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POLITICAL PARTIES IN A NEW SOCIETY

(THE CASE OF ISRAEL)

Ovadia Shapiro

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  - (4) Machon Jabotinsky of the Herut Party
  - (5) Archion HaAvoda - the Archives of the Labour Movement
  - (6) The Archives of the Knesset and the Knesset's Secretary, Mr. Lior
  - (7) The Archives of the Hagana
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## CONTENTS

### PART I

	<u>page</u>
PARTIES OF THE PRESENT AND FRAMEWORKS OF THE PAST .. ..	1
Chapter 1 - <u>Israel's Party System - A General Outline</u> .. ..	1
1. The Problem: a preliminary discussion .. ..	1
2. General Frameworks for Analysis .. ..	4
3. Parties and Government - 1971 .. ..	7
4. The Map of Parties: A Facet Analysis .. ..	10
5. A Preliminary Classification according to "Profiles" .. ..	15
6. The Major Parties and Blocs .. ..	20
7. The "Anti-System" Secular Parties .. ..	29
8. The Arab Lists .. ..	33
9. Parties and Coalitions .. ..	35
Chapter 2 - <u>The Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation</u> .. ..	37
1. Prologue - A State is Born .. ..	37
2. The Social and Ideological Background: Zionism, Socialism and Religious Orthodoxy .. ..	39
3. The World Zionist Organisation .. ..	44
4. The Yishuv: the Germ of a New Society .. ..	48
5. "Knesset-Israel": The Organisation of the Yishuv .. ..	56
6. The "Palestinian Triangle" .. ..	57
7. The Histadrut .. ..	63

### PART II

THE MAJOR PARTIES: BACKGROUND AND GROWTH .. ..	66
Chapter 3 - <u>Party Politics and Political Parties in the Pre-State Era.</u> .. ..	66
1. Aims and Structure of this Part .. ..	66
2. Social Conditions and Party-Politics in the Yishuv .. ..	66
3. Some Methodological Problems .. ..	70
4. The Concept of "Party" and the Context of the Yishuv .. ..	71
5. Units of Party-Political Activity in the Yishuv .. ..	75
Chapter 4 - <u>HaMaarach: Growth of Parties in the Labour Movement</u> .. ..	79
1. Mapam: The Minor Partner in the Alignment .. ..	79
2. The Origins of the Labour Party: the pre-Mapai Period .. ..	82
3. Mapai .. ..	87
4. HaTnua-LeAchdut-HaAvoda - Poalei-Tzion .. ..	97



	<u>page</u>
Chapter 5 - <u>General Zionists: Liberals and Independent Liberals</u> .. ..	105
1. The Origins of Gahal: an outline .. ..	105
2. The "General Zionists" in the Zionist Organisation .. ..	107
3. The "General Zionists" in the Yishuv: The early phase .. ..	116
4. The "General Zionists" in the Yishuv: The later phase .. ..	120
5. Aliya Hadasha and the emergence of the Progressive Party .. ..	124
6. HaEzrachim - an outline .. ..	128
7. The Farmers and the Moshavot .. ..	130
8. "HaGush HaEzrachi" and "HaIchud-HaEzrachi" .. ..	138
Chapter 6 - <u>Revisionism and Herut</u> .. ..	147
1. "Tnuat HaHerut" (The Freedom Movement): a general outline .. ..	147
2. Jabotinsky and the "Revisionist Zionists" .. ..	152
3. The Betar Movement .. ..	159
4. The Revisionist Party in the Yishuv and the International Movement .. ..	166
5. Groups and Formations within the Revisionists in the Yishuv .. ..	174
6. The Rise of I.Tz.L. and the Decline of the Party .. ..	180
Chapter 7 - <u>Religious and Ethnic Political Formations</u> .. ..	184
1. Introduction .. ..	184
2. The Religious Parties: a general outline .. ..	186
3. Agudat-Israel and the Old Yishuv .. ..	188
4. The Zionist Religious Parties .. ..	198
5. HaMizrachi in Palestine .. ..	199
6. HaPoel-HaMizrachi .. ..	203
7. Ethnic Organisations .. ..	205
 <u>PART III</u> 	
<u>GENERAL CONCLUSIONS</u>	
	210
Chapter 8 - <u>The Emerging Polity: Cleavages, "Verzuiling" and a Predominant Party</u> .. ..	210
1. The Emerging Polity: A Theoretical Presentation .. ..	210
2. The Background Cleavages: An Application of the Model .. ..	218
3. The "National Revolution" .. ..	218

	page
4. The "Industrial Revolution" .. ..	223
5. Unified Labour vs. Fragmented Bourgeoisie .. ..	226
6. The Class Conflict and the Yishuv-Zionist Context: Additional Remarks .. ..	231
7. The "Organised Yishuv" as an Emerging Polity .. ..	235
8. The "Sectoral" Structure of the Yishuv and its Political Parties in the transition to Statehood .. ..	239
9. Some Problems of Accommodation in the Yishuv .. ..	248
10. The Emergence of a Predominant Party .. ..	252
 BIBLIOGRAPHY .. ..	 261

SUMMARY

The "leitmotifs" of this dissertation are:

- 1) that the emergence of Israel's party system is one aspect of a broader process of "society building";
- 2) that "pre-situational" cleavages had a central part in the growth of party-political differentiation;
- 3) that the establishment of the State of Israel led to the institutionalisation of a unified party-system within one polity.

The first part discusses the parties of the present and the frameworks of the past. The present Israeli party-system is presented in the first chapter as a multi-party one, with a tendency towards concentration of power in a few large blocs and with a predominant party which does not, however, command a majority in the legislature. Israel is, therefore, characterised by the combination of a predominant party and a coalition government. The second chapter traces the various frameworks, out of which these parties developed. The Jewish people in general, and particularly the Zionist Organisation and the Jewish community in Palestine (the "Yishuv"), are the subjects of discussion. The general idea behind this discussion is that parties had their origins in various frameworks, while a common framework for interaction was only in its rudimentary stages.

The second part is devoted to a general discussion of Israel's major parties in historical-political perspective. The point of departure is usually the present party or bloc, while the focus of the discussion moves to the "early" past and the various developments. Chapter 3 is a short introductory chapter which deals with concepts and definition, and their relevance to this study. It is followed by four chapters, which deal with the Labour Party (Ch. 4), the complex of General-Zionist and "bourgeois" parties and political formations (Ch. 5), the Revisionist Party of the pre-State era and the emergence of the present Herut Party (Ch. 6) and the religious parties (Ch. 7). Ethnic formations of the pre-State era are also discussed in Ch. 7.

Throughout the discussion in Part II, the growth of the various parties is traced. This is accompanied by a presentation of major social and political cleavages which are related directly to the emergence of the party under discussion. These cleavages are, however, in many cases, central to the whole subject. The aim of this method of presentation is to gradually acquaint the reader with both the emerging parties, the major cleavages and the emerging polity.

The third part, composed of one chapter, is devoted to general conclusions. In its first sections, there is an attempt to apply the "Lipset-Rokkan" model of cleavages to the material presented throughout the study. This model is thus used as a tool for explanation of the origins of the major parties of which the Israeli system is now composed. Later sections deal with various mechanisms which regulated the relations among parties and political formations in the Yishuv, viz the Yishuv's version of accommodation and "Verzuiling". The final sections deal with the transition to conditions of statehood and the emergence of a predominant party, within the context of the pre-State and State coalitions and "Verzuiling".

## PART I

### PARTIES OF THE PRESENT AND FRAMEWORKS OF THE PAST

#### CHAPTER I

##### Israel's Party System - A General Outline

###### 1. The Problem: a preliminary discussion

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate how a political party system, the roots of which are to be found in various social and political frameworks, came into existence and established itself as an integral part of a new society and as the backbone of its political system. The new society is the Israeli society, and its story cannot be told without referring to the role which political formations played in its creation and growth. Conversely the creation and growth of this society served as a basis for the emergence of new political formations, or at least a new version of various political formations the origins of which were outside the new society.

Technically, Israel is a "New State". Every new state has characteristics similar to those of other "new" states, as well as its own peculiar or idiosyncratic characteristics. Generalisations thus prove to be fruitful, as well as misleading. In the first instance, they enable students in the social sciences to reach an insight into general processes, demonstrated in particular cases. On the other hand, however, generalisations are usually based on abstractions, and many unique items in particular cases are lost during the intellectual process of generalisation.

No doubt this dilemma of using generalised concepts as against dealing with particular cases as if they were merely exceptional confronts many researchers who wish to present material derived from the context of a certain society, which at the same time falls into categories which cut across lines of societies, communities, etc. The concept of "Political Party," for instance, is a very good example. The question is not only whether there is a universally applicable definition of this concept. Usually one thinks of a party in the context of a modern nation-state, or of what is now known as a "developing state". The problem, however, remains - what about frameworks which are by definition national and/or political, but are not states? This is exactly the situation which

faces one who attempts to study the Israeli party-system. Since 1948 Israel has been an independent sovereign state. The transition from pre-state into state conditions was accompanied by many changes and innovations in the realm of formal political institutions (government, parliament, administration, the legal machinery, etc.). Its political parties, however, either in their present form or with different names and some varied component parts, were formed before independence, and in most cases have their roots in relatively early periods in the development of this society.

Moreover, the origins of the Israeli parties to a large extent are to be traced outside Israeli society itself, or the "Jewish community in Palestine" (The Yishuv<sup>1</sup>) which preceded it. Generally speaking, one may distinguish three social frameworks in this context, and the Israeli party system may be seen as the "final product" of the various crystallisations which emerged out of cleavages<sup>2</sup> within these three frameworks. The three frameworks are: 1) The Jewish people at the turn of the nineteenth century in general, and European Jewry in particular; 2) the Zionist movement, which was one of the outcomes of the developments (and cleavages) in the Jewish people; 3) the Yishuv itself, which absorbed various cleavages into its institutional structure in general, and political structure in particular. On the other hand, some developments in the Yishuv itself "fed" existing cleavages in the first two frameworks, while others led to the creation of new, local cleavages, which were transformed into local Yishuv political formations.

The formation of the State of Israel led, among other things, to the crystallisation of the various political formations within a unified and institutionalised party system. Although even now some of these parties still form in one way or another parts of general movements in world Jewry, they are nevertheless Israeli parties, and whatever support they may get from abroad - moral, ideological, financial, etc. - their activities are characterised by two major aims: the mobilisation of power in Israeli society, and participation in the government or at least wielding

- 
1. The original Hebrew meaning of this word is "settlement". The Yishuv, however, was the term used to refer to the Jewish community in Palestine before the establishment of Israel, both in common use and in official documents.
  2. Although this study deals with many historical developments which led to the formation of Israel's party system, the guiding idea is the analytical concept of cleavage and what Lipset and Rokkan call "The transformation of Cleavage Structures into Party Systems" (S.M. Lipset and S. Rokkan (eds.): Party Systems and Voter Alignments, New York, The Free Press, 1967, pp. 26ff). See also E. Allard and Y. Littunen (eds.): Cleavages, Ideologies and Party Systems, Helsinki, Westermarck Society, 1964; W. Rae and M. Taylor: The Analysis of Political Cleavages, New Haven and London, The Yale University Press, 1970. *See the first sections of Ch. 8*

influence over it. In this respect it is much easier to apply various common definitions of political parties to the present day Israeli parties<sup>3</sup>, than to the pre-state political formations. Some of these formations may indeed be classified as parties, while others formed movements (in the general sense of the term, since some of these parties proper were also manifestations of movements), cliques, organisations, etc. A somewhat more detailed discussion of this subject will be presented in the first parts of Chapter 3, and the particular case studies presented in the following chapters will serve as demonstrations. The study of the origins of Israel's party system is, therefore, not confined to "parties" as such, but will include references to various types of power-formations which were active in the sphere of "party-politics"<sup>4</sup> in the Yishuv, the Zionist Organisation and other relevant frameworks.

This study is, therefore, a study dealing with what may be termed the "creation of a political party system". What seems to be unique here is 1) That this process is a part of the creation of a new society, and, therefore, there was a "feed-back" relationship between the creation of parties and the creation of other social structures in that society; 2) The fact that this society is, generally speaking, a product of a nationalist<sup>4a</sup> movement. In other words - this is not merely a case of "nation-building", but of creating a new society from the beginning.

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3. E.g. Neumann's definition in Sigmund Neumann (ed.): Modern Political Parties, The University of Chicago Press, 1956, p. 396; or Eldersveld's in S. Eldersveld: Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1964, pp. 1-2. A somewhat different approach is presented by various writers of the "Development School" (Almond and Powell, LaPalombara and Weiner and others). However, one of the best definitions of parties, as distinguished from cliques, groups of notables, etc. is that of LaPalombara and Weiner in their chapter "The Origins and Development of Political Parties" in J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner (eds.): Political Parties and Political Development, Princeton University Press, 1966, p.6. Neumann's and LaPalombara's and Weiner's definitions have in fact much in common, and indeed supplement each other. For a short general note on the problem of the definition of this concept see Neil A. McDonald: The Study of Political Parties, Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday and Company, 1955, pp. 5-6.

4. For a definition and a discussion of this concept see the editor's "General Introduction: The Scope and Development of Political Sociology", in S.N. Eisenstadt (ed.): Political Sociology, New York, Basic Books Inc., 1971, p.11.

4a. A linguistic clarification is required here. "Nationalist" in its Hebrew translation usually becomes "nationalistic". On the other hand, the Hebrew word for "nationalist" ("leumi") is equivalent to the English word "national". I would like therefore to make it clear that in this dissertation I use the English term "nationalist" in the Hebrew sense of "leumi". Had I used the word "national", a linguistic misunderstanding would have occurred for the English reader.

## 2. General Frameworks for Analysis

How should one classify the Israeli parties? In the following section they will be listed in the first instance in their order of size (or to be more precise, according to the number of votes they received in the previous general election). Generally speaking, there have been no drastic changes in this respect in the short political history of Israel (now nearly 25 years). At the last election there was a certain swing to what might be called the right wing, (viz. HaMaarach lost some ground to Gahal), but no change in basic power relations took place.<sup>5</sup> In order to present a realistic classification, based on such fundamental variables as positions in cleavages on the one hand and patterns of party structure and functioning on the other, a great amount of material has to be presented. A fuller picture will gradually emerge as this study progresses. At this preliminary stage, there is room only for some general orientations.

First of all, one can distinguish between parties which command a considerable amount of support, and those which are minor, if not marginal. The first three parties (or alignments) + the two Arab lists, which are in fact affiliated to the Labour Alignment, together command slightly more than 80% of the total votes, and 98 out of the 120 seats in the Knesset. The other eight parties together share only about 18% of the votes and of the seats. If we assume that the major political cleavages in Israel are channelled through the three or four larger parties, then any change in the electoral system (e.g. the institution of small constituencies or an increase in the minimal percentage of votes required for representation) would only hasten the trend towards less fragmentation which has already commenced in Israeli politics, even under the present proportional electoral system.

Using a model suggested by Sartori - the problem presented here is whether Israel's party system is characterised by an extreme degree of polarism, or by a moderate one<sup>6</sup>. It is difficult to forecast future development, and, as will be mentioned at the end of this study, it is legitimate to assume that there are in fact latent cleavages in Israeli society which are not yet reflected (or at least not fully reflected) in the party system. This being so, if the party system does not prove itself in the future capable of absorbing these potential conflicts, and dealing with them by institutionalised means - then the way will be open to deviations from the past pattern of growth presented in this study.

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5. See the list of parties and the returns of the 1969 election in the following section (No.3) of this chapter.

6. G. Sartori: "European Political Parties: The Case of Polarized Pluralism" in J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner (eds.): Political Parties and Political Development, Princeton University Press, 1966, esp. pp. 137-139.



In another context<sup>7</sup>, Sartori discusses the various typologies of party-systems, based on the number of parties classification. After criticising the threefold classification (one-party, two-party and multi-party systems), as well as a fourfold one, suggested by LaPalombara and Weiner<sup>8</sup> (which is based on the "ideal types" which emerge out of the various combinations of two variables - competitiveness vs. monopoly and ideology vs. pragmatism), Sartori suggests an elaborated sevenfold classification "which distinguishes among the following categories of party politics: 1) One Party; 2) Hegemonic Party; 3) Predominant Party; 4) Two-Party; 5) Moderate Multipartism; 6) Extreme Multipartism; 7) Atomised". Using this taxonomy tentatively, Israel falls at a first glance into the sixth category. Moderate multipartism, is the case when there are "three to five" parties in the system, while sixteen lists of candidates (viz. parties or blocs mainly) contested the last Israeli general election (1969), and thirteen secured representation in Parliament (in former elections the number of contesting lists was even larger). However, as has been claimed already, and as will be demonstrated by figures in the following section, there are in fact three lists (which include altogether five parties) which dominate the whole scene. One should distinguish, therefore, between extreme multipartism in the technical sense of the concept, and a "real" multipartism, in which the polity is extremely fragmented. Moreover, in the case of Israel, the situation of a technical multipartism is accompanied by the existence of a dominant party - the Labour Party (or Mapai formerly). Sartori has a category of a regime (or polity) characterised by a pre-dominant party. In contrast to the Hegemonic party, the predominant one does not have a political monopoly, and the whole party system of which it is a part, is the last resort a competitive one. However, according to Sartori's definition, the predominant party secures always a majority in the Parliament, although not necessarily always a majority of the vote. No party has ever secured a majority in general elections in Israel, and the chances that a party would be able to secure a majority in Parliament without scoring at least a majority of the votes, are, in present electoral systems, not even theoretical. The result is that the government has to be a coalition one. The same situation existed both in the Yishuv and the

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7. G. Sartori: "The Typology of Party Systems - Proposals for Improvement", in E. Allardt and S. Rakkan (eds.): Mass Politics: Studies in Political Sociology, New York, The Free Press, 1970, pp. 322-352.

8. J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner, op.cit. p. 36.

Zionist Organisation. The subject of "coalition behaviour" is therefore an integral component of the study of the Israeli (as well as the Zionist's and the Yishuv's polity). References to coalitions will be presented in various chapters of this study. However, the logic of "coalition behaviour" in Israel is rather different from the theoretical assumptions of the various students of coalitions<sup>9</sup>. This issue is presented here in its own right, and also because the structure and composition of the coalition government is related to the position of Labour (formerly Mapai) as a dominant party in Israel. In all governments of Israel (with the exception of the provisional government and the "Government of National Unity" from the 1969 election, until the resignation of the Gahal ministers several months later<sup>10</sup>) Mapai (now Labour) had a majority. Moreover, since the establishment of Israel (1948), the important portfolios in the government (premiership, finance, defence<sup>11</sup>, foreign affairs, education and others) were manned by ministers belonging to this party. It seems, therefore, that even Sartori's sevenfold taxonomy cannot be applied literally to the case of Israel<sup>12</sup>. The concept of a predominant party seems to fit countries like India and Mexico, and an American-Jewish scholar has recently indeed made the mistake of mentioning Israel and these two states, as states which resemble one another in this respect<sup>13</sup>. There is no doubt that Labour's (formerly Mapai) position in Israel is that of the dominant party (at least upto now). However, the basis of its power, as well as the method by which its power is actualised is different, compared with the Indian (the Congress Party) and the Mexican (the PRI)<sup>14</sup> cases.

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9. I refer here in particular to the following outstanding expositions:

- 1) William A. Gamson: "A Theory of Coalition Formation", American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, (1961), pp. 373-382;
- 2) I. William H. Riker: The Theory of Political Coalitions, New-Haven, Yale University Press, 1962.
- 3) Sven Groenning et al. (eds.): The Study of Coalition Behaviour, New York, Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1970.

10. Both these cases are exceptional in the sense that the government was formed in periods which cannot be considered "ordinary". Cf. the coalition government in Britain during the 2nd World War.

11. With a short interval of about one year (1967-8). Dayan, the present Defence Minister, was at that time a member of Rafi, a group which left Mapai several years earlier, but rejoined it with the formation of the Labour party (1968, see below). Dayan was appointed Minister of Defence with the formation of the "Government of National Unity" on the eve of the Six Day War (June, 1967). Now he is a member of Labour.

12. There are other "idiosyncratic" cases, to which it is difficult to apply this taxonomy. E.g. The Lebanon. See M.W. Suleiman: Political Parties in Lebanon: The Challenge of A Fragmented Political Culture, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1967.

13. I. L. Horowitz: "Israel's Democracy of the Gun", New Society, 22nd Oct, 1970.

14. See the references to India and Mexico in the Bibliography.

Whatever taxonomy one uses in order to classify party systems, the point of departure for studying political parties is in the sphere of their social background, viz. the conditions of the polity under discussion. Lipset and Rokkan describe parties as "agents of conflict and instruments of integration"<sup>15</sup>. This is a functional conception of parties which calls in the first instance for the discussion of developments in society out of which conflicts or, to use a more generalised term, cleavages have emerged.

Israel's party system is not an "ordinary" one, with respect to its present "profile". Moreover, it is even less an ordinary system when one traces its origins and development. Many issues mentioned here in general terms will be dealt with in much more detail in the following chapters. The "final product", however, (viz. the present-day party system, which by definition, is not really a final product but a stage in political development) will serve as our point of departure.

### 3. Parties and Government - 1971

Israel is a parliamentary democracy with a multi-party system. It has a proportional electoral system, and any list of candidates which secures at least 1% of the votes is eligible for representation in the parliament ("Knesset"). Since the state gained independence, seven general elections have taken place. In the last in October, 1969, sixteen lists took part, as compared with twenty or more in former elections. The Knesset is composed of 120 members, and since the rate of population increase has been rapid (immigration and natural increase) the number of votes required for a seat in the Knesset has also increased from one election to another. All citizens of Israel irrespective of sex from the age of 18 are eligible to vote. The lists and the returns in the 1969 election are as follows:<sup>16</sup>

Number of persons eligible to vote	- 1,758,685
Number of votes	- 1,427,981
Invalidated votes (including empty envelopes)	- 60,238
Valid votes	- 1,367,743
Minimum number of votes required for representation (1%)	- 13,677

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15. S.M. Lipset and S. Rokkan, *ibid.* pp. 3ff.

16. Yediot Aharonot daily newspaper, 7th November, 1969. For detailed figures on voting, according to towns, quarters, villages, etc., see the official publication of the Inspector General of Elections: Results of Elections to the Seventh Knesset and to Local Authorities, 28/10/69, Jerusalem, the Central Bureau of Statistics, 1970, Special Series, No. 309.

