⁴⁶

The award winning novelist, S.Y. Agnon, describes the reaction of the hopeful laborers as they watched the arrival of the hordes of Arab laborers for the day's work.

Mobs and mobs of Arabs arrived noisily, like enemies coming to lay siege to a city, but the tools on their shoulders were evidence that they came not to wage war but to work. Some of our friends stood huddled in their clothing and in the hand of each was a small basket, a half loaf of bread and two or three squash. Some stood impassively, and some, hope and fear in their eyes, hope to find livelihood today and fear that the Arabs would precede them.⁴⁷

Heated arguments developed between aspiring laborers and Jewish employers. Laborers at times even begged to be permitted to work without pay in order to benefit from some

⁴⁵Ibid. ⁴⁶Ibid., p. 72.

⁴⁷S.Y. Agnon, Tmol Shilshom (Days of Yesteryear), Jerusalem, 1967, pp. 56-58.

agricultural experience.⁴⁸ Frequently, the older farmers took a paternal stance in regard to the young men. Shlomo Lavie describes one such confrontation involving his attempt to become a well digger. To one employer he said,

I want to have this work to prove that Jews are able to engage in difficult and repugnant work...The orchard owner became angry and said, "No, I cannot see Jews working for me at such labor. They will catch cold immediately as they get out of the well, and it will be on my head. I cannot allow such work for Jews."⁴⁹

The wives of the colonists too became involved in labor matters, arguing maternalistically that they could never allow their own children to work under such terrible conditions and therefore they would never allow young Jewish boys to engage in such labor either. One group of young men cynically discounted one such woman's protests.

She cannot bear to see Jewish workers engaged in such difficult labor. Never believe her. Her heart is with her Arabs, her slaves.⁵⁰

Once hired, the fortunate novice frequently became involved in a frenzied competition with Arab co-workers. Many a young man who would have ordinarily withdrawn from an onerous task, finding the fatigue and physical pain overwhelming, stoically remained at his tasks, his nationalist pride urging him to continue.⁵¹ Shlomo Lavie reflects in his memoirs about the fear that the dignity of the Jew might suffer in the labor situation.

These Arabs do their work well and in an organized

⁴⁸Shapira, p. 59. ⁴⁹Lavie, p. 317. ⁵⁰Ibid., p.295.

⁵¹Moshe Smilansky, "My First Day at Work," in Zichronot Eretz Yisrael (Memoirs From Palestine), Abraham Yaari, ed., vol. II, Jerusalem, 1947, pp. 677-679.

fashion and have already advanced far from them (the Jews). And he who seeks to guard the honor of the Jew in the face of a non-Jew now saw that honor very degraded. The lack of advancement on the part of his friends depressed him and as they grew increasingly tired, the quality of their work degenerated.⁵²

Shmuel Dayan, arriving in Palestine in 1908, described his first day of agricultural work in his memoir, Pioneers in Israel.

...The Arabs sang as they worked and I who had come with the aim of winning work from them, sank steadily in my own esteem...I sang with them, obstinately and with fervor...The Arabs began to tire and since they recognized our determination not to be beaten they stopped trying to beat us. The grove owner and his Jewish foreman also acknowledged our endurance.⁵³

Israel Kadishman, who worked in the company of Arabs in Rechovot also recalled the change in attitude among the Arabs as the Jewish laborer became more skilled.

The Arabs looked at me depreciatingly and started to work at an unusual pace, and immediately advanced before us. Until lunch we continued to work sadly and with embarrassment, broken with fatigue and shame. After lunch I started to work energetically and with a tempo equal to theirs. I did not allow them to advance...My spirits were high and in a mood of victory I finished a day of conquest of labor, and singing the song of work I went home, my hoe on my shoulder. On the way I met an Arab who called me aside and said, "Why should we kill ourselves? We produced today twice as much as on a usual day. We must care for our strength." From that day on the Arabs had respect for Jewish labor and did not dare to compete with us.⁵⁴

Jewish supervisors frequently encouraged the competitive spirit between Arabs and Jews, attempting to drive both groups

⁵²Lavie, p. 317.

⁵³Shmuel Dayan, Im Avot Hahityashvut (With the Pioneers), N.Y., 1961, pp. 12-13.

⁵⁴Israel Kadishman, "Lo Bichayil Velo Bikoach" (Neither by Force Nor Strength), in Sefer Haaliya Hashniya, p. 293.

of workers into a frenzy of efficient and energetic labor. At times Jewish laborers were hired for the sole purpose of thus energizing the Arab employees. The success of this tactic was shortlived since as soon as the Jewish laborers became skilled both groups gladly abandoned the competition and work resumed at the usual less strenuous pace.⁵⁵

There are few accounts of actual conflict or animosity between Arab and Jewish laborers.⁵⁶ Young Jewish workers most often admired their Arab co-workers. Shlomo Tzemach notes in his memoirs that he found himself more often in tune with fellow Arab laborers than with the Jewish employer.⁵⁷ Questioning the wisdom of the use of the term kibbush avodah (conquest of labor) an expression which he had himself coined, Tzemach expresses the fear that its use might alienate the Arab community. In The First Year he remarks that the Jewish laborers admired the Arab's dignity, independence and pride. He suggests that the adjective "young" be added to the name of the Jewish labor movement in order to firmly associate its goals with those of the Young Turks and other Middle Eastern revolutionary groups, and in order "to announce to all that we face eastward and that we desire to be a free tribe amongst

⁵⁵ Eliyahu Even Tov in Ibid., p. 183.