# The Returns

1.	<u>HaMaarach</u> <sup>17</sup> (The Alignment of the Israel Labour Party and Mapam <sup>18</sup> )	.. ..	632,035 votes;	56 seats
2.	<u>Gahal</u> <sup>19</sup> (the Bloc of the Herut and the Liberal parties)	.. ..	296,294 votes;	26 seats
3.	<u>Mafdal</u> <sup>20</sup> (the National-Religious Party)	.. ..	133,238 votes;	12 seats
4.	<u>Agudat-Israel</u> (Extreme Orthodoxy)	.. ..	44,002 votes;	4 seats
5.	<u>Independent Liberals</u>	.. ..	43,933 votes;	4 seats
6.	<u>HaReshima HaMamlachtit</u> (the State List)	.. ..	42,654 votes;	4 seats
7.	<u>Rakach</u> <sup>21</sup>	.. ..	38,827 votes;	3 seats
8.	<u>Progress and Development</u> (Arabs)	.. ..	28,046 votes;	2 seats
9.	<u>Pa'i</u> <sup>22</sup>	.. ..	24,968 votes;	2 seats
10.	<u>Co-operation and Fraternity</u> (Arabs)	.. ..	19,943 votes;	2 seats
11.	<u>Haolam-Hazeh-New Force</u>	.. ..	16,853 votes;	2 seats
12.	<u>HaMerkaz HaHofshi</u> (The Independent Centre)	.. ..	16,393 votes;	2 seats
13.	<u>Maki</u> (The Israel Communist Party) <sup>23</sup>	.. ..	15,712 votes;	1 seat
14.	<u>The "Land of Israel" List</u>	.. ..	7,591 votes;	no seat
15.	<u>The Peace List</u>	.. ..	5,138 votes;	no seat
16.	<u>"Young Israel"</u>	.. ..	2,116 votes;	no seat

17. Maarach (Heb.) - Alignment. Ha at the beginning of the word = the.

18. Mapam - initials (Heb.) of Mifleget Poalim Meuchedet - United Workers Party combined into one word.

19. Gahal - initials (Heb.) of Gush-Herut-Liberalim - Bloc of Herut and Liberals, combined into one word.

20. Mafdal - initials (Heb.) of Miflaga Datit Leumit - National-Religious Party combined into one word.

21. Rakach - initials (Heb.) of Reshima Communistit Chadasha - New Communist List, combined into one word.

22. Pa'i - initials (Heb.) of Poalei Agudat-Israel - Agudat Israel Workers, combined into one word.

23. Maki - initials (Heb.) of Miflaga Communistit Israelit - Israel Communist Party, combined into one word.

The present Israeli parliament is, therefore, composed of what seem to be thirteen parliamentary parties. The two largest parliamentary parties are alignments of two parties each (all of them capable of obtaining representation on their own). A cursory glance indicates, therefore, that there are fifteen parties in the Israeli "Polity". In fact the number is smaller, due to the fact that the Arab lists cannot be considered as parties in the proper sense of the concept (this will be discussed in Section 8 of this chapter). In the Knesset their members are attached to the parliamentary party of HaMaarach. One can conclude, therefore, that there are eleven "parliamentary parties" in the Knesset. Of these, the largest (HaMaarach) is an alignment of the major Israeli party (Labour) and a minor one (Mapam), while the second largest (Gahal) is a bloc of two parties (Herut and Liberals), each with a more or less equal representation. Altogether this makes thirteen political parties.

Of the three lists which failed to secure representation, two (the "Land of Israel" List and the "Peace" List) were formed just before the election. They represented the two polarisation extremes of Israeli society after the Six Day War with regard to problems of foreign and defence policies, and were composed of individuals most of whom had not hitherto been active in existing parties. Although various groups of both camps continued to be active in one way or another in public life following the election, they did not declare themselves as parties and did not organise accordingly. True, the complex issue of peace, security and the future of the occupied territories is a major one (if not the major one) in present Israeli politics, and the division between "hawks" and "doves" (whatever these concepts mean in various contexts) exists to some extent as a line of division between parties<sup>24</sup>, and to some extent cuts across party lines<sup>25</sup>.

The "Young Israel" List has fought various elections without any success. Their inability, under the conditions of quite a "generous" proportional electoral system, to attract any meaningful support, excludes this unorganised and unstable group from the map of the parties (it is usually composed of some young men of oriental origin, with no significant backing in any locality).

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24. E.g. Herut and the Independent Centre are totally "hawkish" while Mapam is "dovish", the Independent Liberals are more or less "dovish".

25. E.g. The Labour Party, the National-Religious Party (Mafdal) and to some extent the Liberal Party.

Since no party has an absolute majority, there is a need as has already been mentioned, for a coalition government. This situation has existed since the establishment of the state, and even before that date (in the "National Institutions" of the Yishuv). With the exception of about three years (1967-1970), in which there was a "Government of National Unity", the coalition was always composed of Mapai (Labour) as the major (and majority) party, and usually the Mafdal, the Independent Liberals and one or two smaller parties. In the years 1967-1970 Gahal also participated. At present (Summer, 1971), the composition of the government is as follows:

HaMaarach: 14;

(Labour: 12)  
(Mapam: 2)

Mafdal: 3;

Independent Liberals: 1

This coalition has the backing of 74 out of the 120 members of the Knesset (including the four representatives of the two Arab lists, affiliated to Labour). The opposition (46 members) is composed of eight parliamentary parties and is very fragmented.

#### 4. The Map of Parties: A Facet Analysis

Besides the classification of party systems, there exists the problem of classifying parties in general. Several such classifications will be mentioned in Chapter 3. At the present stage, the aim is more limited, viz. to present a general idea concerning the various parties in Israel. Ideologies, or rather attitudes which serve as a basis for policy formation, will be used as the point of departure. Instead of concentrating however on one very common criterion - that of classifying parties according to their position in the continuum of left-centre-right, various criteria will be presented simultaneously.

This is in fact an application of Louis Guttman's "Facet Analysis" to the study of Israeli Parties<sup>26</sup>. The criteria or variables selected here are:

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26. Louis Guttman: "An Outline of Some New Methodology for Social Research", Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 18 (1954-55) pp. 395-404; Louis Guttman: "Introduction to Facet Design and Analysis", Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Congress of Psychology, Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Co., pp. 130-32. See also T.M. Goodland "A Mathematical Presentation of Israel's Political Parties", The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 8 (1957) pp. 263-66 and L. Guttman: "Whither Israel's Political Parties?", Jewish Frontier, December 1961, pp. 14-18.

- |  |                      |                  |
|--|----------------------|------------------|
| A Economic Orientations                  | (1 "Free Enterprise" | 2 "Socialism");  |
| B Religious Orientations                 | (1 "Observance"      | 2 "Secularism"); |
| C Nationalist Orientations <sup>27</sup> | (1 "Extremism"       | 2 "Moderation"). |

It is admitted in advance that any formal and generalised presentation does, by definition, do an injustice to the complexity of the issues, and therefore this presentation should be considered a preliminary general guide. The aim here is not to "explain" parties by presenting, in general terms, their more or less dominant attitudes and policies (one should remember that usually there is no unanimity of opinions in one party, and in certain issues many of its members, and even its leaders, may find themselves closer to attitudes of members in other parties), but rather to present a general idea as to what are the "units" (viz. parties) of the present day party system of Israel, and what are their general orientations. A more comprehensive picture will emerge only after the discussion of the (different) backgrounds and processes of growth of the various parties presented in subsequent chapters. In this respect the "facet analysis" should be considered as a "bird's-eye view" of a subject which will be discussed in a much more detailed way below. "Facet Analysis" like any other method, has its own advantages and disadvantages, some of which (as far as they are relevant to this subject) will be discussed below. It seems, however, that as a method which enables us to obtain a general and somewhat systematic idea of Israel's party system at first sight, the use of this approach as a point of departure is legitimate and effective.

Restricting ourselves to three variables only, and to two alternatives for each variable, there is in theory room for eight types of parties ( $2^3$ ), the "profiles" of which are:

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27. A word of explanation is required here. This issue is in fact quite complicated. One should distinguish between at least two different matters: Nationalism as an ideology and a "hawkish" approach to problems of defence and foreign policy. While in many cases there is similarity between the two (viz. extreme nationalists and also "hawks"), there are also cases in which differences in attitudes in the sphere of defence and foreign policy, do not indicate differences in attitudes in as far as the whole conception of Jewish nationalism is concerned, and vice versa.

1.  $A_1 B_1 C_1$  - "Free Enterprise"; "Religious Observance";  
"Extreme Nationalism"
2.  $A_1 B_1 C_2$  - "Free Enterprise"; "Religious Observance";  
"Moderate Nationalism"
3.  $A_1 B_2 C_1$  - "Free Enterprise"; "Secularism"; "Extreme Nationalism"
4.  $A_1 B_2 C_2$  - "Free Enterprise"; "Secularism"; "Moderate Nationalism"
5.  $A_2 B_1 C_1$  - "Socialism"; "Religious Observance"; "Extreme Nationalism"
6.  $A_2 B_1 C_2$  - "Socialism"; "Religious Observance"; "Moderate Nationalism"
7.  $A_2 B_2 C_1$  - "Socialism"; "Secularism"; "Extreme Nationalism"
8.  $A_2 B_2 C_2$  - "Socialism"; "Secularism"; "Moderate Nationalism".

Were another variable added, the number of theoretical possibilities would have been doubled ( $2^4 = 16$ ). In fact there are other variables which could be used, especially when one takes into account historical issues (e.g. "constructivist" orientation versus strictly political orientation, in defining policies in the pre-state period<sup>28</sup>). Another way could be to present each variable with three possibilities (e.g. in the sphere of religion - extreme orthodoxy, moderate orthodoxy, mainly secular orientations). If four variables with three possibilities in each case were provided, the number of theoretical combinations would have been  $3^4 = 81$ .

Many of these theoretical possibilities would of course have been impractical, (e.g. Socialist, Extremely Orthodox, Extremely Nationalist and Politically Oriented<sup>29</sup>). On the other hand, however, many of these are not limited to the theoretical constructing of a researcher, and are represented by various internal groups and crystallizations inside parties. There will not be space here to deal with all these internal differences and struggles, but some examples will be presented.

Before dealing with the system proper, let us elaborate a little on this typology. An examination of the types shows that each type of the eight types presented, has one type which is entirely different (e.g.  $A_1 B_1 C_1$  and  $A_2 B_2 C_2$ ) three types which are not very far from it, viz. differ in one facet only (e.g.  $A_1 B_1 C_1$  and  $A_1 B_1 C_2$ ) and three types which are quite far from it viz., differ in two out of the three facets (e.g.  $A_1 B_1 C_1$  and  $A_1 B_2 C_2$ ). The picture which emerges is as follows:

28. This dilemma and others will be discussed in subsequent chapters. See in particular the discussion of "Practical Zionism" (Chapter 2, Section 2) and of the Revisionist Party below (Chapter 6).

29. Again, these internal contradictions will become clearer in the following chapters.



<u>type</u>	<u>difference in one facet</u>	<u>difference in two facets</u>	<u>opposite type</u>
1	2,3,5	4,6,7	8
2	1,4,6	3,5,8	7
3	1,4,7	2,5,8	6
4	2,3,8	1,6,7	5
5	1,6,7	2,3,8	4
6	2,5,8	1,4,7	3
7	3,5,8	1,4,6	2
8	4,6,7	2,3,5	1

This semi-measurement of distances among parties in the system should be interesting, since it adds a new aspect to the subject of coalition behaviour (besides the usual ones based on game theories and zero sum analysis). Its general repercussions on coalition-formation processes are not within the context of this study. What seems to be interesting, however, is the "elegant" order of relationships between the various types. The outcome indeed reveals a systematic (theoretical) relationship between the types. For instance the entirely opposite types are always in the same place in the scale: Type 1 negates Type 8; Type 2 negates Type 7, etc. Furthermore, the same logic is maintained as far as distances are concerned. For instance, those types which are close to Type 1 are the ones which are far from Type 8. The same principle applies to all other "pairs" (the "pairs" are the two opposing types which are respectively at the same distance from the extreme, e.g. 2-7; 3-6 etc.). In examining the distance of types which form one group in relation to opposite types, the symmetric relationship between "pairs" appears again. For example - Types 4,6,7 are those which are not far (difference in one facet only) from Type 8. Their place in the scale is the first one before 8 (7), the second one (6) and the fifth (4). Now the same situation characterises the equivalent group in relation to Type 1 (Numbers 2,3,5). Take the "pair" 4 and 5 - the types which differ from each of them in one facet only, are in a similar symmetric position and the distance from the extreme types (Type 4 has the group 2,3,8 and Type 5 has the group 1,6,7). 1 and 8 are the two extremes; but notice in each case it is the opposite extremes in relation to the type concerned. While 2 and 3 in the first case and 7 and 6 in the second case are in a similar position vis-a-vis Types 4 and 5 respectively, as far as the extreme poles are concerned.

This scale could, of course, be elaborated and discussed as an intellectual exercise, but for this study its value is in the fact that it enables one to put each party in a more or less accurate place in the "universe" of the whole system. It should be repeated again that at this stage it is only a partial picture since (a) only a small number of facets were used and their definitions were very broad and general - the number of alternatives was limited to the two ends of the pole; (b) it referred to attitudes merely, and not to other factors such as power, basis of support, differences in organisation etc; (c) it presented parties as monolithic in their attitudes, without taking into consideration internal divisions, some changes over a period of time, etc.; (d) the issues presented in terms of "facets" have here the same weight, while in reality this is not the case. One issue may become dominant, as in the case of the religious parties. But on the other hand, however, general orientations may be decisive, other things being equal, in such situations as coalition formation (with whom to co-operate).

Returning now to the eight theoretical types, the problem is whether they help us to classify the thirteen Israeli parties represented in the 7th Knesset. The point which is here being made is that this typology makes it easier not only to place parties on the political map, but also to demonstrate to some extent similarities and dissimilarities among them. This seems especially important when one has to deal with coalitions, although various other considerations could also play a part in this respect. However, this way of presentation may serve as a first step towards measuring closeness as well as distances, and may demonstrate internal cleavages and grouping within parties too. One should remember, nevertheless, that profiles of parties do not by definition accurately reflect the attitudes of their voters. This fact was demonstrated clearly by the various studies of voting behaviour<sup>30</sup>. The situation in Israel in this respect seems to be somewhat different, owing to the place and role of the various political formations and groups in the process of society building (see the discussion of the origins and growth of the major parties in Chapters 4-7), but later developments seem to lead to a change in this respect too.

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30. E.g. in some of the pioneering studies in these fields, such as: Paul Lazarsfeld et. al: The Peoples' Choice, New York, Columbia University Press, 1948; B. Berelson et. al: Voting, Chicago University Press, 1954.

## 5. A Preliminary Classification according to Profiles

The aim of this section is to apply the "facet analysis" presented above to Israel's party system, and to get a general idea of what the "map of parties" looks like. There is no pretension to presenting an inclusive classification, but rather an initial typology which will serve as a point of departure for the discussion which will follow. To begin with - the "profiles" of the three major formations in the system (HaMaarach, Gahal and Mafdal) will be presented and discussed briefly. This will be followed by a brief discussion of the minor parties and finally a general "map" (table) will be presented. The Arab lists are omitted from the present classification, owing to their peculiar nature. They will be discussed under a separate heading (Section 8 in this chapter).

What are, therefore, the profiles of the parties?

HaMaarach. Out of the 56 Maarach members in the Knesset, 49 belong to the Israel Labour Party and 7 to the Mapam. The Labour Party is composed of three former parties: Mapai<sup>31</sup>, Achdut-Havoda-Poalei-Tzion and Rafi<sup>32</sup>. (These parties, with the exception of a small group of Poalei-Tzion, once formed one party - Mapai. There were some splits (which will be described later)<sup>(see 4<sup>th</sup> section p. 24)</sup> but all the splinter groups reunited with Mapai in the year 1969. The first elected conference of this New-Old party took place in April, 1971. The party is, therefore, the most heterogeneous in Israel. It has also been in power (at least the central group which always preserved the title Mapai) as the largest and to some extent the dominant party since Israel became independent (and was in a similar position in the Yishuv from the 'thirties)<sup>33</sup>.

Generally speaking, the Labour Party (and the Maarach) fit into Type 8 (Profile A<sub>2</sub> B<sub>2</sub> C<sub>2</sub>). But the history of the party will reveal differences among its components in various periods which explain to some extent many past occurrences as well as present internal cleavages (e.g. there is room for distinction between conflicting groups in the sphere of foreign and defence policies).

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31. Mapai - Initials (Heb.) of Mifleget Poalei Eretz-Israel - The Party of the Workers of Eretz Israel (Heb. for Palestine), combined into one word.
  32. Rafi- Initials (Heb.) of Rshimat Poalei Israel - List of Israeli Workers, combined into one word.
  33. One could compare in this respect Mapai (Labour) to the Congress Party in India (see references to the Congress Party in the Bibliography), although (1) historically the Congress Party was much more identified with the Indian Nationalist Movement, than Mapai with Jewish Nationalism. The leadership (and particularly Ben-Gurion) of Mapai achieved a position of national leadership in the last years of the Mandate; (2) Mapai has never been the majority party in the Zionist organisation, the Yishuv, nor in Israel.

Gahal. The histories of the parties which form this bloc are quite different from those of the above mentioned bloc (or alignment). One partner is the Herut Party which was formed by the commanders of the underground group of the late Mandate period ("The Irgun Tzvai Leumi"). The second partner is the Liberal Party which has a history of unifications and splits, some of which will be mentioned in the following pages and in Chapter 5.

Again, generally speaking, the dominant profile of the Gahal bloc is  $A_1 B_2 C_1$  (Type 3). It differs from the Maarach in two out of the three facets, having in common only the fact that both are generally secular parties<sup>34</sup>.

If one had to distinguish between the Herut and Liberal parties (without adding additional facets relevant for analysis) - it seems that Herut would be much closer to the dominant profile (some elements in Herut with remarkable religious orientation might even have the profile  $A_1 B_1 C_1$  - Type 1), while the Liberals might be somewhere between the dominant profile and an  $A_1 B_2 C_2$  type (Type 4). In fact this was the general profile of the Liberal Party several years ago, before the formation of the bloc with Herut. The party which is now known as the Independent Liberals retains this profile, and parts of it may even have a profile which moves in the direction of  $A_2 B_2 C_2$  that of Labour. This explains on the one hand the fact that they refused to join the Gahal bloc and caused a split in the Liberal Party, and on the other hand the fact that there were in the Independent Liberal Party those who advocated joining the Labour Party. One of their leaders, in fact, left the Independent Liberal Party several years ago, and joined the Labour Party.<sup>35</sup>

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34. Although Herut is not a religious party, and some of its leaders are even known as "anti-religious" (e.g. Dr. Y. Bader), the religious element in Herut is much stronger than among the liberals. In a recent vote in the Knesset (Summer, 1971) whether to institute civil marriage in Israel (for couples who could not marry under the present religious marriage laws), the liberals supported the proposal while Herut members voted against it.

35. M. Izhar Harari M.K. (M.K. is the Israeli equivalent of M.P. in Britain).

Mafdal. This party came into existence in the mid-fifties as a result of a merger between the parties Hapoel-Hamiznachi and Hamizrachi. The former was founded in the early 'twenties as the labour wing of the religious Zionist Party - Hamizrachi, but in Palestine, and later in Israel it became the stronger of the two. As to their profiles, the picture is as follows: Hamizrachi  $A_1 B_1 C_2$  (Type 5), but sometimes with strong elements of  $A_1 B_1 C_1$  (Type 1).

Hapoel-Hamizrachi  $A_2 B_1 C_2$  (Type 6).

What is of importance here is facet B (Religion), which was the point of departure for the emergence of the party. It seems that at present, the traditional profile of Hapoel-Hamizrachi is the dominant one in the Mafdal. There is, however, a considerable element in the party, the profile of which is closer to Type 1, namely  $A_1 B_1 C_1$ . These are the "hawks" of the Mafdal, who do not represent the Labour component of the party. As far as attitudes are concerned, one could no doubt find similarities in orientations between some members of the Mafdal and Herut. Although Mafdal and Gahal represent opposite types in the theoretical scale, this does not exclude the possibility that in practice nationalistic elements in Mafdal may become stronger and Labour elements weaker. In such a case, Mafdal may move towards Type 5 or even Type 1, which are much closer to Gahal (and especially to Herut).

To sum up - the three major parties/blocs of Israel have the following dominant profiles:

HaMaarach -  $A_2 B_2 C_2$  (Type 8)

Gahal -  $A_1 B_2 C_1$  (Type 3)

Mafdal -  $A_2 B_1 C_2$  (Type 6)

It seems worthy of mention that since 1935 a coalition of Mapai (now Labour) and the Religious Zionist parties (now Mafdal) has been the backbone of Authority in the Yishuv and later in the State of Israel.

Other Parties. Turning to the other profiles and parties, first of all one has to be aware of the fact that since only three facets are presented here, it will sometimes be difficult to distinguish the parties according to their profiles, without the use of additional facets. This will be done, but not in a systematic way, for the simple mathematical reason mentioned already - viz a systematic construction would lead to the creation of hundreds or even thousands of theoretical types. Even if such an approach

were adopted here, it could not serve as a sole explanation of the Israeli party system. Such an explanation, which is the aim of this study, requires an analysis of various historical situations, the emergence of power centres, the adoption of certain policies, etc. such as is attempted in later chapters of this study. At this stage the three major parties (or alignments) are taken to represent major types, and the other parties are grouped according to their degree of resemblance to the major types.

From the formal-technical point of view the parties are grouped under three headings, viz 1) Labour; 2) Non-Labour (Secular); 3) Religious. A residual category would be that of "anti-system" parties, even if their formal profiles resemble those of parties which fall into one or other of these groups. Of all the eight types, only one is not nowadays represented in the party-system, viz Type 5 ( $A_2 B_1 C_1$  "Socialism", "Religious Observance" and "Extreme Nationalism"). Another type, No. 7 ("Socialism", "Secularism", and "Extreme Nationalism") is not dominant in any party, but is to be found among some groups in the Labour Party and characterised the former Achdut-HaAvoda-Poalei-Tzion. Our historical analysis will clarify the whole subject.

Before constructing the groups, a word should be said about four small parties which have the same formal profiles as other parties (because only three facets for analysis have been used). To make things simpler, a fourth facet should be introduced here, viz ideological origins in terms of relationship to the Zionist Movement. A broader discussion of the Zionist Movement will be presented in the next chapter and this will add to the understanding of the whole matter. Let us distinguish, therefore, between parties which have origins (entirely or at least partly) in the Zionist Movement, and those which do not have such origins, or are (or were) even anti-Zionist. There are five such parties in the second group, viz, Agudat Israel and Pa'i (in the religious "camp"), Rakach, Maki and Haolam-Hazeh in the Labour "camp". Now, without going into much detail, it should be realised that each of these parties is a case in its own right. While using the concept "anti-system parties" here, we should distinguish between parties which are at present only partly "anti-system" (Agudat Israel on the one hand and the Maki on the other) and parties which are decidedly "anti-system" (Rackah and Haolam-Hazeh).

The following table gives a summary of the party system in Israel:

A. GROUPINGS OF PARTIES	B. SYSTEM PARTIES		C. PARTLY ANTI-SYSTEM PARTIES		D. ANTI-SYSTEM PARTIES	
	The Party	Type	The Party	Type	The Party	Type
LABOUR	(1. The Israel Labour Party (former Mapai former Achdut-HaAvoda-Poali Tzion former Rafi) (2. Mapam HaMaarach	8 8 7 3 8	3. Maki	8	4. Rakach 5. HaOlam-Hazeh	8 8
	(6. Herut (7. Liberals 8. New Centre 9. State List 10. Independent Liberals Gahal	3 4 3 3 4				
NON-LABOUR (SECULAR)						
RELIGIOUS	11. Mafdal 12. Pa'i	6 6	13. Agudat-Israel	6		

This presentation raises several problems, namely

- (a) What differences are there between parties which belong to the same type and category (e.g. the anti-system "Labour" parties Rakach and HaOlam Hazeh).
- (b) How does one explain the fact that parties which have a similar profile are in different groups (e.g. Rafi before the formation of the Labour Party and, say, the Independent Centre)?
- (c) What keeps parties which share the same profile and are in the same group separated from one another? (e.g. Herut and the State List).
- (d) Generally speaking - if so many explanations are required, what is the value of this classification at all?

A partial reply to these questions has already been given, viz that only a very limited number of facets was used, in order to make the whole analysis more simple. Each problem when applied to a concrete situation will require the introduction of additional factors. The end product will be that the various factors (which could also be defined as facets) will not be overlooked, as far as they influenced a given phenomenon.

Turning to the problems raised above, it seems that the best way of dealing with them is by explaining concrete issues as they arise. In fact, this will be done through the whole study, by tracing the growth of the system. The presentation here will, therefore, be limited to some extent to cases and developments which will not be dealt with in other parts of this study.

## 6. The Major Parties and Blocs

HaMaarach and its Components: The first problem in this context is how does one explain the fact that the Israel Labour Party and Mapam share the same profile, are both system parties, and still retain their distinct structures, while at the same time the Labour Party itself was formed by a unification of three parties which had slightly different profiles (in the case of Rafi, the difference was even considerable)? As far as Mapam is concerned, in all three facets its attitudes are much more radical than those of the Labour Party (or Mapai). It is for much more orthodox socialism, for secularism and for moderation in what has here been termed nationalism. In those respects some of the less socialist elements of which Rafi was composed, could find a more common language with Mapai, than



could the orthodox Marxist and for many years pro-soviet Mapam. Discussions concerning unification between Mapai and Mapam go back to the 'thirties but always proved abortive<sup>36</sup>. Developments in recent years have made some of the issues which divided the two parties somewhat obsolete, and in January 1969 an alignment between the two parties was instituted. Things will become clearer when structural components and bases of power are discussed (Chapter IV). As a final point in this context, Mapam has been losing support in recent years, and there are estimates which state that had it not formed this alignment with Labour it would not even have obtained the number of seats it holds now in the Knesset (as a result of a technical pre-election arrangement with Labour, as to the allocation of seats). This alignment was made possible through the heterogeneous nature of the Labour Party and Mapam's surrender of some of its more extreme attitude.

In our classification Achdut-HaAvada differed from Mapai in one respect - its attitude in the sphere of nationalism, where it advocated more radical policies. In fact things are more complicated and will be discussed later (Chapter 4). It should however be noted here that this party, which came into existence as a result of a split in Mapai in the year 1944, formed the Mapam party with HaShomer-HaTzair in the year 1948, left Mapam in 1955 (on the basis of differences of opinion concerning relations with the Communist world), formed an alignment with Mapai in 1965 (after the second split in Mapai, which resulted in the formation of Rafi) and "returned" to Mapai with the formation of the Labour Party (January 1968).

Rafi left Mapai at about the same time as the alignment with Achdut-HaAvada was formed. The whole story which led to this split is beyond the scope of this study. The direct cause of the split was the conflict between the veteran leader of the Party, D. Ben-Gurion<sup>37</sup> and other leaders

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36. At that time the elements which formed later both Achdut-HaAvada and Rafi were parts of Mapai. Mapam was known as the "HaShomer-HaTzair" party for several years before the establishment of the State. The writer has at his disposal copies of minutes of some of the deliberations, e.g. those which took place in 1937 and 1939. Yediot Merkaz Mapai (Bulletin of Information of the Mapai Central Committee), Nos. 90, (Tel-Aviv, 13th April 1937) and 131 (Tel-Aviv, 13th Nov., 1939).

37. B. 1886 he immigrated to Palestine in 1906, was first Secretary General of the Histaduit, Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency 1935-48 and first Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Israel. For his several biographies see the Bibliography.

(Eshkol<sup>38</sup>, Mrs. Meir<sup>39</sup>, etc.), as a result of the "Lavon Affair"<sup>40</sup>. This was accompanied by the emergence of a group of second generation leaders (headed by Messrs. Dayan<sup>41</sup> and Peres<sup>42</sup>) whose opinions on various issues differed considerably from those of the veteran leadership, and who were backed by Ben-Gurion in the internal struggle for power in the party<sup>43</sup>. Rafi headed by Ben-Gurion secured 10 seats in the Sixth Knesset, became an opposition party, joined the government on the eve of the Six Day War (Dayan became Minister of Defence!) and "returned" to Mapai with the formation of the Labour Party. So the Labour Party is in fact the pre-1944 Mapai, revived after a generation.

Gahal and its Components. The profile of Herut is the dominant one in the Gahal bloc. The liberals differ from it in their approach to the issue of nationalism. While Herut is the successor of the Maximalist Revisionist party of the pre-independence period, the background of the liberals goes back to more moderate groups. For several years they and the Independent Liberals were united in one party, and their split came as a result of the decision to form this bloc. The bloc was formed with the idea that it would enable the non-labour elements in Israeli politics to introduce into the political arena a party which could challenge Labour's (Mapai's) position.

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38. B. 1895; D. 1969; he immigrated to Palestine in 1909, was Minister of Finance during 1952-1963 and Prime Minister during 1963-1969. He directed the large scale enterprise of rural settlement in Israel after the establishment of the state.
39. Prime Minister of Israel since 1969. Immigrated to Palestine in 1921.
40. For a short but detailed description of this complicated issue, which led to the most severe political crisis in the history of Israel, see T. Prittie: Eshkol of Israel, London Museum Press, 1969, pp. 195-204. There are many publications in Hebrew, including a book by Ben-Gurion himself (Devarim KaHavayatam) - things as they are - Tel-Aviv, Am-HaSefer, 1965.
41. B. 1915 (the second child in the first Kibbutz in Palestine-Degania). He was Chief of Staff of the Israeli army 1954-1958, Minister of Agriculture 1960-1964. Since 1967 he is Israel's Minister of Defence.
42. B. 1920 he served as Director General of the Ministry of Defence under Ben-Gurion (~~from~~ 1961, Deputy Minister). He was Secretary-General of Rafi and is now Minister of Transportation and Communication in Mrs. Meir's government.
43. A full scale objective study of this struggle has not yet been carried out. See, however; M. Lau-Lavie: Moshe Dayan, London, Vallentine, Mitchell, 1968, pp. 174-200; T. Prittie: Eshkol of Israel (op. cit.), pp. 214-218; Natan Yanay: Kera BaTzameret (Heb. A Split in the Leadership), Tel-Aviv Levin-Epstein, 1969. It will be discussed in the forthcoming biography of Moshe Dayan by S. Teveth (again, not a scholarly presentation).

The Liberals are not ready yet for a complete unification (the same situation as Mapam vis-a-vis Labour). Elections to the conference of the Liberal Party took place in Summer, 1971, and there were two major conflicting factions - that which is headed by the present leadership of the party (e.g. I. Sapir and E. Rimalt) who want to maintain the independence of the party within the bloc, and the internal opposition who are for a complete union.

Prior to the formation of Gahal, the parties which compose this bloc, lagged far behind Mapai in the various general elections. Even the present bloc, while composing the second largest parliamentary party, has less than half of the number of representatives compared to the Maarach. In the Second Knesset (elected in 1951) the Liberals (the General Zionists) emerged as the second largest party - 20 members compared to 45 members of the largest party (Mapai). Herut secured only eight representatives. Later, Herut emerged as the second largest party, but again lagging far behind Mapai. Herut was represented by 15, 17, 17 in the Third, Fourth and Fifth Knesset respectively, while Mapai was represented by 40, 47 and 42 (the Liberals: 13, 8 and - united with the Independent Liberals in the Fifth Knesset - 17). However, when one traces the origins of the parties, one has to deal with many central issues of the pre-state period. Some of these issues have their roots in earlier periods prior to the emergence of Mapai as the leading party in the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation. The conflicts in which the groups which preceded these parties were involved, as well as internal problems of these groups (as formations, cliques, movements, etc.), are central for the understanding of the present composition of the party system. Two chapters (5 and 6) will be devoted, therefore, to a discussion of the growth of these parties.

There is room for many speculations concerning the future of this bloc. Much depends upon the type of issues which may confront the Israeli polity in the future. Since Herut represent the nationalistic component in the non-Labour "camp", while the Liberals seem to be more moderate in this respect, while emphasising the economic aspects, a co-operation between Labour and Liberals may emerge if a political settlement is reached in the Middle East, based upon a certain compromise on questions such as borders etc. In such a case, an internal cleavage may develop <sup>between</sup> "extremists" and "moderates", and this might lead to a split in the Gahal bloc. Such a split was avoided in Summer, 1970 when Gahal decided to leave the government. In fact almost all Herut members in the joint session of the central committees in the two parties voted to leave the government, while most of the Liberals were opposed to such a move. The final decision to leave the government was a result of the fact that the opposition with the

Liberals voted with Herut. Labour on its part would like to strengthen its bargaining power vis-a-vis the Mafdal, upon which it is now totally dependent in the sphere of coalition formation. However, in the meantime the situation in Gahal is one of "partial marriage", viz maintaining the bloc, but not turning it into a party.

Splinter Groups in the Secular Non-Labour Grouping. Rafi's reunion with Mapai was followed by a split inside its own ranks. Ben-Gurion and some other members of Rafi (some of whom were evidently not in the Mapai ranks before the 1965 split, but were avid supporters of Ben-Gurion, Dayan and Peres), refused to join the Labour Party. Towards the time of the elections to the Seventh Knesset, they formed the State List (headed by Ben-Gurion). Dayan and Peres, however, joined the Labour Party, and are now members of the government. Ben-Gurion relinquished his seat in the Knesset and retired from political life in January, 1970 (at the age of 83). Now, if one consults the map of the parties on page 19, one immediately notices the following facts (a) the similarity of the profiles of Rafi and the State List (b) the differences between Rafi and Mapai, which at the time caused many leaders in Mapai to worry about the possibility of a Rafi-Gahal co-operation, with the aim of removing Mapai from power. (Notice the similarity in their profiles. Again, if the facets used for analysis were more detailed, the differences would have emerged even in this introductory typology).

It is quite interesting, that during this period personal relationships were established for the first time between Ben-Gurion and M. Begin<sup>44</sup>, the Herut leader.

Now that Rafi has "returned" to its mother party, it seems appropriate here to discuss the question of the chances of survival of the State List, especially without Ben-Gurion, since the vote for this list was interpreted mainly as a personal vote for him<sup>45</sup>. The same question also applies to the "New-Centre", a splinter group which left Herut in 1966, as a result of a power conflict within the party (the leader of the present "Free Centre", S. Tamir, challenged the leadership of Begin). A situation

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44. Asked by journalists how he explained it, Ben-Gurion replied: "Begin has changed".

45. There has been already a precedent of a "personal list" in Israeli elections. In the election to the first Knesset, the Minister of the Interior in the provisional government, I. Gruenbaum, refused to join any of the parties which emerged out of the General Zionists of the Yishuv period (of which he was a representative in the executive of the Jewish Agency). Several of his supporters joined him, but their list failed to receive the minimal share of votes required for representation.

similar to the one which faced Mapam is very likely to face these two small parties. It might even be more severe, since these parties lack the leadership, organisation and social backing which Mapam enjoys. It therefore seems that the only chance of survival for these parties, lies in the possibility that they might mobilise elements of social protest in Israeli society in the future.<sup>46</sup>

The Three Religious Parties. At the last general election the total vote of the three religious parties was 206,268, which represents slightly more than 15% of the votes cast. Mafdal's support amounted to almost 65% of the religious vote. The story of the Mafdal has already been briefly told. It is quite difficult to assess what exactly constitutes a religious or orthodox Jew. Is it one who strictly adheres to the Jewish dietary laws (Kashrut)? Is it one who does not drive on the Sabbath? Or is the fulfillment of all the Jewish religious rules required? Without doubt there are various degrees of observance, and one could suggest a continuum on the axis of "Religious-Secular". The problem would be to establish the point at which one starts to be considered "observant" or "orthodox"; and what about those whose subjective self-image does not fit the "objective test"? The extreme orthodox Jews challenge the piousness of the less orthodox, who nevertheless consider themselves as "good" observant Jews, and are also considered as such by the secularists. From the point of view of voting behaviour, it seems to be clear that the number of observant Jews in Israel is larger than a mere 15% of the population. This may be proved by the percentage of children who attend religious elementary schools

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46. During the 'fifties Herut received much of its support in elections from such elements. It should be mentioned, however, that although in many cases protest in Israel had an ethnic-social basis, there were cases in which a protest emerged out of economic motives (e.g. the unorganised protest movement of the middle classes in the early 'fifties which resulted in the rise of the General Zionists to the position of the second largest party in the Second Knesset 1951-55). Hypothetically, one can see room for other types of protest too, the basis of which could be foreign and defence policies, concessions of the government in the sphere of religious legislation, etc.

While this study was in the process of writing (mid-1971) the Israeli press reported that some discussions were taking place between representatives of the State List and Gahal, concerning the formation of an alignment. Such an alignment could lead to a split in the State List, since some of its members still consider the Labour movement as their "reference group". Ben-Gurion has declared that he was no longer a member of any party.

(their percentage in the year 1967-8 being about 35% of all pupils in all Jewish elementary schools in Israel<sup>47</sup>). This is not however an entirely accurate indication, because generally speaking, religious families have more children. Nevertheless, this huge discrepancy between the two percentages still indicates that there are more observant Jews than voters for religious parties. Other indicators may be drawn from public opinion polls (responses to questions as whether to permit public transportation in Israel on the Sabbath<sup>48</sup>) as well as from an analysis of voting statistics. There are settlements in Israel, the population of which is known to be religious, with one religious elementary school only, (according to the wish of the parents<sup>49</sup>) where the majority of votes is not for the religious parties<sup>50</sup>. In fact this is the point of the whole argument, viz that the religious parties have not succeeded in mobilising the support of all the voters who could be classified as religious. On the other hand, there are cases in which the religious parties received votes from individuals who were not particularly religious, or at least had very little to do with the Jewish religion. These phenomena could be explained in some cases by the fact that religious parties (like other parties) offer rewards in return for votes and in other cases (especially among non Jews) by the voter's assumption that Jewish religious parties will be more sensitive to the needs of other denominations than Jewish secular parties<sup>51</sup>. All in all, there is no doubt that many (Jewish) voters who are not totally secularised (to say the least) prefer to give their vote to non-religious parties. The non-religious parties, on their behalf, usually promise to

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47. Israel Central Bureau of Statistics: Statistical Abstract of Israel 1968, No. 19, Jerusalem, 1968, p.533, Table T/10.

48. Such indicators taken separately could also be misleading e.g. a non-observant Jew who drives a car on the Sabbath might still object to public transportation on that day, in order not to endanger the consensus between the various parts of the population.

49. Joseph S. Benwich: Education in Israel, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, pp. 71-73; Aharon F. Kleinberger: Society, Schools and Progress in Israel, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1969, pp. 100-101; 135-136.

50. E.g. in a Moshav (co-operative village) studied by the writer in another context (O. Shapiro: The Extension Program for the Co-operative Village of Gadish in S. Malho (ed.) Agricultural Extension, a Sociological Appraisal, Jerusalem, F. Naphtali Foundation, 1970, pp. 84-93) in which there was only one (religious) elementary school, the returns (1969 general election) were as follows (in percentage): HaMaarach: 60; Mafdal: 24; Gahal: 11; others: 5. (Figures obtained from: Inspector General of Elections op. cit. 1969, p. 138.

51. Whether this assumption is true or not, and if true, to what extent, is beyond the point here.

guarantee at least minimal religious requirements. Some of them, although presented in the typology as secular, still have a certain religious element or pressure group inside them. The leader of Herut, M. Begin, is known for his respect of Jewish religious law<sup>52</sup> and has succeeded in creating the personal image of a sympathiser with many claims on behalf of religion (in contrast with the founder of the Revisionist maximalist party - Jabotinsky, who was totally non-religious. Begin's nationalist attitudes have more than a germ of religious elements).

A reference has already been made to the non-Zionist origins of the anti-system parties. In this respect there is more than a similarity between Agudat-Israel and Pa'i. The latter emerged in fact as the Labour wing of Agudat-Israel. The relationships between Agudat-Israel and the system parties in the pre-state era will be dealt with in due course. In the first general elections in Israel, all the four religious parties of that time<sup>53</sup>, presented one common list, but there was no union, or even alignment behind that list, and they maintained their separate structures. In the following elections each party had its separate list of candidates (in one or two cases the Aguda and Pa'i presented a common list, but there were no further developments).

Agudat-Israel participated in the coalition government until September 1952, but has been in opposition since that date (the concrete issue concerned was the recruitment of girls to the army, but behind this lies the whole concept of relationship between religion and state), since no government can be formed with a more or less theocratic platform, they prefer to stay in a permanent opposition. Pa'i on the other hand did participate in various coalitions. Owing to its size, it was not represented at cabinet level, but had a deputy minister. Pa'i like HaPoel HaMizrachi (this title is still retained for the labour sub-structure of the Mafdal) collaborates with the Labour Party in the trade union movement in Israel, as well as in various "constructive activities" such as land settlement etc. Like HaPoel HaMizrachi and the Labour Party, it has Moshavim and Kibbutzim affiliated to it, although their numbers are of course small. Agudat-Israel, though founded in Europe, represents the tradition of the "Old Yishuv"<sup>53a</sup>, and its supporters come mainly from groups

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52. E.g. he does not drive on the Sabbath. An urgent meeting between him and Ben-Gurion on the eve of the Six Day War had therefore to be postponed to Saturday night. See, S. Nakdimon: Likrat Shaat HaEffes (Heb. Towards the Zero Point), Tel-Aviv, Ramdor, 1968, p. 114.

53. HaPoel-HaMizrachi, HaMizrachi, Agudat Israel and Pa'i. Two other religious lists, composed of individuals who, for one reason or another, refused to join the list of the "United Religious Front" contested this election too, but did not however secure any representation.

53a For a discussion of this concept, see Chapter 2, Section 4.

which still maintain this heritage, as well as from groups of extreme orthodoxy, who migrated to Israel more recently. In this context, there is place for a brief reference to a small group of ultra orthodox Jews (a few hundreds), who live mainly in one quarter in Jerusalem, the Me'a-She'arim quarter. These are the well known "Neturei-Karta" ("guardians of the city"), who not only rejected pre-independent secular nationalism (as did Agudat Israel), but are hostile to the whole idea of the State of Israel's right to exist. While Aguda accepts the legitimacy of the State and takes part in its politics, the "Neturei-Karta" totally negates the State. For some of them even the Aguda (not to mention the Mafdal) are practically infidels and traitors more dangerous in many respects to religion, than those who are secular, and Israeli Independence Day is for them a day of fasting and mourning - black flags are hoisted etc. (A similar situation has developed recently in the extreme left, although the ideological argumentation and public manifestations are of course very different from those of "Neturei-Karta". The extreme left group, which identifies with the new revolutionary movements, and even collaborates with various Arab guerrilla organisations is called "Matzpen"). Since "Neturei-Karta" (as well as "Matzpen") is anti-state rather than merely anti-system, and does not take part in the institutionalised patterns of activity of the party system, it falls beyond the scope of this study.

With the establishment of the state in the offing, Agudat-Israel moved from its anti-system position in the pre-state era to its present partial anti-system position, while Pa'i became much more of a system party. The future of the religious parties depends not only on internal political processes in Israel, but also on future trends in Jewish religion. As the situation is now, it seems that a union between Mafdal and Pa'i is more feasible than a union between Agudat-Israel and Pa'i, although Pa'i has its roots in the Agudat-Israel movement.

Let us now return to the Mafdal. Its profile seems to be in complete contrast to that of Gahal (Mafdal, Type 6; Gahal, Type 3). This is mainly because only three facets are used and because Gahal was defined as a secular party and Mafdal as orientated towards Socialism. In former periods, when HaPoel-HaMizrachi was under the shadow of HaMizrachi, the Zionist-Religious camp tended to be more opposed to the Labour movement, and closer to the right wing in the Zionist movement. This complex of relationships between parties during former periods should be left for later chapters. What should be made clear, however, at this stage is that Mafdal's roots are in the ideological synthesis between Jewish Religious orientations and modern Jewish national aspirations. Its founding fathers were therefore ready to collaborate



with non-religious groups for a long time<sup>54</sup>. In this respect religious-Zionism differs from the extreme orthodox stream, represented by Agudat-Israel.