⁵⁶ One particularly harrowing tale is told by Neta Harpaz who was laughingly advised by Arab co-workers to travel home with them from the fields of Rishon Letzion on a seat where they knew he would be excruciatingly uncomfortable. His greatest anguish came, however, when he saw Arab workers and Jewish employer laughing at his discomfort together. He writes that the "combined laughter of the vineyard owner and the Arab laborers...penetratingly cut me with pain and shame." Ibid., p. 223.

⁵⁷ Shlomo Tzemach, Shana Rishona (The First Year), Tel Aviv, 1965, p. 226.

its tribes."⁵⁸

There were instances of friendship and cooperation.

Yaakov Rabinowitz recalled an incident in his memoir.

Suddenly an Arab passed on the road between the fields, dressed in a white scarf and saw me at my work. He looked at me for a moment, went down from his donkey, came to me, took the hoe, and started to dig, explaining as he worked. ...I watched carefully as he worked and imitated his actions. After he was sure of my success, he parted from me, with a smile and proceeded on his way.⁵⁹

The labor situation and the scarcity of jobs did, however awaken in the young idealistic Jews a reluctant hostility toward the Arab. Joseph Rabinowitz recalled,

As I was involved in the task of digging I heard Middle Eastern singing. I looked up and sighted a fellah walking behind his plow. Despite the infamiliarity of the notes I was captured by the heartiness of the melody. Also I was attracted by the clothing of the fellah. He was wearing a woolen headdress, the color of which was similar to our tallit, white with black stripes. His song and dress blended with the delicate view of the countryside and I was charmed by the sight. But when I remembered that this fellah was working Jewish land, the bitter thought of our future in this land again began to pound in my head.⁶⁰

The socialist and Marxist orientation of a large number of immigrants of the second Aliya obviously affected their perception of the labor problem.⁶¹ Hard-liners on

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 226.

⁵⁹ Yosef Rabinowitz, "In Rechovot, 1908-1909," in Book of the Second Aliya, p. 234.

⁶⁰ Ibid. The "tallit" is the traditional prayer shawl worn by Orthodox Jews.

⁶¹ Recognizing elements of conflict in his sympathy with Arab co-workers and hostility towards the Jewish employer, Shlomo Tzemach writes, "It seemed to me that the shadow of some very significant idea was dawning upon me and it would have been appropriate that I examine it carefully. But man... always returns to the boundaries of his own small worries." (Shana Rishona, pp. 98-99.)

the Jewish labor issue rationalized the conflicting goals of conquest of labor and the international brotherhood of the proletariat, hoping that the dismissal of the Arab laborer would erase the hostility created by the Jewish employer-Arab employee relationship. The economic boom, which they saw forthcoming in Palestine as a result of the investment of Jewish energies there, would favorably affect the Arab population as well, and both peoples could then live together in peace. Attempts to unite with Arab workers in an effort to coerce employers to improve work conditions ended in failure, as Arabs often simply disregarded negotiations with Jewish labor representatives and willingly returned to work.⁶²

After the revolution in Turkey, in the face of burgeoning Arab nationalism, many Palestinian Jews began to see the problem of Jewish labor as by no means one-sided or clear-cut. Yechiel Michael Pines, foremost spokesman for religious Zionism, who was deeply involved in promoting labor opportunities in both agriculture and the trades, published an article in Chavatzelet in 1909, sharply critical of the all out attempt to force the acceptance of Jewish laborers into positions on agricultural settlements regardless of their abilities or suitability. He suggests that a combined committee of colonists and fellow workers arbitrate on cases of incompetence or social undesirability, implying that the Jewish employer has every right to discriminate against even a Jewish laborer on the basis of attitude and orientation.⁶³

⁶²Neta Harpaz, p. 225.

⁶³Michael Pines in Chavatzelet, 1909 and in Kitvei Yechiel Michael Pines (Writings...), vol. II, "Binyan Haaretz" (The Building of the Land), Tel Aviv, 1939, pp. 242-250.