7. The "Anti-System" Secular Parties. These parties which are marginal as far as both the party-system and power structure in Israel are concerned, will not be dealt with in this study. The aim of this presentation is limited, therefore, and is being made in order that the whole spectrum will be covered. Rakach and HaOlam-Hazeh together won less than 4% of the votes. Rakach came into existence as a result of a split in Maki (The United Israel Communist Party) in the mid-sixties, when it became clear that Soviet interests and activities in the Near East were becoming more and more hostile to Israel. During the five general elections prior to this split, the vote for the communists was between 2.8% (Fourth Knesset, 1959) and 4.5% (Third Knesset, 1955). At that time the whole Communist Party was an anti-system one. Most of its support was obtained from Arab voters - and the party became the channel of protest of the Arab minority<sup>55</sup>. Its history as a common Jewish-Arab party goes back to the twenties and it has always been known as a radical anti-Zionist party. Most of the time declared illegal by the British Mandatory Government, its Jewish branches (usually under various titles) did not take part regularly in the various elections in the Jewish community.

During the twenties the Communists did take part in various elections and gained a few percent of the votes. Some of them, who came to Palestine as Zionists, migrated several years later to Russia. With the emergence of the Arab <sup>n</sup>National<sup>-ist</sup> movement in Palestine since the late twenties, the gap between the Jewish community<sup>s</sup> and the Yishuv became broader. The situation began changing after the Nazi invasion of Russia. In 1941 a "Democratic List" was still prohibited by the Histadrut (Jewish Federation of Labour) from taking part in its conference. Nevertheless, it participated in the last

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54. It may seem that some non-socialist and nationalist elements in the Mafdal feel themselves closer to Herut than to the Labour Party. These elements are quite strong in the party nowadays. But it is still doubtful whether the party leadership is ready for a break with Labour. This dilemma could be more real if Labour lost its present position as the dominant party in the system.

55. A good deal of information on this subject, as well as on the anti-Zionist character of the Communist Party during the British Mandate, can be found in the books listed in the Bibliography relating to the Communists. See also the references to the Communist Party in Sefer Toldat HaHagana, Vol. 2 (this book is mentioned in the text in the next chapter p.53), and the series of articles by H. Canaan: "50 years of Communism in Eretz-Israel" in the Israeli daily HaAretz 16th-24th April, 1970 (Hebrew).

general elections to the Assembly of the Representatives of the Yishuv (1944 - the list of candidates had the title - a Popular Democratic List [this was before the "Popular Democracies" of Eastern Europe were formed]. This list had 3 out of 171 representatives). When the Soviets declared their support for the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine (1947), the Arab-Jewish Communist Party changed its policy accordingly, and during the Israeli War of Independence (1948), when arms as well as political support were supplied by the Eastern Bloc, some of the leaders of the party even became unofficial liaison officers between the Jewish Authorities (later the Government of Israel) and various East European Governments. But the "honeymoon" ended quite quickly, and the communists became bitter opponents of the Israeli government. This situation lasted until the above mentioned split. The leadership of the party during the state period, which was mainly Jewish, succeeded in retaining the "official" party title, but the "New Communist List" (which is represented now in the Knesset by two Arabs and one Jew) succeeded in retaining most of the support, which came from the Arab sector. The Jewish Party, which maintains the former title (but is not recognised any longer by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a "sister party") has become to a considerable extent less anti-system.

HaOlam Hazeh's story is quite different<sup>56</sup>. A list of candidates under this title first took part in general elections only in the year 1965 (the elections to the Sixth Knesset), and was organised as a party only after it succeeded in gaining one seat. "HaOlam-Hazeh" is a popular Israeli weekly which is owned and has been edited since the early 'fifties by Messrs. Avnery and Cohen. Its popularity is to be attributed mainly to the fact that it specializes in two spheres, viz publishing information concerning public scandals and similar information which is not usually published by "respectable" newspapers (including various types of gossip and semi-pornography). Nevertheless, the editors have always been politically orientated and the more serious parts of the weekly have dealt mainly with three issues: (a) an anti-establishment campaign in general, and information about corruption in the government, political parties and public organisations in particular; (b) an anti-Zionist line, and an advocacy of coming to terms with the Arab world (in this respect the weekly took sides in internal Arab conflicts, and objected to the more traditional and conservative regimes); (c) it has pursued a militant anti-religious campaign.

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56. Since this chapter was written there has been a split in "HaOlam-Hazeh", Messrs. Avnery and Cohen now form two one-man parties in the Knesset. Moreover, the organisational structure of "HaOlam Hazeh" seems to be very loose.

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The immediate reason for the decision of the editors to stand for election was their fear that a new bill against libel introduced in the Fifth Knesset, might make them vulnerable to charges, and they thought that parliamentary immunity would enable them to maintain the form of their magazine. As a party, they continued to pursue their political ideas, and, as in their magazine, tried to create an image of being the representatives of the younger generation, who were born in the country and did not have much in common with Jews abroad. Although now considering themselves affiliated to the New Left, they nevertheless identified with various non-conformist and revolutionary movements in the world.

"HaOlam-Hazeh-Koach Hadash"<sup>57</sup> is in fact the only new party in Israel's National party politics. The policies it advocates reflect problems of the last 15-20 years. But even in this case, there are some roots, particularly in the sphere of non-conformist ideology - in some loose and to some extent secret movements which grew up in the Yishuv in the late 'thirties and early 'forties, particularly those groups known as "Canaanites" or sometimes as "Hebrews", who considered themselves (although their parents were Jewish immigrants from Europe) an integral part of Near Eastern society. Their wish was that with the passing away of the older generation of Jewish immigrants, all the peoples of the area would be integrated into one ethnic unit. At the present time there are differences between "HaOlam-Hazeh" and the ageing ideologists of the "Canaanites". Paradoxically enough, the "Canaanite" ideologists support the idea of "larger Israel", i.e. retaining all the territories occupied in the Six Day War<sup>58</sup>. They are not motivated however by the same extreme nationalism as the majority of the advocates of this policy, but consider it as a first step towards the realisation of their old dreams. "HaOlam-Hazeh", on the other hand, is for total withdrawal, coming to terms with new Arab nationalism, but maintaining the separate identity and entity of Israel.

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57. "HaOlam-Hazeh" - (Heb. This World) was the title given to the magazine by its first publishers - professional non-political journalists. "Koach-Hadash" (Heb. New Force) was added as the title of the list and afterwards the name of the party.

58. See for instance the article by one of the former leaders of the "Canaanites", A. Ami, in A. Ben-Ami (ed.): HaKol (Heb. Everything: The Peace Frontiers of Israel), Tel-Aviv, Madaf, 1967, pp. 100-114. This was one of the first publications which advocated a policy of "no withdrawal" following the Six Day War. Among the other contributors to this volume were some veteran leaders of Jewish extreme nationalism. It is needless to add that their concepts and arguments were entirely different from those of Ami.

In the previous paragraphs, two parties, which have the same formal profile as the Maarach, (or perhaps three at the present day, if Maki is added) have been discussed. As far as attitudes are concerned, these two or three parties differ quite considerably among themselves, as well as from the Maarach. On the other hand, there seems to be no doubt that in fact Maki today shares much more in common with the Maarach than with say the extreme orthodox party of Agudat-Israel which was presented above as a partly anti-system party. Nevertheless, since they are both in opposition in the Knesset, they often vote together against the government, which is led by the Maarach. The aim of these remarks is to make it clear that the place of a certain party in the political universe, as long as it is defined formally by some of its attitudes (even if a larger number of facets were to be used) would not be enough to predict its "voting behaviour" in parliament<sup>59</sup>.

From the point of view of the power they command, as well as their history and origins, Rakach, HaOlam Haze and Maki are, after all, marginal parties in the Israeli party system. By describing them briefly at this stage, reference has also been made to the methodological questions which were presented above. When the dilemma of "socialism" versus "free enterprise" is presented and only two alternatives exist, it is clear that all the parties who were given the mark  $A_2$  at least do not identify with "free enterprise" as an economic ideology. This does not mean however that "socialism" means the same thing for all of them (the same in the case of the "socialism" of the British Labour Party and that of, say, the New Left).

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59. E.g. The Knesset's speaker, Y. Sprintzak (Mapai) had died in February, 1958, several months before the term of office of the Third Knesset came to its close. In the election of a new speaker to succeed Sprintzak, all the parties in the Knesset supported a non-Mapai candidate and the Mapai candidate was defeated. The "coalition" which elected the non-Mapai candidate (N. Nir, a member of "LeAchdut-HaAvoda" and a veteran Marxist) was composed of the Ultra-Orthodox Agudat-Israel, the Nationalist Herut and the "bourgeois" General Zionists parties too. Knowing, of course, that the elected speaker would serve only several months, they all wanted to "teach Mapai a lesson", viz to demonstrate that not all the representative posts in Israel were in the reach of Mapai's hand. This "coalition" which could not of course form an alternative government, is known in the political history of Israel as the "Nir Coalition".

8. The Arab Lists. Generally speaking, the Arab lists too are marginal to the Israeli party system. There are no organised parties behind these lists. These lists serve as channels through which the Labour Party mobilises Arab support and ensures the election of some Arab dignitaries who co-operate with it. (Some Arab voters prefer to vote directly for Jewish parties, as the analysis of the division of votes according to areas of residence demonstrates). In the Seventh Knesset there are three other Arab members, two of whom belong to Rakach and one (who has recently become the first Arab deputy minister in Israel) is a member of Mapam. A second deputy minister, coming from the ranks of the minorities (since besides Arabs, Christians as well as Muslims, there are also the Druzes) was appointed in September, 1971.

The core of the problem which is reflected by the existence of Arab or minority lists, is indeed that of the integration of the non-Jewish population in the Israeli polity. Issues of this kind may prove to pose problems in many cases (even in the case of the coloured population in Britain). However, obvious historical and current political reasons make the situation in Israel much more complicated.

This study does not deal with the political structure of Arab sectors of the population. Its characteristics as well as its background are entirely different from those of the majority of the population. In order to do justice to this subject, a much broader and deeper discussion would be required,<sup>60</sup> compared to the one which can be presented here. Nevertheless, the Arab population form by definition a part of the Israeli polity. Arab lists contest in the national elections, and one cannot ignore this issue within the present context. The Arab vote is more or less 10% of the total vote cast. Without going into details, which cannot be presented without a certain historical analysis, a short reference to this issue seems to be in place. The basic problem has two aspects - representation in and mobilisation by a political system, which did not emerge out of the social conditions of the Arab population. Within the State of Israel, the Arabs, as other citizens do, enjoy the right to vote, and therefore do not lack a certain political power. Generally speaking, however, they have not yet been integrated into the framework of most of the Jewish parties, although election statistics show that in some cases they support Jewish parties

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60. See Jacob M. Landau: The Arabs in Israel, Oxford University Press, 1969 esp. from pp. 69 ff. as well as the detailed bibliography. As to the Arab in Palestine before 1948, there is scholarly book in Hebrew: Y. Shimoni, Arviei Eretz-Israel, Tel-Aviv, Am-Oved, 1947.

(in return for certain rewards). An exception was the Israel Communist Party, which was for many years, even before the creation of Israel (then the Palestine Communist Party), a binational party<sup>61</sup>. Since Israel came into existence, several Jewish parties have tried to form "sister lists" in the Arab sector, by approaching some dignitaries who can secure support based on "traditional" patterns (kinship ties, religious organisations, regional constellations, etc.). In this respect, only the largest party has succeeded, and this also explains the fact that there are two Arab lists (and in former elections sometimes three, besides lists which were promoted by other parties but failed). Needless to say, therefore, the two Arab lists represented in the present Knesset cannot be considered as parties by any accepted definition. While from the point of view of the power-game, the Labour Party is interested in a favourable Arab representation in order to strengthen its position in the Knesset (as also are the other parties which have attempted to promote Arab lists), there is also the broader Israeli interest in maintaining an image of a liberal state in respect of the political rights of the minority, especially in the face of the Arab-Israeli conflict.<sup>62</sup>

A final remark in this context is that prior to 1948 the Arabs in Palestine had their own political structure<sup>63</sup> led by central elites who could claim to form a national leadership. For a time there existed a "Supreme Arab Council" headed by the notorious Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el Husseini. There were, of course, many internal splits and cleavages, but nevertheless one could not ignore the existence of a nationwide leadership<sup>64</sup>. Nevertheless, political parties in the modern sense of the concept did not exist, nor did any general elections take place in the Arab community. The Palestinian Arab National leadership ceased to exist with the creation of the State of Israel. In those Arab communities which remained more or less intact after the 1948 war, local leadership continued to function. However, as far as the total Arab population of Israel was concerned, it was left in a political

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61. See the references to the Communist Parties in the Bibliography. The relatively high amount of support, given by Arabs to the Communist Party for nationalist motives, has been mentioned in the previous section.

62. An attempt to establish an Arab Nationalistic party in Israel in the late 'fifties and early 'sixties was banned after the Supreme Court decided that there was no place for such a party in Israel, since its aims negated the existence of Israel. See J.M. Landau: op. cit. pp. 92ff. (The AlArd Group).

63. Which was not as highly developed as that of the Jews. It is described in detail in Shimon: op. cit.

64. Y. Porat: Tzmitchat HaTnua HaLeumit HaAravit-HaPalestinayit 1918-1929 (Heb. The Growth of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement 1918-1929). Jerusalem, The Hebrew University and the Israeli Oriental Society, 1971.

vacuum. It was the formation of this vacuum which enabled the Jewish-Israeli parties to become the power behind the scenes in the Arab sector. Up till now there is no overall Arab organisation in Israel, equivalent even to the loose organisations of Jews in many countries in the world.

## 9. Parties and Coalitions

By presenting a somewhat simplified continuum of the major present-day Israeli parties (those with 5 seats and more) on the axis of the "Left-Right" continuum, the following picture emerges (from the left):

Mapam - Labour - Mafdal - Liberals - Herut

In many municipalities (e.g. Tel-Aviv, the largest city in Israel) the "right-wing" and the "left-wing" are represented more or less equally. This puts the Mafdal in an important key position, since to some extent it can decide (even if its representation is relatively small) what type of coalition will be formed. Usually it prefers to collaborate with the Labour Party, since otherwise it might cause problems at the national level<sup>65</sup>.

On the national level the situation is that there has never been a practical possibility of forming a government without Labour (or Mapai). The reasons for this are obvious if one looks at the composition of the present Knesset in which there is no place for practical alternative coalition. On the other hand, Labour (and Mapai before) never commanded an absolute majority, and has to choose partners in order to form a coalition. The "traditional" coalition is composed of Labour (Mapai) sometimes one or two of the left-wing Zionist Socialist parties - before the formations of various alignments and unifications - the small party which is now known as the Independent Liberals and the Mafdal as the senior partner. With the exception of the years 1967-1970 (the "Government of National Unity") only once did the Liberals (who were known then as "The General Zionists") participate in a coalition, and their participation did not last for very long (September 1952-June 1955).

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65. This was not always so. In 1952 they were strong enough in Jerusalem to elect a mayor from their own ranks, with the support of the "right-wing". In 1952 as well as 1956 they preferred a coalition with "right-wing" in Tel-Aviv to a coalition with the "left-wing". In 1956 they even rejected the "right-wing" candidate, who was known for his secular views, and in fact forced the General Zionists to nominate another candidate who was more acceptable to them. It seems, however, that in later years they have tended to prefer municipal coalitions with the nationally dominant party, Labour, while making Labour aware of the fact that they depend on Mafdal's support.

It is quite ironical that their preference for coalitions with the General Zionists in Tel-Aviv blocked the road to mayorship for two Labour candidates who afterwards became prime ministers of Israel - Eshkol (1952) and Mrs. Meir (1956). The personal careers of these two might have been very different had their party succeeded in securing support of the religious parties then.

The core of the Israeli party system is, therefore, the Labour Party (Mapai) as the dominant party, and the Mafdal as its major partner.

To sum up: It now seems clear that the Israeli party system, as well as its "product" - viz, the coalition government, has its roots in the pre-state period. Even now, nearly 25 years after the establishment of the state, its President and Prime Minister both belong to the generation of the "founding fathers" of the party system. All ministers in all Israeli governments have been either active in politics or (in the case of the younger ones) - young party members in the political parties of the pre-state era.<sup>66</sup> No understanding of the present party system and power relationships is possible without going back and analysing pre-state politics. The creation of the state of course introduced changes in the structure of various parties, and encouraged various unions or alignments. But no new powers did in fact emerge. This seems to be the strong point as well as the weak point in Israeli politics. Its strength lies in the fact that it ensured continuity, and spared Israel from the unhappy ordeal of so many new states, viz instability and political breakdowns. On the other hand, there is an element of conservatism in the whole system which raises doubts about its flexibility and its ability to cope with problems and cleavages, which might develop under social conditions totally different from those under which this party system came into existence. The first task now is to see what these initial conditions were. It seems that one cannot deal here with the emergence of the party system without tracing the origins and developments of the society from which this party system emerged, and the mutual (or say "feed-back" or "input-output") relationship between society at large (for most of the time a society without sovereignty) and its power structure and party system.

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66. With two or three exceptions in the early state years, when individuals without any party affiliation (mainly specialists, and none of them members of Knesset) were appointed to ministerial posts. These ministers usually filled a "gap" resulting from a temporary crisis in the coalition.



## CHAPTER 2

### The Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation

#### 1. Prologue - A State is Born

The State of Israel came into existence with the termination of the British Mandate in Palestine. Since that day, 15th May, 1948, happened to fall on the Sabbath, the official Declaration of Independence took place on Friday, 14th May, 1948. Several months before that date, the "National Institutions" of the Jewish community in Palestine (viz the Executive of the Zionist organisation which was also known as "The Jewish Agency for Palestine" and the National Council - Vaad Leumi in Hebrew - of "Knesset Israel" - the official title of the organisation of the Jewish community)<sup>1</sup> came to terms with various groups in the Yishuv, which were outside the framework of the "organised Yishuv"<sup>2</sup>, and provisional government and parliament for the future State of Israel were formed. These two bodies, which for legal reasons were known during the last months of the British Mandate as the "Committee of the Thirteen" and the "Committee of the Thirty-Seven" respectively, automatically became the provisional government and provisional parliament of Israel<sup>3</sup>.

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1. A general description of the "National Institutions" will be presented later in this chapter. Their place within the whole complex of party politics in the Yishuv and the World Zionist Organisation and in some other world Jewish forums will be discussed in various context in subsequent chapters.
  2. This term was applied, especially in the 'forties, to those groups and parties which recognised the authority of the "National Institutions". There were groups which were formally connected with the ranks of "Knesset-Israel", but nevertheless outside the "organised Yishuv". See the discussion in Chapters 5 and 6 in particular.
  3. For a detailed description see Z. Sharef: Shlosha Yamim (Heb. Three Days). Tel-Aviv, Am Oved, 1959. There is also an English translation of this book with the title "Three Days" (London, W.H. Allen, 1962). Mr. Sharef was a high ranking official in the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, the Secretary of the "Committee of the Thirteen" and the First Secretary to the Government of Israel. In recent years he entered active political life, served inter alia as Minister of Finance and Minister of Commerce and Industry and is at present Minister of Housing and Urban Development. He is a member of the Labour Party.

Elections to the First Knesset<sup>4</sup> took place on 25th January 1949. Several weeks later, Parliament was summoned, a Speaker (K. Sprintzak) and a President of the State (Chaim Weizmann<sup>5</sup>) were elected, D. Ben-Gurion, leader of Mapai, was invited by the President to form a government, and the "routinization"<sup>6</sup> of the political system began.

The preparations for independence, described by Sharef<sup>7</sup>, viz the creation of ministries, decisions on legal and fiscal procedures etc. differed considerably in this case from other cases involving the creation of new states. The mandatory power did not support the decision of the United Nations' General Assembly (29th November, 1947) about the partition of Palestine, and the Arabs actively resented it. During the months following the voting in the United Nations, a state of civil war existed in Palestine between the Jews and Arabs, while the Mandatory power decided to evacuate the country without transferring authority to any particular body. The results are well known, and do not fall within the scope of this study. What seems to be relevant here is the fact that the Jewish community in Palestine (the Yishuv) showed itself able, through its various "National Institutions", of creating a state amid the chaos of the last months of the mandatory period, which eventually led to a war in which six surrounding Arab states took part. How does one explain this phenomenon, as well as later phenomena such as the stability and even conservatism of the whole Israeli party-political system within a revolutionary context? One must bear in mind that this relative stability has

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4. The term used at this time was "Constituent Assembly". It was only later, when it was realised that no constitution would be drafted for Israel, that the Constituent Assembly declared itself to be the First Knesset. The decision not to draft a constitution resulted from the wish to avoid a break between non-religious and religious parties (especially Mapai and Mafdal - the "traditional" coalition partners).
  5. Chaim Weizmann (1874-1952) was the President of the World Zionist Organisation in the years 1921-1931 and 1935-1946, and was generally considered the leader of the Jewish Nationalist Movement in this era.
  6. The concept of "routinisation" is used here in its simple sense - namely that the political system started acting in a "routine" way, with its administration, constitutional arrangements, formal procedures, etc. See I. Sharkansky, The Routines of Politics, New-York, Van Nostrand, 1970.
  7. Z. Sharef, ibid., esp. pp. 38-60; 100-106; 117-153 (in the Hebrew original).

survived an unprecedented growth of population, the effects of an immigration from widely differing cultural changes, etc. The answer seems to stem from two sources, viz (a) the original voluntary character of the Yishuv and (b) the creation, from the start, of effective mechanisms of internal control which have proved their efficiency even in those situations in which voluntarism ceased to be the dominant characteristic.

Voluntarism and power thus combined to form the basis of Yishuv society and the subsequent state institutions. This seems to be the point of departure as well as the backbone for the whole analysis embodied in this study. Both concepts are not as simple as they may seem at first sight. There is a temptation here to venture into the conceptual i.e. how to define power or voluntarism. Beyond this temptation there is another which inspires even more intellectual curiosity, viz the theoretical analysis of relationships between voluntarism and power and the various types of social and political structures which developed in the Yishuv. Something of all these will emerge, it is hoped, in the context of this study. Let us start, however, with concrete occurrences ('events'? 'patterns of action'? 'value orientations'? - all these will be included in one way or another).

## 2. The Social and Ideological Background: Zionism, Socialism and Religious Orthodoxy.

The Yishuv was referred to as a new society which formed a state. Before dealing with the Yishuv, let us devote a paragraph or two to the Jewish people at the turn of the last century.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a turning point in the history of the Jewish people. Situations of course varied from one country to another, depending on differences in general conditions and the size, culture and social structure of the various Jewish communities. The point of departure is the position of the Jews vis-a-vis the population among which they were living. Theoretically speaking, there were various possibilities - ranging from attempts to maintain social and cultural segregation of the Jews at the one end of the axis, to total integration at the other. The pattern of segregation was the dominant one for many centuries, and as a result of this the Jewish people survived as a religious-ethnic-national unit, although dispersed in many countries.