Alter Druyanow, the prolific essayist and Zionist leader published an article in 1909 entitled "Klapei Hasakana" (In the Face of the Danger , sharply criticizing both extremist positions on the labor issue, and warning of the proliferating anti-Zionism in the Arabic press. He wrote,

It is a great principle that wherever there is a battle there is no justice. And in a battle among Jews there is no caution. There is only the desire to be victorious regardless of the consequences. One side, for example Petach Tikvah, the biggest of the Jewish settlements, rejects the Jewish worker and does not encourage his settling or becoming a citizen of the country. The other side screams wildly, "Conquer labor" and bears hatred toward anyone who gives even a few positions to Arabs. One side refuses to understand that land cannot be bought with money alone, and while the Jews are not its laborers they cannot become its masters...and the other side refuses to understand that ultimately we are fated to forever share our lot with the Arabs, and that there is no need, nor do we have a right to displace them. Therefore, healthy logic dictates that we must sign a treaty with them and live with them in peace.⁶⁴

In 1909 Hapoel Hatzair too evidenced a softening of attitude in relation to the labor dilemma. The original motto of the Hapoel Hatzair journal, explaining the goals of the party, had stated that,

The absolute condition to the actualization of Zionism is the capture of all facets of labor in Palestine by Jews.

In 1909 the manifesto was modified, perhaps as a response to the new need for cordial relationships with the Arab community in the wake of the Young Turk Revolution and in fear that the phrasing of the original text would be offensive to Arab labor. It now read,

The absolute condition to the actualization of Zionism is

⁶⁴ A. Druyanow, "Klapei Hasakana" (Facing the Danger), Kitvei A. Druyanow (Writings...), Tel Aviv, 1909, p. 402.

the growth in number of the Jewish labor force and its branching into all facets of the labor market.⁶⁵

An additional effort to avoid arousing Arab resentment during this period was the move toward avodah meorevet, mixed labor, strongly supported by Moshe Smilansky. By employing both Arabs and Jews the yishuv hoped to circumvent the problem of national chauvinism. Critics of this trend continued to insist that the inherent weaknesses of the employer-employee relationship were more harmful to peaceful coexistence than exclusivistic labor patterns. Others argued that the Arab could easily accept and understand the concept of Jewish labor, and that the fear of hostility or violent retaliation was unjustified.⁶⁶

In practical terms it was suggested that a very limited number of settlements undertake to hire only Jews in order to balance those settlements whose policy it was to hire Arabs exclusively. In all other settlements, however, the practice would be to hire both types of laborers.⁶⁷

Another outcome of the Arab-Jewish labor controversy was the gradual acceptance by both Poalei Tzion and Hapoel Hatzair parties of hityashvut ovedet, small land ownership where the oleh could himself work his land. It was suggested that young laborers while working for large settlements, like the Arab farmers, acquire small plots of land in order to augment their incomes, thus allowing their employers to pay them on a par with Arab laborers.⁶⁸ According to another

⁶⁵Slutsky, p. 179. ⁶⁶Kressel, p. 261.

⁶⁷Hapoel Hatzair, #22, 1914, p. 2.

⁶⁸Dromi, p. 2.

plan, prior to actually owning a plot of land independently, the novice farmer would enter an agricultural internship, working on the farm of another newly established landowner, thus gaining worthwhile expertise.⁶⁹ Opposition was presented by hard-line "conquest of labor" theorists to all these suggestions on the grounds that the problem of Arab animosity would remain unresolved since Arab land would be needed in order to implement any of these ventures and the displacement of the Arab laborers from those lands would be inevitable.⁷⁰ It was therefore suggested that only undesirable and therefore unpopulated lands be purchased for the purpose of these new types of agricultural enterprises so that the status quo of the Arab farmer would be minimally affected.⁷¹

Kibbush Avodah, the implementation of a predominantly Jewish labor force in Palestine, long remained a controversial issue. Shmira Ivrit, the use of exclusively Jewish guards to provide security for Jewish settlements quickly gained a general acceptance however. During the period preceding the Second Aliya a security system had been established wherein each settlement entered into an agreement with a neighboring sheikh, who hired Arab guards to take responsibility for the safety of the settlers and their possessions and who undertook to compensate the settlement in case of theft or damages. The success of such a system obviously depended on the rapport and respect between Arab and Jew and

⁶⁹ Pasannik, p. 2. ⁷⁰ Hapoel Hatzair, 1909, p. 1.

⁷¹ Pasannik, p. 2.

the accountability of the sheikh to the Jewish community.⁷² This relationship deteriorated sharply as Baron Rothchild's administrators took charge of settlement affairs, and during the period of disillusionment and despair which followed the transfer of the moshavot into the auspices of the ICA in 1900. The vishuv faced a severe crisis resulting in large scale emigration which made the settlements seem deserted and certainly defenseless. Incidence of crime, especially theft, increased, ignored and frequently abetted by the Arab guards and their sheikhs.⁷³ Episodes of violence increased as well, leaving the yishuv almost helpless and unable to retaliate in the dread of activating a blood feud against the Jewish community. It is important to note that cases of violent conflict at this juncture arose because of the deplorable security situation in Palestine, and were not symptomatic of nationalistic rivalries.⁷⁴

Shmira Ivrit seemed to be the only solution in a progressively deteriorating situation in the yishuv. Even those who stood opposed to the concept of exclusivistic labor practices and preferred a mixed labor solution did not suggest the use of "mixed guardsmen." An article in Hapoel Hatzair explained,

⁷²Shapira, pp. 89-91.

⁷³On occasion young Jews felt that it was necessary to prove to their fellow settlers that the day of the Jewish shomer had come. David Ben Gurion tells of several young men who arranged for the "theft" of a horse from one of the settlements hoping to alert its inhabitants of the danger of relying on Arab security. (Sefer Hashomer, in Ibid., p. 206.)

⁷⁴Yaari, p. 813.

Had we been dwelling among a different nation, a nation which had already learned the need for security of life and property it would have been possible to speak of mixed guardsmen...(As it is) even Moshe Smilansky does not demand that.⁷⁵

The Hashomer organization was formed between 1907-1909 in order to develop in Palestine a group of Jewish guards, to expedite their training and supervise their employment. The organization sought "to create a strong body, so that the neighbors would cease to think that it is possible to steal from us and so that we would be able to react."⁷⁶ The Jewish shomrim hoped also to develop a relationship of equality and friendship with the Arab community. Israel Shochat, one of the primary forces in the creation of the Hashomer describes that aspect of the organization's aims thus,

The Shomer sought to give a new character to the relationship with the Arab environment. We knew that the Arabs would be our neighbors, that we would have to find a modus vivendi and somewhat adjust our life-style to theirs. The members of Hashomer learned the Arabic language which helped them reach an understanding with their Arab neighbors, and wanted to learn from the Arabs what they could, and to return the courtesy. The guards preferred not to satisfy themselves with visits to effendis and sheikhs only, but frequented the madfiya (the popular meeting place in the village) in order to meet with the Arab fellah...The guards learned of life in the Arab village. In each central location they created a madfiya... and each Arab passing by, on foot or on horseback, rich or poor, laborer or fellah, was greeted cordially there, as is the custom of the Arab community. From this relationship with the Arab environment the shomer learned much of the mode of thinking of the Arab and much about

⁷⁵ Hapoel Hatzair, #22, 1914, p. 2.

⁷⁶ Esther Becker, "Korot Mishpachat Shomer" (Tales of a Shomer Family), Sefer Hashomer, Divrei Chaverim (The Book of the Shomer, Tales by its Members), Ben Zvi, Shochat, Meged, and Twersky, eds., Tel Aviv, 1947, p. 139.

his moral framework.⁷⁷

One of the more renowned shomrim (guards) who succeeded in establishing a meaningful relationship with neighboring Arabs was Avraham Shapiro. Episodes illustrating his courage and charisma admirably detail his attitude of egalitarianism and friendship in relation to the Arab community. Obviously in first winning the fearful respect of the Arabs and in subsequently establishing a relationship of understanding and mutuality with them, Shapira had reached a goal which was particularly meaningful to his compatriots.⁷⁸

The Shomrim groups naturally attracted the more adventurous and spirited olim. Often feeling themselves alone in the world, without family ties, they sought to create a unique society of their own. They therefore often drew censure from those who feared that their foolhardy behavior might incur needless Jewish fatalities through reckless accidents amongst themselves, or incite unnecessary conflict with the Arabs.⁷⁹ An important criticism related to their mode of dress and life-style. Attempting to become part of the Palestinian milieu and to establish close ties with the Arab population, they frequently adopted Arab custom and costume, arousing the sensitive awareness of those who feared assimilation and

⁷⁷ Israel Shochat, "Shlichut Vaderech" (The Mission and the Journey), in *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷⁸ See Moshe Smilansky, "Chavaja Ibrahim" in Bnei Arav, Odessa, 1911, p. 46.

⁷⁹ Alexander Zeid, "Bereishit Haymaim" (At the Beginning), The Book of the Second Aliya, p. 177; Yaari Polenskin, Nili, vol. II, 1937, p. 127.

the loss of Jewish identity.⁸⁰

In the years following the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 there was a marked increase in violent attacks against the yishuv. While Ben Gurion and others were convinced that these episodes were direct consequences of a rise in Arab nationalism in Palestine, strengthened by the revolution,⁸¹ there is no doubt that a predominant effect of the exclusive use of a Jewish security force was an exacerbation of hostilities between the two communities. Whereas the use of exclusively Jewish labor on various settlements was accepted with apparent equanimity amongst the Arabs, this appears not to have been the case with the implementation of a Jewish shmira. Jewish labor was a concept more easily acceptable to the Arab worker since it had been common practice in the period of early Jewish immigration. Also the fellah working for the Jewish colonist was in temperament a passive, peaceful individual. The Arab guardsman, on the other hand, was proud and militant. Violence therefore became a frequent occurrence where theft had been the rule, especially on settlements where Jewish shomrim had been newly employed.⁸² Observers on the Jewish

⁸⁰ See the discussion on Klausner's article "Chashash" (Misgivings) on p. 87 of this study.