With the emancipation in Europe and the emergence of national states, civil societies<sup>8</sup> and egalitarian ideologies, as well as the beginning of disintegration in the Jewish traditional structure, the above mentioned dilemmas became very realistic. It started in Western Europe and later on faced the largest concentration of Jews in the world at that time in Eastern Europe (pre-1917 Russia). Even if conditions for total absorption of Jews in the surrounding society had not yet developed, the problem as to what should be the Jewish response to new situations, and in what direction they should orientate their ideas and struggles, has become more and more urgent. This was the background for the emergence of various ideologies among the Jewish people in Europe. Modern Jewish immigrations (especially to America, and also to Britain) also have their roots in these changing situations.

In those parts of Western Europe (mainly German speaking), which first accorded the Jews a degree of equality, the Eighteenth Century brought the emergence of a movement resulting in total assimilation. In Eastern Europe, the whole process of modernisation and the formation of a civil society started much later and, having started, did not develop in the same way as in Western Europe. A reference should be made in this context to the attitudes towards the Jews, e.g. the successive waves of pogroms in Russia in the <sup>Eighteen-</sup>eighties and later. Nevertheless, new ideologies emerged among the Jews, since they were also affected by changes in the surrounding society and the emergence of various social, nationalist and political movements. Zionism was one of these ideologies, and as a movement it had its rudimental origins in Russia about a couple of decades before the World Zionist Organisation was founded by Theodore Herzl (1897). An organisation called Hovevei-Tzion (Lovers of Zion) was founded in 1881, and it was from this organisation that some of the first immigrants came to Palestine. The funds of Hovevei-Tzion also supported the first new Jewish settlements in Palestine<sup>9</sup>.

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8. I use this concept in the sense of a society distinguished from the political order. Various aspects of this distinction were dealt with by those whom Lipset calls "the fathers of political sociology" (Saint-Simon, Proudhon, Marx, Tocqueville). Of the modern scholars, see: S.M. Lipset, Political Man, London, Heinemann, 1961, pp. 7ff; W.G. Runciman, Social Science and Political Theory, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1963, pp. 25-35; R. Bendix, Nation-Building and Citizenship, New-York, Wiley, 1964, Chapter 3; Adam Ferguson was one of those who introduced this concept in his book, History of Civil Society.

9. i.e. the beginnings of the "New-Yishuv", since the early 'eighties. The older and traditional Jewish communities in Palestine are called the "Old Yishuv". See the discussion below (Section 4).

Besides the Zionist ideology, which called for the revival of Jewish National life within a Jewish state<sup>10</sup>, there developed of course other ideologies or orientations concerning the relationships between Jews and society at large<sup>11</sup>. Let us mention some of them by name: 1) Socialism - with the idea that there is no place for any distinction between Jews and non-Jews; (2) Socialism - but with the recognition of the Jews as a group characterised by its own culture, organisation, etc.<sup>12</sup>; (3) Integrationalism - viz the Jews should be absorbed as individuals in the civil society; (4) Traditionalism - viz an attempt to preserve the traditional religious way of life<sup>13</sup>; (5) Autonomism - recognition of the Jews as a separate group, but with equal rights with all other citizens<sup>14</sup>.

Of all these movements and ideologies, the one central to our study is the Zionist Movement. This movement (and the organisation) began more or less as an unfragmented one, as far as division into parties is concerned. The differences within the Zionist Organisation as they were reflected in the first Zionist Congresses, were mainly based on the countries of origins of the delegates, which reflected cultural differences between Jews in various countries and their impacts upon the idea of Jewish nationalism<sup>15</sup>.

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10. This is a short and simplified description of the basic aims of the Zionist Organisation. For a detailed discussion and analysis of policies and ideologies see B. Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State, Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1961; the best reader in the subject is: A. Hertzberg (ed.): The Zionist Idea, New York, Harper, 1966; the best study of the history of the Zionist Organisation upto the 'twenties is A. Boehm: Die Zionistische Bewegung, Berlin, Juedischer Verlag, 1935-7.
  11. See the general survey and bibliographies in F. Gross and B.J. Vlavianos, Struggle for Tomorrow (Modern Political Ideologies of the Jewish People), New York, Arts Inc., 1954.
  12. E.g. The Bund. See in Gross and Vlavianos, op.cit., pp. 131-196; S. Eisenstadt, Prakim BeToldat Thuat HaPoalim HaYehudit (Heb. Chapters in the History of the Jewish Labour Movement), Merchavia, Sifriat Poalem, 1954, Vol. 2, pp. 3-58.
  13. As an organised political movement it was represented by Agudat-Israel.
  14. One of the advocates of this ideology was the famous Jewish historian S. Dubnov. See: Gross and Vlavianos, op.cit., pp. 236-243.
  15. B. Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State (op.cit.), Ch. 4.

The history of the Zionist organisation and the different conceptions of Zionism (such as the difference between the "political Zionism" of Herzl and the "spiritual Zionism" of Ahad Haam) as well as the differences between "Political Zionism" and "practical" and "synthetic" Zionism, (the latter two advocated respectively by Zionists from Russia and young intellectuals who migrated from Eastern Europe to the West), could supply material for many volumes. Nevertheless, they are not out of context here, since these differences were later absorbed into the sphere of party-politics in the Zionist organisation, once political parties grew out of the various divisions and began to dominate the internal Zionist scene.<sup>16</sup> The first semi-party group in the Zionist organisation (notice: group and not party) was the short-lived "Democratic Faction"<sup>17</sup> led by Chaim Weizmann, Martin Buber and B. Fyvel. It opposed Herzl's political orientations and called for "constructive activity" in Palestine<sup>17a</sup> and especially for activity in the cultural sphere (e.g. the establishment of a Hebrew university as a centre for Jewish cultural revival and activity).

In the first decade of the Twentieth Century, as has already been mentioned, various socialist ideological streams were already in existence among East European Jews. There were influences of the Socialist movement in general, and besides the two socialist trends reported above, a third one began to take shape with the aim of integrating socialism with Jewish national revival. These socialists found themselves fighting on two "fronts" (a) in the socialist camp they advocated the right of the Jews to have their own national liberation (to use a term of half a century later); (b) in the Jewish nationalist movement they were in an ambivalent position, since some of them who were orthodox Marxists found it difficult to join the Zionist Organisation and collaborate with the Jewish "bourgeoisie". A party named "Poalei-Tzion" was founded in Russia in 1900 (its first conference took place in 1905)<sup>18</sup>. The leading ideologist here was B. Borochoy (1881-1917) and among its members were two young men -

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16. The break between Weizmann and Jabotinsky in the 'twenties, which will be discussed in subsequent chapters (esp. 4 and 5) was a latter version of the controversy between "practical" and "political" Zionists. Klausner's book (next footnote) discusses the origins of this issue.

17. See, I. Klausner, Oppozitzia LeHerzl (Heb. Opposition to Herzl), Jerusalem, Achiever, 1950.

17a For a discussion of the concept "constructive activity" which became common in Zionist jargon, see below (p.45).

18. S. Eisenstadt, Prakim BeToldot Tnuat HaPoalim HaYedhuit (op.cit.) Vol. 2, pp. 59-203.

Izhak Shimshilevitch<sup>19</sup> and David Green<sup>19a</sup>. Both these young men migrated to Palestine in the middle of the first decade of this century, and founded the Poalei-Tzion Party there<sup>20</sup>, (another workers' party - HaPoel-HaTzair<sup>21</sup> had been founded there several months earlier<sup>22</sup>).

With these developments which led to the creation of what became known later as "Socialist Zionism", the foundations were laid for a Labour wing in the Zionist Organisation and the Yishuv.

A similar development took place in Jewish orthodoxy. Here also two "fronts" existed, viz (a) the general World of Jewish Orthodoxy; (b) the Zionist Front. In the first front, the issue was whether there was any place for the participation of orthodox Jews in a modern (and basically secular) nationalist movement. Many orthodox and traditional groups were opposed to such an idea. On the other hand, some of the early nationalist ideologists (even before the establishment of "Hovevei-Tzion") were distinguished rabbis<sup>23</sup>. The whole issue caused a severe controversy in Jewish orthodoxy<sup>24</sup> the result of which was the formation in Eastern Europe of a religious Zionist party called "HaMerkaz HaRuchani" (Heb. The Spiritual Centre) which became known by its Hebrew initials - HaMizrachi. Its main ideologist and founder was a famous East European rabbi - Jacob Reines. Agudat-Israel, the extreme orthodox non- (and for many years anti-) Zionist organisation was founded in 1912.

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19. He Hebraized his surname to Ben-Zwi, was later for many years Chairman of the National Council of "Knesset Israel" in Palestine and succeeded Dr. Weizmann as Second President of the State of Israel (d. 1963).

19a He Hebraized his surname to Ben-Gurion (b.1885).

20. Izhak Ben-Zwi later proved to be a scholar in several fields. He wrote many books one of which is the history of this party. See, Izhak Ben-Zwi, Poalei-Zion BaAliya HaShnia (Heb. "Poalei-Zion in the Era of the Second Aliya"), Tel-Aviv, Mapai, 1951.

21. For the history of this party see Yosef Shapiro, HaPoel HaTzair: HaRaayon Ve HaMaase (Heb. HaPoel HaTzair: the Idea and the Practice), Tel-Aviv, Ayanot, 1967.

22. Out of these two parties, after several developments, emerged Mapai (1930) and the Israel Labour Party (1969); Poalei-Tzion (Heb. Workers of Zion); HaPoel-HaTzair (Heb. The Young Worker).

23. E.g. Rabbis Kalisher (1795-1894) and Y. Alcalay (1798-1878).

24. The first Zionist Congress, which took place in Basle in 1897 had been originally planned by Dr. Herzl to take place in Munich, but local authorities there refused to grant permission under the pressure of local rabbis. These rabbis are known in the history of Zionism as the "Protest Rabbis".

The "second front" of HaMizrachi was, naturally, inside the Zionist Organisation. Their aim was from the beginning to give a certain religious character to this organisation. In later periods, when the Zionist Organisation became active in the process of society building in Palestine, the Mizrachi saw that its first task was to ensure that at least minimal religious practices should be maintained in the new society (e.g. Sabbath observance in all rural settlements which were founded on national land and with the help of national funds).

Both Socialist-Zionism and Religious-Zionism should be considered, therefore, as movements the roots of which originated not only within the formal framework of the Zionist Organisation as such. They also have their roots in the Jewish Socialist and Labour movements and religious orthodoxy respectively. It was the formation of groups orientated to national revival in these two camps, which led to their absorption in the Zionist Organisation. With the formation of a religious bloc and a labour bloc in the early Zionist congresses, the majority, who did not belong to any faction became gradually known as General Zionism. It was only many years later that the General Zionists were organised as a party proper (or to be accurate several General Zionist parties).

### 3. The World Zionist Organisation

The World Zionist Organisation<sup>25</sup> was founded in 1897. Its first congress was summoned by Theodore Herzl, who was elected first president of the organisation. Under the presidency of Herzl, the Zionist Organisation

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25. One can discuss Zionism at least on three levels - as an ideology (arising out of ideas), as a movement and as an organisation. "Zionist" ideas can be traced throughout the ages in Jewish writings. As an ideology it has its rudiments in the middle of the 19th Century. The terms organisation and movement are used frequently with reference to the same phenomena, viz the framework under discussion here. One should however distinguish here the formal and more generalised aspects, in the same way as one distinguishes the communist movement and the various communist parties, which are concrete formal structures. For references to Zionism, both as an ideology, a movement and an organisation - see the list under the relevant headline in the Bibliography. In using the concept of movement, I follow Smelser's definition in his book Theory of Collective Behaviour (New York, The Free Press, 1963, esp. Chapter 9, 10).



was engaged almost entirely with political and diplomatic activities, the aim of which was to achieve international recognition (i.e. support from the relevant major powers of that age - the Ottoman Empire, the German Empire and to some extent Britain and Russia) of the Jewish claims for their homeland in Palestine. In legal terms, the Zionist Organisation was endeavouring to achieve a "charter", which would procure for it the legal authority to build a society and a state in Palestine<sup>26</sup>. The result of Herzl's endeavours was by and large disappointing. These unsuccessful attempts took place after a modern Jewish settlement in Palestine had already been established, but the Zionist Organisation as such (to be distinguished from Hovevei-Tzion) did not have much to do with it. It was only after World War I, that the Zionist Organisation, with its financial and administration apparatus, became the main public force behind the development of the Yishuv. Nevertheless rudimentary foundations for the so-called "constructive activity" (or "practical Zionism") were already laid down in Herzl's time (e.g. the foundation of the Jewish National Fund, the aim of which was to purchase land in Palestine for Jewish settlement, the formation of a central bank, the decision to found a Hebrew University, etc.) and in the year 1908, it opened an office in Jaffa, known as the "Palestine Office". The year 1908, therefore, marks the beginning of official Zionist activity in Palestine, not only as a movement, but as an agency for development. Forty years later, members of its executive, who came to power from the ranks of the Yishuv, formed the core of government in the new state. The Palestine Office was headed by Arthur Ruppin (1867-1943), who directed Jewish land settlement in Palestine for many years<sup>27</sup>.

Herzl died in the year 1904, at the age of 44. With his death, a considerable withdrawal took place as far as political and diplomatic activity of the organisation was concerned. The First World War almost brought its activities to a stand-still, since its members were divided between the various frontlines. A local initiative by British Zionists headed by Chaim Weizmann (who settled in Britain several years before the

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26. This goal has not been defined for many years in an explicit way. The "Basle Programme" used a somewhat modest term ("home" in Palestine). See the discussions of this issue and the various developments in the Zionist Organisation leading to the public adoption of the concept of Jewish state as a defined goal of the Zionist Organisation in B. Halpern, *op.cit.* pp. 28-42. Nevertheless, Herzl's first programmatic book, published in 1896, had the title "Jewish State" (Judenstaat).

27. See Ruppin autobiography Pirkei Hayi (Heb. My Life and Work), the first two volumes, (Tel-Aviv, Am-Oved, 1945, 1947), contain a lot of information about the activities of the Zionist Organisation in Palestine prior to the British occupation. See also, Alex Bein. The Return to Soil, Jerusalem, The Zionist Organisation, 1952, Chapters 1, 2, 3.

war) in collaboration with American Zionists, lead, to the achievement of the famous Balfour Declaration of 2nd November, 1917<sup>28</sup>. Weizmann emerged as the Organisation's leader, represented it in various meetings during the Peace Conference at Versailles, went to Palestine as head of its commission in 1919, and was later formally elected as the President of the Organisation. He held this post, with an interruption of four years (1931-1935) until 1946.

The first Zionist Congress after the war was convened in Karlsbad in the year 1921 (it was the 12th Zionist Congress). A year earlier, however, before arrangements could be made for the calling of a World Congress, a World Zionist conference was convened in London. This conference has a very important place in the history of Zionism, since it in fact decided upon the major directions of the future activities of the Zionist Organisation in Palestine under the new conditions. There is no place here for a description of the various approaches and dilemmas, as well as the controversies between groups and personalities which took place at that conference. The important thing to be mentioned is that Weizmann emerged victorious and his policies were adopted. The essence of these policies was (a) that the Zionist Organisation should become responsible for the development of the "Jewish National Home" in Palestine, and should therefore raise public funds and administer the enterprise (b) that the Zionist Organisation should collaborate with the Mandatory power (Britain) on the one hand by pursuing a moderate policy and on the other by taking care that the pro-Zionist policies of Britain should not be altered.

There were other views about the future functions of the Zionist Organisation<sup>29</sup> which cannot be dealt with here. One cannot, however, refrain from mentioning that these controversies occupied a central place in history of the Zionist Organisation; had alternative policies been adopted, different developments in the future internal structure and politics of the Zionist Organisation <sup>and particularly the Yishuv</sup> would have resulted. The result of the policy successfully advocated by Weizmann was first of all that it transformed it into a "system"

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28. The most comprehensive book on the developments which led to the Balfour Declaration is Leonard Stein, The Balfour Declaration, London, Vallentine Mitchel, 1961. See also - Christopher Sykes, Cross Roads to Israel, London, Mentor Books, 1967, Chapter 1.

29. Weizmann's main opponent in the Zionist Organisation was at that time Chief Justice Brandeis from America, who ceased to be active in the organisation after the London Conference. Other famous criticisers of Weizmann were N. De-Lime and J. Simon. See the discussions of this subject in the various histories of the Zionist Organisation (mentioned in the Bibliography) and the Minutes of the London Conference and the 12th Zionist Congress.

involving "authoritative allocations" (to use an Eastonian concept<sup>30</sup>). Secondly, the Zionist Organisation gradually evolved as an authority in a developing society, with the result that its policies had an impact not only in the sphere of internal allocations but also with regard to societal goals<sup>31</sup>. Although one would naturally expect every social and political movement, by definition, to be orientated towards some sort of goals, and expect internal cleavages to develop in this respect (as had in fact previously happened in the Zionist Organisation<sup>32</sup>), the situation in this case seems to be somewhat different. With a growing involvement in the development of the Yishuv, which ultimately reached a stage in which its executive became the leading "national institution" of the Yishuv and its leadership more and more recruited the ranks of the Yishuv, the Zionist Organisation became an arena for intensive party-political activity. Although neither the Yishuv nor the Zionist Organisation had any sovereign status in the mandatory period, the former was already growing as "a state within a state"<sup>33</sup> and the latter used to refer to itself as "a state in the making".<sup>34</sup>

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30. D. Easton, A Framework for Political Analysis, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1965, pp. 96-97.

31. This is mainly a Parsonian concept. See e.g. T. Parsons, "On the Concept of Political Power" in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 107, No. 3 (June 1963) as well as William C. Mitchell, Sociological Analysis and Politics (the theories of Talcott Parsons), Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1967, pp. 59, 62, 181-182.

32. E.g. the so-called "Uganda Controversy" in the Sixth Zionist Congress. See the Minutes of that congress (1903) and the discussions in the various histories of the Zionist Organisation. See also B. Halpern, op.cit. pp. 128, 154; Gross and Vlavianos, op.cit. pp. 113-114.

33. This definition can be found in the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry regarding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine (1946), London, H.M.S.O. Miscellaneous, No. 8 (Cmd. 6808, 1946), p.34.

34. This was not, of course, an official definition, but was used in many speeches in congresses and public forums. It seems that the origin of this slogan is in a sentence of Herzl's from the early days of Zionism viz "Zionism is the Jewish people in the making".

The juncture at which the meeting between the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation took place, cannot definitely be related to a particular event or date, but must be seen as a process of development with a number of important landmarks, some of which have already been discussed and others of which will be mentioned below. Needless to say there was never a total identity between the two; not only did many members of the Zionist Organisation not join the Yishuv, but within the Yishuv itself there existed non-Zionist and anti-Zionist groups, and many developments in the Yishuv were connected with local affairs and processes. It is not surprising, therefore, that in many cases, one could find contradictions and even clashes between "Yishuvistic" orientations and activities, and Zionist ones. During the period, a certain group composed of farmers and urban middle-class elements was dubbed by its opponents "Yishuvistic", and their attitudes were described as "Yishuvistic" as opposed to "Zionist". This particular conflict will be dealt with in due course<sup>35</sup>. At this stage, a general distinction should be made between orientations the background of which was in the ideology of a political movement and those which emerged out of the daily life of a concrete community, and the various interests and ideologies represented therein. The whole network of relationships between the Zionist Organisation and the Yishuv (with all its components) had, therefore, various strains which differed from one another in accordance with the various groups which composed the Yishuv.

#### 4. The Yishuv: the Germ of a New Society

General studies about Israel<sup>36</sup> or about one of its institutional sphere in particular<sup>37</sup> (politics, economy, etc.) usually open with a historical description of the origins and growth of the Yishuv. This practice will not be repeated here. On the one hand, the limits of this study make it difficult to deal with this topic in a comprehensive and systematic way, while on the other hand a shorter introduction would only present material available in other publications<sup>38</sup>. This section will therefore include a reference to the most important landmarks in the development of the Yishuv and its major organisations.

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35. See the discussion of the "Ezrachim in Chapter 5, Sections 6-8.

36. E.g. S.N. Eisenstadt, Israeli Society, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967.

37. E.g. L.J. Fein, Politics in Israel, Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1967; A.F. Kleinberger, Society, Schools and Progress in Israel, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1969.

Footnote 38. on following page.

For many centuries there was no territory with defined boundaries known as Palestine. This name, as well as similar ones (The "Holy Land" or the Hebrew "Land of Israel") were used when reference was made to an area on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, which included, generally speaking, the towns and villages which from biblical times to the age of Christ and the destruction of the second temple, were mainly settled by a people variously known as Hebrews, Israelites, Judeans and Jews<sup>39</sup>. In fact, as is well known, the boundaries of the various Jewish states which existed during that period were also not fixed and stable, although they were generally based on the territory reputedly occupied by the Israelite tribes following the Exodus from Egypt.

A distinctly defined state in the area, just defined as Palestine, came back into existence only as a result of World War I and the creation out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire of several new states under British or French mandates. The boundaries between these states were a result of agreements between these mandatory powers, which were ratified later by the League of Nations. The state or territory known as Palestine, which originally included the eastern bank of the Jordan, also included most of areas with which the Jews had historical associations. It should be noted that under the Ottoman Empire, of which this territory had been a part for the last four centuries, it did not form one unified administrative unit, but was divided between several administrative districts. Nevertheless, as far as the Jews were concerned, there was a general idea about the geographical extent of "The Holy Land", or "The Land of Israel" (Heb. "Eretz-Israel").

Students of Israeli Society consider its origins from the date when the so-called "First immigration" commenced (1882). There were Jews in Palestine before that date too. The following lines are quoted from a statistical survey: "There were always Jews in Palestine. A Jewish community never ceased to exist after the destruction of the Jewish state (in the year 70 a.c. - D.S.). The conquerors of the country replaced one

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38. Besides discussion in studies like those mentioned in the footnotes above, there are many detailed publications in Hebrew e.g. Chabas' and Shochat's anthology on the "Second Aliya", Y. Erez' Anthology on the "Third Aliya", D. Giladi's study of the Yishuv in the period of the "Fourth Aliya". All these and others are mentioned in the Bibliography.