⁸¹ David Ben Gurion, "Lebirur Matzavenu Hamedini" (Toward Clarification of Our Political Situation), Achdut 3, July 1910, p. 88.

⁸² Moshe Shar, "Tachanot B'darcho Shel Shomer Ivri" (Station Stops on the Journey of a Jewish Guardsman) in Yaari, p. 132.

scene, including Moshe Smilansky, were convinced that an unwritten pact had been established to stifle the new Jewish shmira.⁸³

The Arab tradition of blood feud, in the presence of the new violence, quickly became a critical problem. The inclination of most settlers had been to at all costs avoid incurring any Arab casualties in order to protect the moshavot from the murderous attacks of vengeful kinsmen of the deceased. However, this cautious attitude was sure to dissolve that respectful fear which was prerequisite to creating a relationship based on equality, friendship and understanding with the Arabs. Shomrim began to carry lethal weaponry, but remained careful to punish only the perpetrators of crimes against the yishuv and not entire Arab families or villages.⁸⁴

With the arrival of the Second Aliya Kibbush Avodah was seen as a most crucial vehicle in involving Jewish young people more fully in yishuv development. While arguments against Arab labor were expressed in the press more frequently the literature reflected the philosophy that Jews must work Palestinian soil in order to be able to truly lay claim to it and in order to rebuild for themselves a healthy national identity. For the most part the problem of displacing the Arab

⁸³ Assaf, quoting Moshe Smilansky.

⁸⁴ Shochat, p. 26.

laborer was not overlooked and the unhappy results of Arab unemployment in Palestine was seen as a temporary but necessary stage in the rebirth of the Jewish nation on Palestinian soil.

In relating to labor problems, both in terms of agriculture and guardsmanship, the yishuv was forced to deal with the possible effects and consequences resulting from a policy which created a significant change in terms of Arab involvement in the Jewish community. It was hoped that avodah meorevet (mixed labor), for example, would allow new olim to fully involve themselves fruitfully in the progress of the yishuv creating the delicate balance of Jewish-Arab cooperation which would maintain a peaceful and mutually respectful relationship with their Arab neighbors.

After 1908 shmira ivrit (Jewish guardsmanship) began to prevail, and in combination with the strengthened Arab nationalism, helped to exacerbate Jewish-Arab tensions surrounding the moshavot. Incidents of violence therefore increased in number and intensity in the period after the Young Turk Revolution.

EPILOGUE

In the days immediately following the revolution the recognition of a strong Arab factor in Palestine echoed in Jewish circles. Levontin, then the director of the bank known as the Anglo-Palestine Company, wrote in a letter to Wolffsohn, second president of the World Zionist organization,

We became aware for the first time that the Arab population is not so primitive, and that it has cultural strength which must be reckoned with. The speeches impressed upon us that in the population there are men who understand what freedom is and how to use it, and they are strong enough to protect their rights. New factors are arising in the political situation to which we must give due consideration.¹

Initially despite the realization in the yishuv that the Arabs would now have the opportunity to present and act upon their national demands, many observers on the Jewish scene insisted that the rule of the Young Turks would prove to be a unique asset to the Jewish community since the new regime would certainly encourage the expansion of Jewish settlement in the area to counter Arab power in Palestine. Zabo-
tinsky, the celebrated Zionist activist, orator and writer, comments in an article entitled "The New Situation in Turkey", that,

To the extent to which a political competition will develop between Turks and Arabs, the Turks will look with

¹Letter to Wolffsohn, CZI, W126II, quoted in Mordechai Eliav, "First Confrontation With the Question of Arab Nationalism" (Imutim Rishonim Im Hasheela Maaravit Haleumit), Zionut, 1975, pp. 297-315.

greater and greater enthusiasm at the prospect of an increase in our numbers in the land. The increase in Arab power will increase the extent of Turkish sympathy toward us.²

Ahad Ha'am,³ one of the foremost leaders in Zionist circles was uncharacteristically optimistic, prophesying,

The revolution in Turkey is clearing the way before us in a way that we could not ever have hoped for before. If all the signs do not mislead, the gates of Palestine are due to open before us shortly with no limitations and conditions of settlement and work will change for the good in every way...Rumor has it that the leaders of the country now are pleased with the Jewish settlements and are ready to accept new guests with pleasure.⁴

The signs were misleading however and beginning in 1909 the true effects of the revolution on Arab-Jewish relations became increasingly clear. In the scurry for votes in the Turkish Parliament special effort was made to cooperate with the Arabs and to nominate candidates who were not known in Palestine for their avid Zionism.⁵ An Arabic language supplement to the Hebrew Hashkafa publication was issued for the first time. Nevertheless the yishuv was unable to elect a single candidate to represent its interests and it became quite obvious that the Arab leadership did not see Zionist or even Jewish interests as consonant with its own. For those

²Zabotinsky, "Hamatzav Hachadash Beturkya", quoted in Sefer Hashomer.

³Asher Ginsberg wrote under the pseudonym Ahad Ha'am, meaning "one of the people". See chapter devoted to his reaction to the Arab question.

⁴Ahad Ha'am, "The Time Has Come", quoted in Sefer Hashomer, p. 1.

⁵Dr. Levin and Eliezer Ben Yehuda, two Jews widely respected amongst the Arabs were nominated.

on the Jewish scene to whom the failure at the polls did not necessarily connote animosity between the two groups, the proliferation of anti-Jewish diatribe in the newly unfettered Arab press could not fail to clarify the issue. The El-Carmel under the editorship of Negib Natzar, a long time opponent of land ownership on the part of Jews in Palestine, the El-Kuds of Jerusalem and the El-Asman of Jaffa became vehicles for the expression of hostility so virulent that it could not fail to alarm even most optimistic elements in the yishuv. Hapoel Hatzair, one of the new and influential Hebrew publications, commented,

We have heard clear open things said against us (although the article in El-Asman does not clearly define him of whom he speaks). In the first days of the holiday of freedom it is difficult to determine the value of the article, if it represents the attitude of the Arab intelligentsia or the views of one man, but we must nevertheless take cognizance of its existence...We already pointed out that to the extent to which constitutional rule will establish itself in Turkey the question of the nationalities will grow and develop and will occupy an important place in Turkey and in our land. We must therefore prepare ourselves for the near future, strengthen our position in order to occupy an appropriate place in the political life of the country, to correct as much as is possible our many errors in the work of the yishuv so that we do not remain ten or twenty years hence "the strange immigrants" as the Jaffa paper called us.⁶

Ben Gurion in an article in the journal Ahdut wrote,

Until the question of nationalism has received its correct solution there will be a strong war and a powerful competition between the two nations. Each will strive to strengthen its position in the field of industry, business and labor to widen its political influence and increase its power and rule in order to supersede its neighbor and only a nation which is organized and unified and protects its interests and rights will be able to

⁶ Hapoel Hatzair, Sept. 1909.

stand in the battle.⁷

Episodes of conflict between Arabs and Jews as expressed through violent attack, a hostile press, and political activism did occur sporadically during the periods of the First and Second Aliyot (immigrations) in the decades before the Young Turk Revolution. It is important, however, to differentiate between the various causes for these incidents since the reactions of the Jewish settlers to their Arab neighbors developed not only in accordance with their severity or frequency but also in relation to their understanding of the motivation behind these attacks. For the most part incidents of conflict between the two communities were seen as purely local in character and not representative of a general mood of anti-Semitism or anti-Zionism.⁸ The Jewish settlers came upon their Arab neighbors ignorant of their language⁹ or customs. They did not easily learn to accept, for example, the Arab policy of freely grazing cattle on unused neighboring fields, a situation which engendered violent attack in Petach

⁷David Ben Gurion, "Lebirur Matzavenu Hamedini" (Clarifying our Political Situation), Ahdut, July 1910, p. 88.

⁸Zeev Smilansky in "Arab or Jewish Labor" published in 1909 points out that Arabs in their attacks of Jewish settlements in the early period generally made no attempt to harm the population at large. Rather, particular people who had offended the Arab community were targets. (Zeev Smilansky, Hashiloach, 1908, pp. 260-267, 462-469.)

⁹In one incident in Yesod Hamzla a visiting sheikh stepped onto a planted garden and could not understand the gardener's repeated requests that he remove himself from the spot, at which point violence ensued and the sheikh was fatally injured, bringing upon the settlement the complications of blood feud. (Cohen, Israel and the Arab World, London, 1970, p. 47.)

Tikva and Rechovot.¹⁰ Controversies regarding land ownership were another cause for frequent contention. In Tzfat for example, Jews had bought land belonging to Bedouin who fearing conscription had registered their land in the names of three Arab effendis who then sold it. In Metulla, Druze leasers left their land temporarily and became enraged to find that it had been sold to Jews and settled in their absence. A policy of compensation which was soon adopted helped allay the great hostility which naturally developed between the two communities, on such occasions, but not before violent conflict had ensued.

Most often crimes involving theft and petty vandalism were the signs of a testing period during which the strength and determination of the Jewish settlers were measured. It therefore developed that Jewish settlers preferred to present a harsh facade in their initial encounters with their neighbors in order to alert them that they would be no easy prey to such crimes. Eventually as both communities became accustomed to one another an atmosphere of justice and neighborly cooperation usually developed. Whereas a stance of strength was helpful to Jewish settlers in preventing conflict, it occasionally exacerbated the atmosphere of tension between

¹⁰ Michael Pines, influential yishuv leader, felt that it was necessary for the yishuv to yield on this score. He wrote,

In my opinion our brothers the colonists must accept the custom of land, and if most of the population allows one to pasture on the clear field of others then the settlers must do likewise, so that they won't cause skirmishes with their neighbors, and so that the borders of the settlement will be safer than if one guards them with a strong hand. (quoted in Sefer Toldot Hahagana (The Book of the History of the Haganah), Dinur, ed., Israel, 1954, p. 73.