39. I have no aim whatsoever to indulge here in political issues of the present, but just to draw attention to the subject. For the difficulties in defining the area of the country and its borders see E. Orni and E. Efrat, Geography of Israel, Jerusalem, Israel Program for Scientific Translations, 1966, pp. ix-xii. See also pp. 3-13.

another, but Jewish settlements continued their existence, although the size of their populations was sometimes very small. In the year 1170 there were 5,300 Jews in Palestine. Four hundred years later, in the year 1532, their number decreased to 3,700. But Jews still remained, and there was always a reinforcement composed of immigrants. Until the 'eighties of the last century, it was mainly an immigration of a religious character motivated by the wish of religious Jews not to die in the Diaspora, but to be buried in the Holy Land. An increase in the size of the Jewish community recommences in the middle of the Nineteenth Century. In the year 1856 there were already 10,500 Jews. This small community was concentrated in several towns: 5,700 in Jerusalem, 2,100 in Safad, 1500 in Tiberias, 400 in Hebron, 400 in Jaffa, 100 in Haifa and 300 in other places. In the year 1880 the total number was 24,000. Half of these lived in Jerusalem and the rest in other towns. Their economic existence was based on charity. This financial support which flowed into Palestine was also due to religious motives".<sup>40</sup> There were various mechanisms for raising funds in the Diaspora and allocating them through organisations based on country or region of origin (known as Kollectim, sing. Kollect). The whole system is known as Haluka (Heb. "allocation" in this context<sup>41</sup>). Charity was not, however, the only source of livelihood since there were Jewish craftsmen, merchants, etc., and one can trace rudiments of "economic development" in the Old Yishuv too.

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40. J. Ziman, Mellibat-Tzion Lemedinat Israel (Heb. From Hibat-Tzion to the State of Israel), Jerusalem, HaMachon LeHaskala Tzionit, 1952, p. 10. The figures are more or less the same in other books, some of which are mentioned in the next footnote. Slightly different figures are to be found in the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission, London, H.M.S.O., 1937, pp. 11-13.

41. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the fact that even such an unmodern social structure had its own dynamics. For a general theoretical approach to the problem see S.N. Eisenstadt, "Some Observations on the Dynamics of Tradition", Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. XI, (1969) pp. 451-475. On the specific case of the "Old Yishuv", see among others, R. Szereszewski et al. Meaa Shana Veod 20 (Heb.) Jerusalem, Sifriat Maariv, 1968, pp. 6-87; B. Gatt, HaYishuv HaIvri BeEretz-Israel (1840-1881) (Heb.) Jerusalem, Friends of the Hebrew Gymnasium, 1963; A.H. Malachi, Prakim BeToldot HaYishuv HaYashan (Heb.) Tel-Aviv, HaKibbuz-HaMeuchad and Tel-Aviv University, 1971; M. Rothschild, HaHaluka (Heb.), Jerusalem, Rubin Mass, 1969 as well as Albert M. Hyamson, The British Consulate in Jerusalem (in relation to the Jews in Palestine), London, Edward Goldston, 1941.

Let us turn now to the growth of the Jewish population since 1882.

The figures are as follows:<sup>42</sup>

1882	-	24,000	(	500	in	5	rural	settlements	and	the	rest	in	towns)
1890	-	47,000	(	2,960	"	14	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1900	-	50,000	(	5,210	"	22	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1914	-	85,000	(	11,990	"	47	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1922	-	83,790	(	14,920	"	71	"	"	"	68,870	in	8	"
1924	-	150,000	(	28,300	"	96	"	"	"	121,700	in	15	"
1931	-	174,610	(	38,450	"	110	"	"	"	136,160	in	19	"
1936	-	404,000	(	88,640	"	172	"	"	"	315,366	in	27	"
1944	-	502,000	(	113,000	"	231	"	"	"	389,000	in	28	"
1945	-	592,000	(	152,800	"	266	"	"	"	439,200	in	27	"

On the eve of the proclamation of Israeli independence, there were about 650,000 Jews in Palestine<sup>43</sup> out of a total population of nearly two millions<sup>44</sup>. Generally speaking, the percentage of the Jewish population was steadily increasing during the whole mandatory period.

The Jewish communities which were in Palestine prior to the "First Immigration" are usually referred to as the "Old Yishuv" (in Hebrew HaYishuv HaYashan), while the newcomers laid the foundations of what became known as the "New Yishuv" (In Hebrew: HaYishuv HaChadash). The rise in the size of the population of the Old Yishuv was caused not merely by natural increase, but also by perpetual immigration. What distinguishes the "First Immigration" from former immigrations is the fact that it differed from them in its (a) social and cultural background in the country of origin (which in many cases was the same one - Russia) and motivation to immigration; (b) the pattern of immigration; and (c) patterns

42. D. Gurevich and A. Gertz, Statistical Handbook of Jewish Palestine 1947, Jerusalem, The Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1947, p. 37. There is a slight discrepancy between the figures for 1882 here and those for 1880 which are given by Ziman, but it does not seem to be of great significance. Gurevich and Gertz do not present figures about the number of towns for the Ottoman period.

43. Encyclopaedia Hebraica, Vol. VI, 1957, p. 674. For additional statistical information see Gurevich and Gertz op. cit., esp. pp. 33-120; a more analytical approach is to be found in J. Matras, Social Change in Israel, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1965, pp. 20-32.

44. For the sake of comparison it may be mentioned that the total population of Israel (including Eastern Jerusalem but not other territories occupied in 1967) in the year 1971 was three million, out of which more than two and a half million were Jews.

of absorption in the new country<sup>45</sup>.

With the "First Immigration" began the process of creating a new society<sup>46</sup>. It was a new society in the sense that it was not assimilated into the indigenous population, whether Jewish or non-Jewish, but gradually created its own social structure and institutions<sup>47</sup>, as well as developing its own culture. The process was gradual, since every wave of immigrants added some new components to this emerging society. One should remember that up to 1948, it was not a politically independent society, and therefore could not fully develop all the social institutions which characterise a more or less socially self-sufficient (or total) society. From a purely sociological point of view one could find a resemblance between this society and other societies founded by immigrants from Europe, such as the U.S.A. and the new societies in the former British dominions<sup>48</sup>. Even here, there are many dissimilarities. Comparisons between all these is a venture beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, it seems that if one were required to sum up the uniqueness of Israeli society within the category of societies founded by immigrants, one would have to mention two basic characteristics.

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45. In using these three categories, I follow the framework for analysis of immigration and absorption processes suggested by Eisenstadt. See S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954, Ch. 1. For a sociological analysis of the various waves of Jewish immigration to Palestine, see ibid., Ch. 2, and especially Ch. 3, which contains an analysis of the social traits of the Yishuv in general.

46. It is customary to distinguish five waves of immigration before the Establishment of the State. For statistical details and sociological analysis of these waves, see J. Matras, op.cit.; S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants (op.cit.), Ch. 2 and Israeli Society (op.cit.) pp. 13-33. The political implications of the various waves of immigration ("Aliyot" in Hebrew) will be present throughout the whole study.

47. Earlier I refrained from using the concept "social institutions" and preferred "Institutional spheres" instead. This practice will be followed whenever possible. In the meantime reference has already been made to the "National Institutions", namely to concrete organisations and units. This is the common, day-to-day use of the concept. On the other hand, the sociological use of the concept has a different meaning, namely "a recognised normative pattern" (Harry M. Johnson, Sociology, New-York Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1960, p.22). The dynamic aspect of social institutions is the process of institutionalisation, which is a key concept in every analysis of development and change. See, Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, New-Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1968, p. 12 (the definition as well as footnote No.7). See also the discussion as well as note 23 in the following chapter.

48. I have in mind here Canada, Australia and New Zealand.



The first is the relationship between the creation of a new society in a new (old) territory and the ideology of national revival of a dispersed people. The second point is the existence of a cognitive awareness of the fact that this new society, anchored as it was in history as well as in the traditions in which its founders were reared, was not intended to be a continuation of these, but to represent a revolutionary change in the history and social structure of the Jewish people. The concept of innovation is therefore a key concept in this context. To revert to the present for a moment, one may say that things which started as innovations, have become institutionalised with the growth of the society, and have already begun to symbolise stagnation and conservatism. This is, generally speaking, what has happened to some of the early revolutionary innovations which characterised the Yishuv for many years.

The history of the Yishuv too is beyond the scope of this study. In fact there is no scholarly authoritative history of the Yishuv, although some aspects of it have been carefully studied<sup>49</sup>. The English reader can find general descriptions, among others, in the books of Eisenstadt<sup>50</sup>, Fein<sup>51</sup> and Kleinberger<sup>52</sup>. In Hebrew there is a somewhat popular book, which nevertheless is based on scholarly material and is the common enterprise of economists and historians of the Hebrew University<sup>53</sup>. The most comprehensive book seems, however, to be Sefer Toldot HaHagana (see footnote 49), which presents a detailed and broad background, even if its main subject is more specific<sup>54</sup>.

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49. E.g. The History of Jewish Land Settlement in Palestine - Alex Bein, The Return to the Soil, Jerusalem, Youth and Hechalutz Department of the Zionist Organisation, 1952; and the Monumental History of the Jewish Official (underground) Defence Organisation, four volumes of which have already been published (Ben-Zion Dinour, Chief Editor); Sefer Toldot HaHagana (Heb. The History of the Hagana), published by the HaSifria HaTzionit and Maarachot, 1955, 1959, 1963.

50. Israeli Society, (op.cit.) pp. 1-58; The Absorption of Immigrants (op.cit.), Chs. 2, 3.

51. Leonard J. Fein: Politics in Israel (op.cit.), pp. 9-37.

52. Aharon F. Kleinberger, Society, Schools and Progress in Israel, (op.cit.)

53. Szereszewski et al. Me'a Shana Veod Esrin (Heb. A Hundred Years Plus Twenty), op.cit.

54. See also Encyclopaedia Hebraica, Vol. VI, which deals entirely with Palestine ("Eretz-Israel"); for the History of Palestine from Antiquity up to the Present see pp. 247-607. For the period of the 19th Century and the 20th Century up to the establishment of Israel, see pp. 498-569.

It was not merely political and economic events which led to the development of the Yishuv as a potentially viable independent society. The pioneers of the First Aliya<sup>55</sup> founded the first Jewish rural settlements in Palestine<sup>56</sup>, and these settlements developed their own pattern of life - culture, organisation, education, etc. With the increase in the number of settlements, a distinctive social and cultural "sub-system" emerged not only in relation to what even may be defined as the "inclusive society", (viz the Ottoman Empire or parts of it) but also in relation to the indigenous Jewish population. Germs of "rebellion" were now appearing in the old Yishuv itself. The first settlers of Petach-Tikva (see n. 56), although not considering themselves and not being considered by their original community as deviants were nevertheless innovators. The same applies to founders of new Jewish quarters outside the walls of the old city of Jerusalem, whose aim was not to break with the tradition of the Old Yishuv<sup>57</sup>. The "leaders" of the "rebellion" were several professional people, journalists and others, who either were born in the Jerusalem community, or settled there after immigrating to Palestine. One of the most famous of these was Eliezer Ben-Yehuda<sup>58</sup> who is known popularly as the man who "revived" the

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55. Aliya - Heb. literally: ascent. This term has long been in use in Hebrew vocabulary to describe the immigration (of Jews) to Israel (and formerly Palestine). Pl: Aliyot. A Jew who immigrates to Israel, or "ascends" is an Oleh (pl: Olim). The term for emigration is "Yerida" (descent) the emigrants are, therefore, "descenders". The ideology behind this vocabulary is self-evident. The official title of the Ministry of Absorption is "Absorption of Olim". The first wave of immigration is called the "First Aliya", etc.

56. In fact the first rural settlement was an agricultural school, founded by a French-Jewish organisation, Alliance Israelite Universelle, in the year 1870. See Yosef Shapiro, Me'a Shana Mikveh-Israel (Heb. A Century of Mikveh-Israel), Tel-Aviv, Tarbut VeHinuch, 1970. The first Jewish village or "colony" as this pattern of settlement was called ("Moshava" in Hebrew), was founded in 1878 by a group from the "Old Yishuv" in Jerusalem. After several years however another group of immigrants joined them. In this respect, there is a certain continuity between the Old Yishuv and the new one, although this was an exceptional case at that time. See D. Weintraub et al., Moshava, Kibbutz and Moshav, Cornell University Press, 1969, pp. 32 ff.

57. One of these quarters - Me'a She'arim has been for many years now the centre and symbol of extreme religious orthodoxy in Israel. See Avraham B. Rivlin: Yerushalayim - Toldot HaYishuv HaIvri BaMe'a Ha-19, (Heb. Jerusalem, History of the Jewish Community in the 19th Century), Tel-Aviv, Alef, 1966; Y. Press: Me'a Shana BiYerushalayim, (Heb. A Hundred Years in Jerusalem), Jerusalem, Rubin Mass, 1964.

58. See, S. Spigler, Hebrew Reborn, New York, 1962; R. St. John, Tongue of Prophets: The Life Story of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, New York, Doubleday, 1952; E. Ben-Yehuda, Hallalom VeShivro (Heb. The Dream and its Fulfilment), Jerusalem, 1942.

Hebrew language. For many centuries the Hebrew language had been mainly used by the Jews for prayers and religious studies and not as a popular vernacular, although from the Eighteenth Century attempts had been made in Europe by various Hebrew writers to transform the language at least into a modern literary one. The daily language in the Old Yishuv was not Hebrew. Those whose origin was in Europe, spoke Yiddish, while those whose origins were in the Islamic countries used either a Jewish-Spanish dialect or Arabic. Hebrew was considered as the "holy language". The enterprise of Ben-Yehuda and similarly minded individuals had a double meaning (a) in the context of "traditionalism - modernisation" - the transformation of the Hebrew language into a modern spoken vernacular, the use of which was even considered a negation of the traditional culture of the Old Yishuv; (b) in the cultural context of "national building", the revival of the Hebrew language produced a common language for a society which was composed of immigrants from various countries with dozens of different mother tongues. At times there was a language conflict in the Yishuv (besides a reluctance on the part of some immigrants to give up the use of their mother tongues), but this was not of the type which is to be found in some modern states (e.g. Belgium) or in many developing countries (where the usual solution is simply to continue using the language of the former colonial power as the official common language)<sup>59</sup>. Again, while the whole matter cannot be discussed here, it nevertheless seems that no political analysis can ignore the fact that by succeeding in instituting the Hebrew language as the only common language of this community of immigrants at quite an early stage of its development, the road was paved for cultural creativity and the development of an educational system for this whole community<sup>60</sup>. From another angle, the use of the Hebrew language became a national symbol. In the mandatory

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59. In this respect the case of the Republic of Ireland is quite illuminating. The Irish nationalist movement was one of the most active and militant in modern history, and nevertheless they have failed to revive their language. (See, Basil Chubb, The Government and Politics of Ireland, (1970) London, Oxford University Press, pp. 32-33, 44ff.). Maybe it was not required for the process of nation-building. On the other hand, the Jews in Israel were resolute in this respect, since revival of the language had a symbolic and ideological meaning. Various peoples in Europe, who lacked independence for a long period still retained their national languages - e.g. the Czechs, the Lithuanians, etc.

60. The "conflict of languages" in the Yishuv can be summed up briefly as follows: (1) Religious extreme-orthodox elements were against the use of Hebrew as a secular language; (2) the "New-Yishuv" in general had opposed the institution of higher education institutes, the language of teaching in which was not to be Hebrew; (3) various elements, especially those which maintained the tradition of the early (Marxist) Zionist socialism, favoured the continuation of the use of the Yiddish language, which from their point of view, was the language of the "masses of the Jewish proletariat". They were opposed bitterly by the dominant element in the growing Labour movement in the Yishuv.

period, Hebrew became one of the three official languages of Palestine (although the third in the order of seniority - after English and Arabic), and insistence upon the use of Hebrew, say in correspondence with governmental departments, did not lack nationalist motives.

The revival of the Hebrew language was followed by the beginnings of an indigenous Hebrew culture, which was not just a continuation of older Jewish cultures in the diaspora. While absorbing elements of these older cultures and folklores, as well as elements of western culture in general, the culture of the Yishuv became peculiar to this community, and distinguished it not only from other communities in Palestine, but also from other Jewish communities abroad.

Cultural creativity was one aspect of the process of institution-building (i.e. the process of becoming a distinctive viable society) within the Yishuv. One finds parallel developments in other institutional spheres: creation of a Yishuv economy, a Yishuv "polity", etc.

#### 5. "Knesset-Israel": The Organisation of the Yishuv

Several attempts to form an overall organisation of the Yishuv, particularly the "New-Yishuv", took place before the first world war. Only the renewed efforts, following the British occupation and the conviction that the Yishuv was becoming the germ of the "Jewish National Home", brought to the formation of such an organisation, which was named "Knesset-Israel". However, membership in "Knesset-Israel" was by no means compulsory. According to its constitution, which was formally ratified by the mandatory government in the year 1927<sup>61</sup>, any Jew who did not wish to be a member had to take steps to ensure that his name was dropped from the register (it was especially the extreme orthodox elements in the Yishuv

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61. Published in the Palestine Official Gazette No. 202 (1st January 1928) various amendments - the Palestine Official Gazettes No. 427 (15th March 1934); No. 663 (28th January 1937); No. 749 (13th January 1938); No. 834 (24th November 1938). The regulation concerning the composition of and system of elections to the "Assembly of the Representatives" were published in the Official Gazette No. 254 (1st March 1930). See, M. Attias, Knesset Israel Be Eretz-Israel (Heb. Knesset-Israel in Palestine), Jerusalem, HaVaad-HaLeumi, 1944, pp. 232-242; Moshe Burstein, Self Government of the Jews in Palestine Since 1900, Tel-Aviv, 1934, pp. 139-141. There was no similar organisation in the Arab community (as an ethnic-national community), or among Moslems or Christians (as religious communities).

who imposed pressure upon the mandatory government to secure this arrangement<sup>62</sup>.

"Knesset-Israel" was an overall national organisation. It was composed of local units or communities (Heb. Kehila, pl. Kehilot). The whole idea behind this structure was to establish a kind of Jewish autonomy in Palestine<sup>63</sup>. Elections were held to the central "Assembly of Representatives" as well as to councils of local communities (Heb. Vaad-Kehila, pl. Vaadei Kehilot). In towns of mixed population these Vaadei Kehilot were officially considered as the representatives of the Jewish population, and had a statutory power. In the small rural settlements as well as the towns which were populated only by Jews, the municipal council or its equivalent fulfilled also the function of Vaad Hakhila. The whole organisation of "Knesset-Israel" never in fact developed into a powerful structure. It did not have many functions in the sphere of social development. As a political representative of the Yishuv, its supreme organ - HaVaad-HaLeumi (the National Council) was overshadowed by the Jewish Agency, while in other spheres, organisations such as the Histadrut (see below - Section 7), various political parties and other voluntary associations and in some cases local units (e.g. the municipality of Tel-Aviv), did not leave it much room for activity. Nevertheless, the whole idea of a recognised semi-autonomous Jewish community in Palestine was embodied in "Knesset-Israel" and its organs. As a result a network of "systems of action" (to use a Parsonian phrase) came into existence, the boundaries of which were almost totally within the framework of the Yishuv. These "systems of action" became manifest by the activities of and inter-relationships between various groups and organisations formed in the Yishuv.

## 6. The "Palestinian Triangle"

It would be misleading to come to the conclusion that the Yishuv was entirely isolated from its environment. Even independent states are not isolated, not only in the sense that they have some relationship with other collectivities, such as other states, international organisations, etc., but also in the sense that private individuals may have relationships with individuals in other states (e.g. membership of international learned societies, etc.). Since the Yishuv was not an independent state, but a

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62. Moshe Attias, op.cit., pp. 66-70; M. Burstein, op.cit., pp. 159 ff.

63. M. Attias, op.cit., pp. 71-105; M. Burstein, op.cit., Part 3 and esp. pp. 222 ff.

community with a strong national identity, one should not be surprised to find two contradictory processes in simultaneous development. On the one hand, there developed a strong awareness of the potential vulnerability of the Yishuv, and measures had therefore to be taken in order to safeguard its distinctive identity and coherence (something like "pattern-maintenance" - a Parsonian concept, but a different meaning here)<sup>64</sup>. On the other hand there were situations in which objective conditions ruled out complete segregation of the Yishuv, and made it dependent upon external factors. After all, there was a Palestinian state under a British mandate, and although the Yishuv tried to prevent the intervention of the mandatory administration in its internal affairs, it nevertheless developed within the framework of the mandatory state, and could not expect the Palestine government to be totally impotent. One has to remember in this context that a special relationship between the Yishuv (or to be more precise - the Zionist Organisation<sup>65</sup>) and the mandatory power has been defined by the League of Nations in the terms of the Mandate. This is the famous Article 4 which runs as follows:

"An appropriate Jewish Agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may effect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist Organisation, so long as its organisation and constitution are in the opinion of the mandatory appropriate, shall be recognised as such an agency ...."

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64. The following case is typical. Several years after the establishment of Israel, an elderly disturbed woman in one kibbutz, moved by jealousy, poisoned the food of some children in the nursery. The kibbutz, however, preferred to deal with the matter as an "internal" problem, instead of referring it to the legal authorities. This pattern of handling issues was dominant during the Yishuv period, and when this case was publicised, the kibbutz was severely criticised, for not being aware of the fact that "times have changed since the Mandate Period".

65. The Yishuv as such was not a part of the Zionist Organisation (representatives of HaVaad HaLeumi had been however co-opted to the Zionist Council the Actions Committee). It was a Jewish community with its own organisation and elected organs, and was composed of people who opposed the Zionist Organisation too. Only with the British occupation and the Mandate did the Zionist Organisation become the recognised representative of the Jewish people at large in all matters concerning the development of the "National Home", viz the Yishuv. Naturally the majority of members of the Yishuv were Zionists, and there was a division of labour, as well as co-operation, between the Zionist Executive and the Yishuv's National Council, the first more powerful both from the point of view of political position and its role in the growth of the Yishuv (through the Zionist funds, etc.). Legally, however, the distinction between the two was maintained until the establishment of the State. Both executives together were referred to in the Yishuv as the "National Institutions".

The Jewish Agency is mentioned in other articles too. Of special importance is Article 6, which runs as follows:

"The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish Agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land....."

These Articles, as well as other Articles of the Mandate, are full of subjects which have later become central in the political conflicts within the Palestinian political "triangle"<sup>66</sup> of British, Arabs and Jews. This complex of issues does not lie within the scope of this study, except in so far as it is reflected in the internal politics of the Yishuv. By citing these two Articles, attention is drawn to the type of relationship which was anticipated by the League of Nations (and Britain) as far as the relationship between the Yishuv and the Administration was concerned. It seems that there was a certain amount of a de facto recognition of the unique position of the Yishuv vis-a-vis both the Palestinian administration and other parts of the population. The fact that the Yishuv, as the nucleus of the "Jewish National Home", was officially represented by the Jewish Agency seems to imply a recognition on the part of the League of Nations and the British of the Agency's position as an authority within the Yishuv.

The Mandatory Government was, of course, the supreme legal authority in Palestine. It had the power to issue laws and to maintain law and order through a judiciary and police system, and it controlled the economy mainly by its monetary and fiscal responsibilities and policies etc. In this respect

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66. This concept is borrowed from the late Dr. Chaim Arlosoroff (1899-1933), an intellectual who was brought up in Germany, emigrated to Palestine in the 'twenties and became one of the leaders of the Mapai. He was elected to the executive of the Jewish Agency in 1931, and became Head of its political department. The mystery of his murder in 1933 has not been solved until this day. See Ch. Arlosoroff, Mivchar Ktavim Upirkei Haim (Heb. Selection of Writings and Phases in Life), Jerusalem, the Zionist Library, 1958, pp. 85-172. Arlosoroff's name will often be mentioned in this study, in the context of party politics in the Yishuv and his role in them as well as in the context of the severe conflict which took place in the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation following his murder.

both individual Jews and Arabs came under the jurisdiction of the Mandatory administration; the same applies to various "national" systems and units, such as local government. In this last case, dealt with from another angle in a later chapter,<sup>66a</sup> the whole system, and its formal patterns of functioning, were instituted by legislation of the administration. In this respect, at least, the administration was a "partner" of the Yishuv internal bodies, in running the whole system (e.g. mayors, although elected by municipal councils, took office only after being appointed officially by the British High Commissioner, who in many cases "not only reigned but also ruled"). The annual budgets of the municipalities, decided upon by their elected councils, required the approval of the British District Commissioner, etc.

This is not a study of the Yishuv from the point of view of the structure of the Palestinian mandatory state<sup>67</sup>. Generally speaking, however, it seems worthwhile to note that the British were faced here with a very unique situation. It seems that in most so-called "colonial situations" the British preferred to run the territories' affairs in matters of general economic policy, maintenance of law and order, etc., without interfering too much with the internal ways of life of the "traditional" indigenous populations. The same is true as far as the Arab population in Palestine was concerned. The Yishuv, on the other hand, posed a different problem. It was a community which "by definition" was to grow under the British rule, in an extremely different way from the Arab population: it was a manifestation of a nationalist movement (Cf. for instance the Indian nationalist movement). But in India the nationalist movement sought independence, while the Jewish nationalist movement was still engaged with the task of creating the society, on behalf of which independence would be claimed); and finally there developed not only the contradiction between the Jewish and Arab national aspirations, but also entirely different social and political structures of these communities, with the Jewish community even developing not only as a community within a state, but also as a "state within a state".

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66a See the discussion of the "Ezrachim" in Chapter 5 (the last three sections)

67. See in particular, B. Joseph, British Rule in Palestine, Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1958; J. Marlowe: The Seat of Pilate, London Cresset Press, 1959; on the early years of the Mandate see, Elie Kedourie, The Chatham House Version and Other Middle-Eastern Studies (Chapter 4, "Sir Herbert Samuel and the Government of Palestine"), London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970.



It would, however, be totally misleading to conclude that the Yishuv was immune from the intervention of the various administrative and legal agencies of the Mandatory power in its internal affairs. The activities of these agencies were not always considered desirable from the point of view of the Yishuv's aspirations, and attempts at avoiding external interference were constantly made. On the other hand, many situations could be described as "neutral", and therefore saved Yishuv resources (funds, manpower, etc.) for other activities which were considered important for its social and economic growth. In fact, the best term to describe the aims of the Yishuv (as the concrete embodiment of Zionist ideology) is institutional growth and expansion<sup>68</sup>.

The third component of the "triangle" was the Arab population. Although Jews and Arabs formed two separate communities, there were contacts between members of the two groups. Using a somewhat technical terminology, one may distinguish two types of relationships - hierarchical<sup>C</sup> and symmetrical.

The best example for hierarchical<sup>C</sup> relations is the employment of Arabs by Jews as manual or unskilled labourers, mainly as farmhands in the colonies (Moshavot). With the exception of marginal cases, the whole problem of the employment of Arab workers in the Jewish sector became an issue within the Yishuv and aroused many conflicts, the motivations of which were anchored in interests as well as ideologies. Since these conflicts were reflected in the internal politics of the Yishuv, the whole subject will later be referred to in more detail (in Chapter 4, Section 7). The outbreak of hostilities in the country in the year 1936, however, brought the issue to its "natural end". When hostilities ended, towards the outbreak of World War II, there was no lack of employment in Palestine, and the whole issue was not revived.

One note in this respect seems relevant at this stage. Had these hierarchical<sup>C</sup> relationships between Jews and Arabs become a dominant feature in Palestine, they might have resulted not only in the formation of a colonial society with "white" settlers as masters and employers, and the indigenous population as the lower stratum, but from another angle it might have put obstacles in the way of the Yishuv as a developing self-sustained

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68. I use the term "expansion" in a very cautious way. It has nothing to do in this context with the alleged "expansionist" policies attributed to Israel and Zionism by their enemies and opponents. "Expansionism" here means developing the society by adding new spheres of activity to it (see the discussion of "institutional spheres" above, p.52 and n. 47.). During the mandatory period, land settlement in various parts of Palestine was included within this "expansionist" policy, as well as increasing the size of the Jewish population by immigration. The essence of this concept is, however, in the context of "institutional growth".

society<sup>69</sup>.

The symmetrical relationships took place in various spheres of commerce, co-operation between groups with common interests, co-operation in the running of municipal affairs in the few mixed towns (which were nevertheless composed of separate Jewish and Arab quarters) etc. There were also relations on a less formal level, e.g. mutual visits of inhabitants of neighbouring settlements and even cases of mixed marriages.

By and large, however, not many close and stable personal relationships existed between Jews and Arabs. Cordial relations could exist between people who shared, say, a common profession (e.g. doctor or lawyer), and these might have even developed into more amicable ones under more or less "normal" conditions, even in a situation of divided loyalties and goal-orientations. The fact, however, that the country was thrown from time to time into inter-communal hostilities, served as an obstacle even in the various cases of good will at the personal level.

Common interests, as mentioned above, sometimes brought Jews and Arabs into co-operation. This applies for instance to the growers of citrus fruits, the main export of Palestine. Occasionally in small scale industries and commercial enterprises partnerships were formed. Unfortunately, this interesting subject has not yet been studied systematically. The impression that day-to-day co-operation was much more intensive than is usually thought, may not be entirely unbiased. Had it even been so, the basic fact still remains, namely that the Yishuv developed as a separate society, building its own network of institutions, organisations and culture<sup>70</sup>. The Arab community followed a very different pattern of development in all these respects, not to mention its initial basic differences.

Much has been said by various writers about the "future", "collectivistic" and "goal" orientations which characterised the development of the Yishuv<sup>71</sup>,

69. On the other hand, one can claim that by promoting such a slogan as "Jewish Labour", and making an ideology out of it, the gap between Jews and Arabs had been made wider. See for instance the discussion of this issue in A. Elon's recently published book, The Israelis: Founders and Sons, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.

70. For an economic analysis, which leads to a similar conclusion, see R. Szereszewsky, Essays on the Structure of the Jewish Economy in Palestine and Israel, Jerusalem, The Falk Institute, 1968, pp. 1-25.

71. See for instance, Dan Horowitz, "Bein Chevra Halutzit LeKechol HaGoyim" (Heb. A Society of Pioneers or an Ordinary One?) Molad, Vol. 19, No. 146-7 (1960), pp. 413-431; S.N. Eisenstadt, "Israeli Identity: Problems of the Development of the Collective Identity in an Ideological Society" in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, No. 370 (March 1967), pp. 116-123; S.N. Eisenstadt, Israeli Society (op.cit.), pp. 16-20; 21-22; 44-45.

and this need not be repeated here, but should be borne in mind. The institution of Jewish transportation co-operatives, for instance, was not done solely to meet daily needs - which could be met in one case or another by other means - but it was considered necessary for what was referred to above as "institutional expansion". This ideology and practice of "institutional expansion" was carried on in various directions. It started with rural settlement and "return to the soil"<sup>72</sup>, and included such activities as training people to become manual labourers on the one hand, and the foundation of embryonic Jewish merchant shipping and airlines on the other. (The present Israel National Merchant Navy Company, ZIM, was founded several years before the establishment of the State, by the Jewish Agency and the Histadrut - the Jewish General Federation of Labour).

The process of development and institutional expansion created quite a diversified society. Although in relation to the Arab community and to the Palestinian Mandatory State, it constituted a distinct entity, its growth meant among other things a growing potential of internal conflicting interests and orientations - a situation quite familiar in any developed society. One of the great achievements of the Yishuv was that by and large it succeeded in developing its own mechanisms for the management of conflicts. How this was done is one of the main themes of this study.

## 7. The Histadrut

No discussion of the Yishuv is complete, general as it may be, without mentioning the Histadrut, the General Federation of Labour, reference to which has already been made. A detailed analysis of the Histadrut could supply material for many research projects.<sup>73</sup> As one of the main instruments in the process of social growth in general and in the sphere of party-politics in the Yishuv in particular, it will be discussed in relevant contexts.

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72. A. Bein, The Return to the Soil: A History of Jewish Settlement in Israel, Jerusalem, The Zionist Organisation (Youth and HeChalutz Department), 1959; D. Weintraub et al., Moshava, Kibbutz and Moshav, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1969, Chapter 1.

73. Besides the standard histories of the Labour Movement in Hebrew (those of Braslawski and Resenstein-Even-Shushan), there are many publications which deal specifically with the Histadrut. Some of these are mentioned in the Bibliography. For general accounts in English, see in particular, G. Muenzner, Jewish Labour Economy in Palestine, London, Gallancz, 1946; G. Muenzner, Labor Enterprise in Palestine (A Handbook of Histadrut Institutions), New York, Sharon Books, 1947. Margaret L. Plunkett, "The Histadrut: The General Federation of Jewish Labour in Israel" in Industrial and Labour Relations Review, Vol. 2 (1958); pp. 155-182; N. Malkosh, Histadrut in Israel, Tel-Aviv, The Histadrut, 1962; W. Preuss, The Labour Movement in Israel, Jerusalem, Rubin Mass, 1965.

Founded in the year 1920 by the two Zionist Labour parties which then existed in the Yishuv, and with a membership of about 4,500, it became on the eve of the establishment of the state an organisation, membership of which was more than 175,000 out of about 420,000 adults (over 18) in the Yishuv, i.e. over 40%<sup>74</sup>. As is self-evident from these figures, it was the largest organisation in the Yishuv. Numbers are not always the most significant factor, but in this case it was not merely the size of membership which turned the Histadrut into the major organisation in the Yishuv. In a way it became a "community within a community" in the Yishuv, as the Yishuv was a "state within a state" in Palestine. The Histadrut was a centralised organisation of trade unions (proper) and a framework into which most of the Jewish settlements in Palestine were affiliated. It became the dominant organisation in the labour exchange system in the Yishuv, virtually controlled the Hagana, the defence organisation of the Yishuv, and owned the largest contractual enterprise in the Yishuv ("Solel-Boneh")<sup>75</sup>, as well as some important industrial enterprises. The large co-operatives in the Yishuv such as the transportation co-operatives were affiliated to it and it had its social security and medical services, and elementary educational system, cultural activities and restaurants, etc. Its first Secretary General was David Ben-Gurion, first Prime Minister of Israel. Its last Secretary General before the establishment of the state, Y. Sprintzak, was the first Speaker of the Knesset. The representative of the Histadrut among those who presented the Jewish case before the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry on Palestine (1946) was Mrs. Golda Mayerson (now Mrs. Meir, Prime Minister of Israel), while Z. Rubashov (now Shazar, President of Israel) represented the Histadrut in giving evidence to the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine (1947).

There were some other important organisations in the Yishuv, too, and some of them either took part directly, or were related to party-political activity. Examples of such organisations are the Federation of Industrialists, the Federations of Farmers, the Federation of Nationalist-Workers, the "Civic-Union" etc. Some of these, as well as other organisations, will be mentioned in the discussion of party-politics in the Yishuv in the relevant contexts (in Chapter 5 in particular).

74. B. Gil, "HaMivneh HaDemography Shel HaHistadrut" (Heb. The Demographical Structure of the Histadrut) in the Anthology Bishnat HaShloshim (Heb. In the 30th Year), published by the Executive Committee of the Histadrut, Tel-Aviv, 1951, p.3.

75. The "saga" of Solel-Boneh, and the story of the development of the "Workers Economy" in general, are being told vividly in the autobiography of one of the leading figures in this sphere of activity, Hillel Dan, who was, for many years, Director General of Solel-Boneh. See, H. Dan, BeDerech Lo Slula (Heb. On an Unpaved Road), Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, Schocken, 1963.

Although some of these organisations did not confine themselves to one sphere of activity, but developed multi-dimensional structure, on the analogy of the Histadrut, they nevertheless lagged behind the Histadrut in the scope of their activity, membership, organisation, internal social control and, of course, power within Yishuv.

From the 'thirties onwards the centre of power in the Zionist Organisation moved gradually from the diaspora to the Yishuv, and the party-politics within the Yishuv dominated the political arena of the World Zionist Organisation. On the other hand, those groups in the Yishuv, which were able to secure a backing from Zionist branches in various countries in the diaspora, not only gained support and strengthened their power in the Zionist Organisation, but also had a manpower reservoir of potential immigrants to Palestine. The more a group in the Yishuv was organised and effective, the easier it was for it to absorb the newcomers within its ranks, and further to strengthen its position in the Yishuv.

The result of all this was that the Histadrut emerged as the most powerful organisation in the Yishuv, and in fact in the Zionist Organisation at large. Ruled by Mapai since this party was formed (1930), it gave Mapai an unparalleled power position, which had its impact not only on the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation, but also on Israeli politics up to the present day.

PART IITHE MAJOR PARTIES: BACKGROUND AND GROWTHCHAPTER 3Party Politics and Political Parties  
in the Pre-State Era1. Aims and Structure of this Part

The first two chapters of this dissertation presented a general introduction to the study of the emergence of parties in Israel, following a general presentation of the Israeli party-system as it is nowadays. The discussion was focused on the general frameworks out of which this system emerged. The problem, as it posed itself, was not that of the unification of a totally fragmented political framework in a given territory, nor that of mobilising the social-geographical periphery. It was rather a problem of absorbing into a unified system of various political units, which had emerged under different conditions, and developed patterns and formations different from one another.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss briefly the general nature of party-politics in the Yishuv, and to examine its relationship to the types of political formations which carried on the "game of politics". In this respect this short chapter will serve as an introduction to the four following chapters (Nos. 4,5,6,7) which will deal with the main political formations which are (or were) active in the scene. The aim of this chapter is, therefore limited. There will be no systematic presentation according to problem areas at this stage. This will be left to the concluding chapter, once some of the major cleavages and concrete political formations and events have been presented. This procedure has been adopted in order to avoid generalisations and abstractions before the "raw material" is presented. At the same time, an attempt will be made to discuss, in the light of the material presented in the second chapter, some theoretical issues raised in the first chapter, concerning cleavages and parties in general. This procedure has been adopted in order to take one step forward in the direction of applying general concepts to the particular context of the pre-state Yishuv-Zionist politics.

2. Social Conditions and Party-Politics in the Yishuv

The general idea behind the presentation in Chapter 2 was that the

whole sphere of party-policies in the Yishuv developed as an integral part of the overall process of its institutional growth. The structure of this sphere, the patterns of action which characterised it and the various groups which were active in it, were all related to the general conditions as well as to the trends of development of the Yishuv. The immediate "environment" of the Yishuv could be defined by the "triangle" of mandatory Palestine. At the same time, however, the Yishuv formed a part of another collectivity, which was not defined in territorial concepts, viz the Jewish people all over the world. The main institutional linking unit between the Yishuv and world Jewry, but not the only one, was the Zionist Organisation. The whole complex of relationships between the Yishuv and the world Zionist Organisation, as well as other world organisations, is reflected to a great extent in the political spheres of these collectivities. The acquisition of political power was, generally speaking, a result of combined political activity in the various frameworks which proved themselves relevant to the process of the institutional growth of the Yishuv. Political activity in the narrow sense of the word was not, however, sufficient for the acquisition of political power. An important prerequisite in this respect was the ability to control the units of the growing society and direct their development. The problem of resources and their acquisition comes into the picture here.

The whole power system constantly feeds the growing institutional structure and in return is fed by it. Those power units which were able (not accidentally, of course, as will be shown throughout this study) to control the junctions of these feed-back systems, emerged as the dominant ones in the growing society. Attention should be paid, therefore, to the properties of the various units which competed for power, especially those which proved themselves successful in this respect.

The way in which things have so far been presented, leads to the core of the problem, viz the characteristics and properties of the units which were active in the sphere of party-politics; the issues and cleavages which "fed" it and the way it dealt with them, and the problem of instituting an authority in a new, stateless society. All these subjects are directly related to the phenomenon of the emergence of a dominant party in the Yishuv (note: dominant although not a majority), Mapai, which was later "inherited" by the State of Israel. Here again Mapai was not only a product of the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation, but was at the same time the party which had a formative influence on the growth of the whole party-system and its properties, and upon the process of the institutionalisation of the political system in the transition from the Yishuv to the State of Israel.

It was demonstrated in the previous chapters that the party system of the State of Israel did not emerge from previously institutionalised system of parties. Hence, cleavages in the Yishuv were not totally transformed into a defined party system. The "units" which took part in the various cleavages were, therefore, of a "mixed nature", namely political parties as well as other types of power formations. The main "units" will be discussed in the following chapters in their own right and, due to the fact that their absorption in the Israeli party system is one aspect of the overall process of the social and political transformation of the Yishuv. One of the achievements which accompanied the establishment of the State was the institutionalisation of a unified party system and the institutionalisation of party-political activities and relations, in the sense that those parties and groups which were formerly in one way or another outside the Yishuv's political framework, now joined it. This applies particularly to the present Herut party, part of the present Liberal party (remembering that Herut and the Liberals now compose the Gahal bloc), the Agudat-Israel parties and the Communist Party (now parties). A detailed analysis of most of these parties, their policies and position in the party politics of the Yishuv will be presented in the following chapters. At this stage, it seems worthwhile to draw attention to the following: (a) even those parties which were defined in the Yishuv period as dissident or partially dissident parties and groupings, are now within the system and utilise it as a framework for participation in the various cleavages, mobilisation of support, and presentation of demands and policies. In this case they differ from underground or semi-underground movements as well as revolutionary protest movements, whose aim is to come into power through "direct appeal" to the masses; (b) in order to be absorbed within the system, structural changes were required in at least certain of these parties. In fact, some changes were required also, in one way or another, in the Yishuv "party system" parties too, since the transformation to statehood had created new conditions. The social background, type of organisation, scope of interests, patterns and spheres of activities differed from one party to another. All these were of course reflected in the complicated structure of internal party politics in the Yishuv. With the institution of a central government and binding "rules of the game", parties had to adapt themselves to the new conditions. Some parties were more prepared, as far as their various properties were concerned, to function under the new conditions, while others had to adapt themselves, through a process of internal transformation. The various changes in the map of the political parties during the first twenty-three



years of statehood are just one of the manifestations of this problem. Although this study does not deal specifically with the dynamics of the party system during the period since the establishment of Israel, the analysis of the "official" party system in the Yishuv and the various parties and groups, which were outside this system, presents a general idea not only of the differences between parties, but also, implicitly, of the problems of transformation which later faced them. It is worthy of passing mention that some parties, which were within the framework of the "Organised Yishuv" and the Zionist Organisation, have faced more problems in this respect than parties which were outside this framework. E.g. the "Aliya Hadasha" party of the late Yishuv period (see Chapter 5, Section 5) as compared with the typical outside-system Communist Party.

In Section 5 of this chapter, an attempt will be made to explain more precisely the concept of "political party", as it is used in this study. This whole issue is very difficult as far as the context of the Yishuv is concerned, and the material which will be presented in Chapters 4-7 will give some idea of this difficulty. Even at this stage, concepts such as "party", "political group", etc. are being used side by side, since not every group which took part in political life (even in elections), could be defined as a political party. A political party is a structured unit which has certain characteristics or properties. In a fully institutionalised situation (in a modern national state in particular) the "game of politics" is played by such parties. The parties form a system, and this system may include parties of various types. What is referred to as the "game of politics" viz the competition for power in a society and the clash of interest and ideologies in terms of attempts to acquire support and power position, is in a broader sense the sphere of "party politics" in the society. Let us therefore distinguish between "party politics" (which may be traced in various social structures - from the nation-state down to local communities, organisations, tribes, etc.) and "political parties" which are a certain type of "collective actor" in the sphere of party politics<sup>1</sup>. In the Yishuv "party political" activity was characterised by the fact that various competing political elites did not have "political parties" behind them. Nevertheless, they took part in this "game of politics". This fact, of course, turned the whole "game of politics" into a very complicated series of processes, as demonstrated in subsequent chapters.

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1. See the preliminary discussion of this subject at the beginning of Ch.1 of this study, as well as of n.4 in that chapter.

### 3. Some Methodological Problems

There are at least two ways of tracing the origins of the Israeli party system. One is to present developments according to historical sequence. This requires the listing of the various parties and politically oriented groups, followed by a description of their histories, including unification with other groups, splits and in some cases disappearance from the political map altogether or absorption within other units. By using the dimension of time, the story would lead to the various present day parties. The other way is to take the present parties which compose the system as a point of departure, and retrace the history of each party. The aim of this chapter and the four following is to supply some general idea and basic data, without going yet into a systematic analysis. This limitation has two reasons: (a) a systematic analysis requires more information about the political culture, the issues of the cleavages and the mechanisms which regulated the political struggle; (b) it would be difficult to present such information without first identifying the main formations in the "field". These formations (parties, groups, etc.) certainly have their roots in the issues which formed the basis for cleavages. One has nevertheless to start from a certain point, and the only way this can be done is by presenting partial information, with the idea of integrating it into an inclusive picture at a later stage (in the concluding Chapter, No.8). The simplest method is to begin with this general historical sketch. As to the earlier problem presented, viz where to commence, a middle line will be taken. The broad classification presented in the first chapter will be taken as a point of departure, and historical developments will be traced within each group or category. There will, however, be some exceptions since parties which are marginal to the whole system will not receive further treatment (e.g. the Communist parties and HaOlam-Hazeh).