Arabs and Jews. The outburst of Arabs against Jews in Jaffa which occurred in 1908, shortly before the Young Turk Revolution, for example, was an incident of such severity that it was feared that rumors of pogrom-like events in Palestine might discourage aliya from Europe permanently. Its direct cause was the militancy of several Jewish youths who sought retribution for the attack on a young Jewish woman in the city, enraging some of the Arab population and bringing upon themselves the unmeasured wrath of the Turkish authorities and the Russian Consul.¹¹ Of crucial importance on occasions of conflict was the custom of blood feud among the Arabs which demanded vengeance on the perpetrator of a fatal attack and thus further complicated relations between the communities. Because of this custom Jewish settlers often chose to avoid capital punishment even where it was appropriate, and took extreme care to injure and never actually kill Arab criminals.

Although most objections to the acquisition of land on the part of Jews were devoid of nationalistic content there were several efforts in the early period to protest their free entry into Palestine. In 1890 a document demanding limitations on Jewish immigration was signed by 500 Arabs who explained their objections to an increase in the Jewish population of Palestine due to the disproportionate amount of land entering Jewish hands and also due to their great impact on the business activity of the country. The Amin Arselan, the Druze district officer of Tiberias, strongly

¹¹ "The Attack in Jaffa", Haolam, April 14, 1908, pp. 186-87; Mordechai Eliav, "The Incident in Jaffa", Zionut, 1974, pp. 122-123; Yitzchak Ben Zvi, Writings, vol. 4, Jerusalem, 1966, pp. 122-123.

opposed purchase of land by Jews in the Galil because he feared that the national makeup of the area would change.¹² The population of the yishuv rarely saw these protests as nationalistically oriented, attributing them to the desire to make land scarce in order to raise its price or to ensure the powerful position of the wealthy effendis of the area.

The blatantly nationalistic nature of Arab response to the yishuv after the Young Turk Revolution could not fail to alarm alert settlers in Palestine. Ben Gurion, in his article in Achdut, commented on the rash of violence which had much increased in intensity between 1908 and 1910. He dismissed the analysis of "false prophets" who interpreted the wave of violent crime as a result of the laxity in law enforcement or as the misinterpretation on the part of illiterate masses of the concept of freedom introduced by the revolution. He argued that a nationalist frenzy lay at the root of the new hostility, and suggested that the Jewish community must firmly demand justice and law enforcement on the part of the Turkish authorities.¹³ An obvious but noteworthy result of the increase in violence was a proportional increase

¹²Cohen, p. 59. In an article in Abu-el Hul in 1895, the author applauded the new immigration restrictions and expressed the hope that the Jewish population of Palestine be asked to leave the country. (Assaf, Arab-Jewish Relations, 1860-1948, Jerusalem, 1967.)

¹³Ben Gurion, "Clarifying Our Political Situation," p. 88. This type of nationalist anger was further complicated by the class hostility engendered by the Jewish landlord-Arab employee relationship.

in the activities of self-defense groups, amongst the Jews, which further aroused Arab hostilities.¹⁴

Arab delegates in the Turkish parliament became aggressively anti-Zionist almost immediately. They directed the attention of Turkish authorities to the seemingly autonomous Jewish settlements with their own courts, flag, and interest in physical training which to them appeared suspiciously similar to a budding military force. They cited Zionist pamphlets which seemed to call most strongly for Jewish autonomy within the empire.¹⁵

Predictably the image of the Arab in the Jewish literature after the Young Turk Revolution was bound to be affected by the evolving changes in the Arab-Jewish relationship in Palestine. Whereas much of the literature before the Revolution concentrated on the various dilemmas involved in the relationship of two similar but unique cultures working and living in close proximity, in the years after the revolution it began to address itself to the realities of confrontation with a strongly nationalistic, hostile neighbor.

¹⁴See chapter on Conquest of Labor.

¹⁵Two works which made an impression on the Arab nationalists were the pamphlet entitled "Our Program" written by the Zionist activist Menahem Ussishkin and Eretz Yisrael, Le Pays Juif, by Jacobus Kahn. The former attempted to formulate the basis of practical Zionism emphasizing aliya (immigration), land acquisition, and agricultural work as well as political action. The latter, a work based on the author's visit to Palestine in 1907, was a heady (and irresponsible) call for autonomy and statehood.

CONCLUSIONS

The thrust of this thesis has been to investigate and study Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine as expressed in the literature between the beginning of the First Aliyah (1881) and 1908. To which issues regarding Arabs did the literature relate? To what extent was there an awareness of Arab nationalist hopes in Palestine? What potential did Jews see for Arab-Jewish coexistence in the future?

This study attempts to begin to answer these questions using as primary sources the writings and memoirs of Theodore Herzl and Asher Ginzberg, two of the most dominant figures on the European scene who together most forcefully shaped Zionist policy and thought during the period under discussion. The periodical literature and the belle lettres are crucial both in that they expressed the views of the intelligentsia and the literary community in Palestine and in that they had wide impact on the largely literate Jewish community. This study concludes with an in-depth analysis of the "Conquest of Labor" issue as it was expressed in the literature because the labor market was one of the areas of most intimate contact with the Arab community and presented most clearly the potential for competition and conflict.

References to Arabs are few in the works of Theodore Herzl. Because Herzl dealt with Zionist goals in the European

context, he was most concerned with the need for a new area of Jewish settlement in order to avoid his expectation of the imminent explosion of vicious anti-Semitism in Europe. As a European he was most interested in arousing the interest and support of European diplomats for his project and in terms of the Middle East he viewed the Ottoman leadership as the force which held the key to the success of Zionist goals in Palestine. In reference to Palestinian Arabs, Herzl presented an almost utopian plan to bring the wonders of Western culture and science to Palestine thus improving the quality of life of the ever grateful Arab community who would then happily coexist with its Jewish neighbors in brotherhood, cooperation and peace.

On the European scene it was only Ahad Ha'am who attempted to assess the Arab-Jewish relationship in its practical daily manifestations. For Ahad Ha'am, spiritual Zionist and moralist, the possibility of bloodshed or injustice on either side in Palestine was threatening. As expressed in his philosophical works, Ahad Ha'am's moralistic stance demanded a high standard of justice from individuals and nations and he was fearful about the potential for despotism, violence, and inhumanity on both sides in Palestine.

The themes concerning Arab-Jewish relations as expressed in Zionist journals and newspapers were varied. Epstein, Puchatzevsky, Y. Smilansky, among others, addressed the issue of land acquisition in Palestine from its moral and practical standpoints. Epstein cautioned that Jews be wary of acquiring lands, even through bona fide purchase, upon which Arabs

farmed or lived, both because of the profound attachment of the Arab to his farm land, his home and his graveyard and because of the danger to the Jewish community presented by hostile and vengeful neighbors. Epstein's opponents argued that Arab anti-Semitism, like European anti-Semitism, stems from the homeless status of the Jew, assuring their readers that Palestinian soil, if farmed with modernized techniques, could amply support both Arab and Jewish populations.

In terms of an awareness of Arab nationalism, after publication of Negib Azhour's manifesto in 1905, there was a flurry of articles, primarily by Y. Chermoni, in which the advent of Arab nationalism in Palestine was discussed and assessed. While there was a definite acceptance of the fact that an Arab nationalist rebirth was brewing, the religious bifurcation and disunity in the Arab population made the reality seem far from imminent. It was seen, however, as a problem which would have to be confronted in the more distant future. It was suggested that the Jewish community strengthen its position in terms of numbers and acquire more land, so that both peoples can adequately and equally find expression for their nationalistic goals in Palestine. In almost every article, concerning both the problems of land acquisition and Arab nationalism, the necessity of maintaining a just, tolerant and cooperative stance vis-a-vis the Arab community was emphasized.

A theme which echoes through both the journal literature and the fiction is the natural affinity between the Arab and Jewish peoples who share similar religions and a

history of tolerance, cooperation and peace. So strong were the tendencies toward acculturation and imitation of Arabic modes in the Jewish settlements that Klausner felt the need to warn the Jewish community of a danger to its unique identity which was weakening in the strongly Arab milieu.

The belle lettres for the most part emphasized the similarities between Arab and Jewish cultures. Emulation of Arab village life was a frequent theme in the fiction of the era. Where hostility was expressed in the works of Brenner or Vilkansky, for example, it arose from a feeling of alienation, fear, and envy, rarely from attitudes of superiority or racial hatred.

The literature surrounding the "Conquest of Labor" issue echoed the various themes expressed in the journals and fiction. The integration of the Jew into the labor market was seen by some as a boon to the development of the agricultural sector of the economy. For the most part, however, the labor problem was addressed from the point of view of the need of the Jewish community to involve itself fully in the land, not only through ownership but through toil. The assumption was that the Jewish landowner had the responsibility to integrate both Arab and Jew into the labor market and not to discriminate against the latter because of inexperience or because of financial considerations. Much of the literature reflected admiration and envy of the Arab farm laborer, and the yearning to become, like him, an integrated part of the Palestinian milieu.

As we have shown in the short Epilogue, the 1908

Young Turk Revolution aroused concern in the Jewish community about a hostility on the part of the Arab community which was organized and articulate. The literature between 1910-1914 reflected increased tension in Jewish circles about Arab-Jewish relations. The literature before that time expressed the attitudes of Jew to Arab on a human and cultural level, excluding almost completely the political aspects of the situation. Perhaps the fact that the literature reflected a sensitive, appreciative, sympathetic approach before the onset of political strife might augur some hope for a lasting peace should the political dilemmas be solved.

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