Even so, one should be aware of two difficulties: (a) the fact that there was a certain lack of congruence between parties and politically orientated groups in the Yishuv and those in the Zionist Organisation, and some cases had no congruence at all; (b) the fact that certain types of politically oriented groups which existed in the Yishuv, no longer appear in the present map of parties in the state, without having been absorbed as such within any particular party. The best examples in this respect are the ethnic lists and semi parties of the Yishuv period (with one exception - that of the "New Immigration" ("Aliya Hadasha" party of the 'forties, which can still be distinguished among the components of the present Independent-Liberals).

Finally, in the following discussion of the parties, there will be a place for extensive discussion of all aspects of the internal dynamics of each party. One should bear in mind, however, that in some cases (some of which will be mentioned), internal problems and processes within parties (and here Mapai is at the head of any list) were crucial to the whole political development in the Yishuv (and in the State of Israel - e.g. the Lavon Affair). Nevertheless, some of the main internal issues will be mentioned, especially in such cases as origins of splits which led to the formation of new parties, the background of particularly important problems which had their impact upon the party as a whole, etc. On the other hand, groups which played a considerable role in the Yishuv's politics, without being organised as parties, will not be omitted. In some cases such groups formed "power centres" which became important factors in the whole structure of party politics of the Yishuv (e.g. the "Citizens" or "Ezra" in some of the major municipalities).

#### 4. The Concept of "Party" and the Context of the Yishuv

It is now our task to develop the preliminary discussion concerning the definition of political parties, which was presented in the first section of Chapter 1. It should be recalled that political parties, in the sense of more or less organised groups, which compete for power in order to form a government or participate in it, are the creation of the modern state<sup>1a</sup>. The emphasis in this context is on the word modern. From a historical perspective, parties emerge either in old established states, during the process of political development, or states characterised by indicators of sustained modernisation<sup>2</sup>.

It is interesting to compare the approaches to the study of political parties in modern states and in developing countries. Two typical books which deal with the politics of modern states are those of Duverger<sup>2a</sup> and

1a Maurice Duverger, Political Parties, London, Methuen, 1954, The Introductory Chapter, "The Origins of Parties"; Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation" ("Politik als Beruf", first published in Munich, 1921) in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds): From Max Weber-Essays in Sociology, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1948, esp. pp. 97-114. See also the last section in the essay "Class, Status and Party", ibid. pp. 180-195, and Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner (eds) Political Parties and Political Development, op. cit. (the first paper by the editors and the papers on Western Europe by Hans Daalder and on the U.S.A. by William N. Chambers).

2 Seymour Martin Lipset, The First New Nation, New York, Basic Books, 1963; William Nisbet Chambers, Political Parties in a New Nation-The Australian Experience 1776-1809, New York, Oxford University Press, 1963.

2a M. Duverger, op.cit.

Epstein<sup>3</sup>. Duverger's book was published before an interest in developing countries became so popular, and before the various "developmental" and "modernisation" approaches<sup>4</sup> were formulated, while Epstein's book is quite a recent one. With all the differences in the contents and the mode of presentation, these two books resemble each other in the main issues which they discuss, and are in this respect very different from the studies of political parties which use the developmental approach. Both Duverger and Epstein (and the same applies to various other books on political parties in modern states<sup>5</sup>) deal mainly with the following issues: 1. Party-structures in the formal sense; 2. The dispersion and concentration of power within parties; 3. Problems of recruitment and competition within parties; 4. The party system. The guiding idea is, therefore, that parties are political "firms", the aim of which is to win elections, i.e. to gain achievements in the political "market"<sup>6</sup>. As units or organisations, they are characterised by an internal structure, internal competition, and generally speaking, are the channels for selection of political elites. The treatment of parties within the context of developing countries, while not ignoring these topics, lays emphasis mainly on their functions in the process of nation-building. Taking the book Political Parties and Political Development<sup>7</sup> as a representative one, party systems and party structures are

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3. Leon D. Epstein, Political Parties in Western Democracies, New York, Praeger 1967.

4. See in particular, G.A. Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.) The Politics of Developing Areas, Princeton University Press, 1960; Edward E. Shils, Political Development in the New States, The Hague, Mouton, 1962; G.A. Almond and G.B. Powell, Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach; S.N. Eisenstadt, Modernization: Protest and Change, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1966; M.J. Levy, Modernisation and the Structure of Societies, Princeton University Press. Many scholars have inspired, in one way or another, these approaches. Among them are T. Parson, D. Easton, K. Deutsch and others. It seems to me that the rudiments are in two papers, viz D.F. Aberle et al, "The functional Pre-requisites of a Society" in Ethics, Vol. 60, No. 2 pp. 100-111 (1950) and G.A. Almond, "Comparative Political Systems", The Journal of Politics, Vol. 58, pp. 391-401 (1956). One cannot overpass in this context the series in seven volumes of "studies in Political Development" published during the 'sixties by Princeton University Press.

5. E.g. R.T. McKenzie, British Political Parties, London, Heinemann, 1964 (first edition, 1954); or an earlier book, C.E. Merriam and H.F. Gosnell, The American Party System, New York, Macmillan, 1929.

6. The concepts of "firm" and "market" are derived mainly from Downs (Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy, New York, Harper & Row, 1967). They are used here for the sake of convenience only without attributing to the above mentioned authors the approach to politics, proposed by Downs. The concepts of "political market" is used among others also by Eisenstadt (S.N. Eisenstadt, "Bureaucratization, Markets and Power Structure" in E. Allardt and Y. Littunen, Cleavages, Ideologies and Party Systems (op.cit.))

7. Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner (eds.), op.cit.

approached mainly from the point of view of their impact on political development, and this is presented under five headings, viz 1. Political Participation; 2. Legitimacy; 3. National Integration; 4. Conflict Management; 5. Political Socialisation.<sup>8</sup>

In fact the two "schools" supplement rather than negate each other. Under certain conditions which are more prevalent in developing countries, political parties might be called to serve as instruments in national integration, while in older states this problem has either been solved (relatively speaking) in early periods, or is being dealt with by other mechanisms. The studies of Stein Rokkan, for instance, which deal with problems according to the situation in the "field", serve as a good example of the integration of the two approaches<sup>9</sup>.

The sphere of party politics in the Yishuv presents some problems of a different nature, and therefore requires a different point of departure. This does not, however, mean that the Yishuv cannot be analysed like any other society. In fact, concepts which have been formulated for the analysis of party phenomena in entirely different contexts maybe of some use in the treatment of some of the Yishuv political groupings (e.g. Neumann's concept of "parties of social integration"<sup>10</sup>, or Kirchheimer's concept of "catch-all party"<sup>11</sup>).

A very simple definition of what is meant by a political party is presented by Epstein, who writes<sup>12</sup>: "I have no desire to depart from common understanding. Almost everything that is called a party in any western democratic nation can be so regarded for the present purpose. This means any groups, however loosely organised, seeking to elect governmental office-holders under a given label". If this definition were accepted for the purpose of the present study, then a distorted picture of developments in the Yishuv would emerge. One has, for instance, merely to consider the lists for election to the second "Assembly of the Representatives" of "Knesset-Israel"

8. Ibid. pp. 399-435 (the conclusion by M. Weiner and J. LaPalombara)

9. Stein Rokkan, Citizens Elections Parties, Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1970.

10. Sigmund Neumann (ed.), Modern Political Parties, (op.cit.), pp. 395-421.

11. Otto Kirchheimer, "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems" in J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner, op.cit., pp. 177-200.

12. Leon D. Epstein, op.cit., p.9.

(the political organisation of the Yishuv)<sup>13</sup>. Can such groups, as "the List of Givat Rambam"<sup>14</sup> (162 votes, 1 representative), "the Immigrants from Georgia (Russia) (134 votes, 1 representative), etc. which only once contested elections "under a given label", be considered as parties?

For our purpose, a political party is a much more elaborate and complicated concept. First of all, to use a Weberian phrase, "parties live in the house of power"<sup>15</sup>. This means that a party is a collectivity, which comes into existence in order to promote goals by political activity. It is not just a group which exists by its own right and develops goals in various social spheres (e.g. an industrial or agricultural establishment, an ethnic community, the inhabitants of a certain street or quarter, etc.) but is an organisation which is formed especially for political purposes, viz the acquisition of power ultimately for the sake of forming a government or participating in it<sup>16</sup>. Weber saw the essentially political nature of parties very clearly, and elsewhere<sup>17</sup> states "The term 'party' will be employed to designate an associative type of social relationship, membership in which rests on formally free recruitment. The end to which its activity is devoted is to secure power within a corporate group for its leaders, in order to attain ideal or material advantages for its active members".

A clear distinction should be drawn, therefore, between parties, social movements,<sup>18</sup> and various types of groups which sometimes enter the party-

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13. 6th December, 1926. See Sefer HaTeudot (Heb. Volume of documents of the Vaad HaLeumi (National Council), published in Jerusalem, 1963, pp. 434-436 and Moshe Attias, Knesset-Israel BeEretz Israel (op.cit.), p.29.

14. A small and newly established Jewish settlement at that time.

15. See the chapter "Class, Status and Party" in From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (eds. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills), op.cit., esp. pp. 194-195.

16. See the reference to the various definitions in Chapter 1, footnote 3. See also S.M. Lipset and S. Rokkan, Party Systems and Voter Alignments (op.cit.), p.5; A. Downs, "An Economic Theory of Democracy" (op.cit.), pp. 24-27.

17. Max Weber, Theory of Social and Economic Organisation, New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 408.

18. The concept of Social Movement is used in the sense of N.J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour, op.cit.

political arena under their own labels. No elaborate discussion of these concepts (which are all basic in the sphere of party-politics) can be undertaken here. Movements with limited aims, and particularly various groups, may act as pressure groups<sup>19</sup>; movements may be transformed into parties (the case of the Labour Movement and the Labour parties); groups may be incorporated into parties, etc. Nevertheless, one thing should always be borne in mind, viz that a political party is a distinct and specialised unit with its own specific goals, and is characterised by its distinctive structure, hierarchy and internal processes. Once this basic assumption is accepted, there is room for distinctions between various types of parties, e.g. centralised vs. loosely organised, mass parties vs. cadre parties; "parties of individual representation" vs. "parties of social integration"; socially broad based parties vs. socially narrow based parties; homogeneous parties vs. heterogeneous ones; pluralistic parties vs. monolithic ones; parties based on defined ideologies vs. pragmatic ones, etc.<sup>20</sup>.

##### 5. Units of Party-Political Activity in the Yishuv

Since the "National Institutions" did not have the same position vis-a-vis the Yishuv as a government has vis-a-vis the population of a state, the problems of legitimation and obedience were central in the Yishuv's political life. The frameworks of the Zionist Organisation and "Knesset-Israel" were voluntary. In the case of the Zionist Organisation, both in Israel and in the diaspora, people became members through the positive act of "buying a shekel" (a membership card which entitled the buyer to vote in the election to the Zionist Congress). The situation regarding "Knesset-Israel" has already been mentioned in Chapter 2 (Section 5).

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19. Harry Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics, Stanford University Press, 1960; S.E. Finer, Anonymous Empire, London, Pall Mall, 1958.

20. As with many other themes in this study, the problem of definition, comparisons between various definitionist and theoretical analysis of the relationship between parties and other political groupings, especially social movements and pressure groups, is itself a suitable subject for detailed research. See the detailed discussion of parties and party-systems in Jean Blondel, An Introduction to Comparative Government, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969, Part III, pp. 99-221, and my own entry on political parties ("Miflaga Politit") in the Encyclopedia LaMadaei HaChevra (Heb. Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences), Merchavia, Sifriat Poalim, 1967, Vol. III, pp. 637-645. The distinctions mentioned in the text are borrowed from the writings of various scholars, such as Duverger, Neumann and others.

Under these conditions, as well as the fact that the Yishuv was permanently absorbing newcomers, not only in general frameworks but also in particular politically oriented groups, party politics were not confined to competition for power in the narrow sense of the word, i.e. securing votes in elections, in order to gain control over these central semi-governmental organs. The whole pattern was much more complicated, and the central bodies themselves (viz the Vaad HaLeumi and the Jewish Agency) often turned into parties (i.e. bodies taking part) in internal struggles in the Yishuv. A more detailed study will emerge out of the discussion in the following chapters<sup>21</sup>. Any analysis of party-politics and the parties in the Yishuv presents only a partial picture of these facts are not taken into consideration.

The various conceptions of political parties include, explicitly or implicitly, the notions that the political party is a mechanism for the concentration of political power, that power relations between the various parties in the system is the key to the formation of a government, and that the party is the channel through which a political elite is selected. As far as the Yishuv is concerned, the situation differed considerably. The concepts of centre-periphery may also be helpful for understanding<sup>n</sup> the situation.<sup>22</sup>

It was only with the establishment of the State of Israel that the political centre of the society was fully institutionalised, and competition for control over this centre (the government) required the institutionalisation of a party system<sup>23</sup>. The Yishuv, on the other hand, was characterised by the existence of several political centres. The "National Institutions" were the most important political centres in the Yishuv, but they were not the

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21. It has been demonstrated already, however, (in the first section of Chapter Two) that the "National Institutions" had to come into terms with various groups in the Yishuv, which did not recognise their authority, in order to ensure a politically institutionalised transition from Yishuv to statehood.

22. These concepts are used here as they are defined by Shils, Edward A. Shils, "Center and Periphery" in the anthology, The Logic of Personal knowledge (essays presented to Michael Polanyi, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, pp.117-131 and "Charisma Order and Status" in the American Sociological Review, Vol. 30, No.2 (April, 1965) pp. 199-213. It is not only a geographically-based distinction, as it appears to be in the writings of another scholar who uses these concepts extensively, viz Rokkan. E.g. "The Mobilization of the Periphery" in the collection Approaches to the Study of Political Participation, Acta Sociologica, 1962; reprinted in S. Rokkan, Citizens, etc. (op.cit.) pp. 181-225. See also his chapter "Electoral Mobilization, Party Competition and National Integration" in J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner, op.cit. pp. 241-265.

Footnote 23 on following page.



exclusive political centre in the sense that the government is the exclusive political centre in an ordinary stable state. Besides the competition between parties, there also existed a competition between centres. In fact, attempts on behalf of various secondary centres to curtail the power of the main centre, viz the "National Institutions" took place from time to time. Various cases will be presented in more detail in this study, but it is important to emphasize here that each such centre also had its internal party politics. It is in this respect that various groups, which cannot be defined as parties (in some cases not even according to Epstein's definitions), come into the arena. Nevertheless, some political leaders in the Yishuv, who afterwards became leaders of parties in the state, emerged from such groups.

One can in fact distinguish five general types of political grouping in the Yishuv. Although a distinction is made here between these types, there were some concrete cases in which a group of a certain type participated at the same time in a political grouping of another type (e.g. various independent right-wing groups which sometimes formed coalitions). The five suggested types are as follows:

1. Political parties proper, namely organised voluntary associations aimed at achieving political goals by recruiting members and mobilising support. Mapai is the example par excellence.
2. Sub-committees, in which several parties and/or various groups participate, and which develop, at least to some extent, a political centre within the Yishuv. The Histadrut is the best example<sup>24</sup>.
3. Functional groups with political interests, such as the Federation of Farmers in the private sector (not an "Agrarian Party" like those which existed in several European states).
4. Ethnic organisations, such as the Sephardi Federation.
5. Unorganised groups, formed in order to support certain dignitaries, mainly in the urban middle class population.

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23. The concept of "institutionalisation" has been used already several times. In using this concept, I am especially influenced by two scholars: S.N. Eisenstadt in Israeli Society (op.cit.), pp.34-68 and in many of his papers e.g. "Institutionalisation and Change" in the American Sociological Review, Vol. 29, (1964), pp.235-244., and Samuel P. Huntington (in his paper "Political Development and Political Decay" in World Politics, Vol. 17 (1965), pp.386-430 and later in his book Political Order in Changing Societies (1968), esp. Chapter 1. See also Chapter 2, n. 47 (in this study

24. In various local elections during the whole mandatory period, the Histadrut as such, and not the various parties which participated in it, contested the elections (i.e. presented a list of candidates) under its own label. Is it therefore to be considered as a "party" in the same sense as Mapai, according to Epstein's definition?

Supposing that each type consists of several groupings which existed at one time or another during the mandatory period, the total number would be quite large. Any attempt to list all these groupings, and describe their properties in a comparative way, with four, five or six major problem areas as a basis for comparison is beyond the scope of this study. Instead, a list of some of the major problem areas (or variables, in a broad sense, will be presented, and the origins and development (in the Yishuv), of today's major Israeli political parties will follow.

The major problems in this context are, therefore, the following:

1. The social origins and background of the party (or grouping).
2. Its ideology (if any) and aims.
3. Its structure, patterns of organisation and their development.
4. The basis of its power.
5. Internal processes in the party-formation of internal power centres, etc.
6. Activities of the parties in various "non-political" spheres.
7. The degree to which the party incorporates diversified interests and orientations.
8. The general position of the party in the system.

The discussion of the parties in Chapters 4-7 will be based upon these subjects, although the presentation will not be arranged in a formal way. Otherwise, a comprehensive picture of the development of the various parties, developments inside the parties and relationships among parties would not emerge. On the other hand, the information presented below will make it possible to reach general conclusions based on the application of some of these categories.

## CHAPTER 4

HaMaarach: Growth of Parties in the Labour Movement1. Mapam: The Minor Partner in the Alignment

This chapter commences with the minor partner in the alignment<sup>1</sup>. This party was formed on the eve of Israel's independence in Winter, 1948 by a unification of two Yishuv left-wing Zionist parties - HaShomer HaTzair<sup>2</sup> and HaTnuah-LeAchdut-HaAvoda-Poalei-Tzion<sup>3</sup>. A split took place in 1954 on the issue of the attitude to be adopted towards the Communist world after the "Doctors' Libel" in the U.S.S.R. and the Prague trials. In the Prague trials a member of the party - M. Oren - was convicted as a Zionist and Imperialist agent, who had collaborated with Slansky.

The history of HaShomer-HaTzair goes back to 1913. It was founded as a Jewish youth movement in Galicia (then part of the Habsburg Empire, and later a province in Poland)<sup>4</sup>. Many of its members began coming to Palestine with the Third Aliya (immediately after World War I), but did not join any of the labour parties which then existed in the Yishuv. For a time they were under the strong influence of the Psychoanalytic-Freudian movement, which was in fashion in certain parts of Europe. Starting with the foundation of communes<sup>5</sup>, they later formed Kibbutzim and established a national organisation of these, known until the present day as the "HaKibbutz HaAartzi HaShomer HaTzair Movement"<sup>6</sup>. From the late 'twenties onwards, they took an

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1. See Chapter 1, n. 18.

2. Heb. "The Young Guardian"

3. Heb. "The Movement of Unity of Labour and Workers of Zion". Hence, this party was also a union of two parties (as will be mentioned below), these two bearing names with historical associations in the Jewish Labour Movement tradition.

4. Elkana Margalit: "Social and Intellectual Origins of the HaShomer HaTzair Youth Movement, 1913-1920", Contemporary History, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1969) pp. 25-46.

5. A vivid description of that period is to be found in David Horowitz: HaEtmol Sheli (Heb: My Yesterday), Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, Shoken, 1970, pp. 46-111. Mr. Horowitz himself left the movement after some years. He later joined the Economic Department of the Jewish Agency, and is now the Governor of the Bank of Israel.

6. At the end of 1968 there were altogether 78 Kibbutzim of HaShomer-HaTzair, with a population of nearly 30,000 (total number of Kibbutzim: 235; population nearly 85,000). Statistical Abstracts of Israel, 1969, p. 31, Table B/9.

active part in the Yishuv and the Zionist movement and became ardent Marxists<sup>7</sup>. For many years they constituted the main left-wing opposition in the Histadrut, while in general Yishuv and Zionist problems they collaborated with Mapai<sup>8</sup>. Nevertheless they differed from Mapai not only in their orthodox socialist orientations, but also over problems of Zionist policy. They rejected the idea of a Jewish state and favoured a bi-national solution to the Palestine problem. From the thirties onwards they began to recruit supporters in urban settlements, but were not however organised as a political party, simply as a federation of Kibbutzim. They had a youth movement both in Palestine and the diaspora ("political socialisation", "recruitment", "mobilisation"), which supplied them with reinforcements (new Kibbutzim), and were characterised by intensive ideological activity, with the principle of "Ideological collectivism" dominant in the movement.

HaShomer-HaTzair was not transformed into a party, but founded a party alongside its nation-wide kibbutz organisation. The first step was the foundation of the "Socialist League" in towns (late thirties), and the second step, the foundation of the "Workers Party HaShomer-HaTzair" in 1944, with its daily newspaper "Mishmar"<sup>9</sup>. When it became clear that events were leading to the establishment of a Jewish state, and especially after the United Nations's decision of 29th November, 1947, about the partition of Palestine - which was supported by the Soviet Union, HaShomer-HaTzair adapted its policy to the situation, and gave up the idea of a bi-national state. As a result, the way was paved for the union with Achdut-HaAvoda, and the United Workers Party (Mapam) was formed. This party made considerable gains in the elections to the First Knesset<sup>10</sup> and became for a while the second

7. See especially: E. Margalit: Hashomer HaTzair - MeAdat Neurim LeMarxism Mahapchani (Heb. HaShomer HaTzair - From Youth Commune to Revolutionary Marxism), Tel-Aviv, The University of Tel-Aviv and HaKibbutz HaMeuchad, 1971. See also the references to HaShomer-HaTzair in the standard histories of the Labour Movement in Palestine and Israel: 1) M. Braslavski - Tnuat HaPoalim HaEretz-Israelit (Heb. the Palestine Jewish Workers Movement) HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad, 1955-1962 (four volumes); 2) Z. Even-Shushan (Rosenstein): Toldot Tnuat HaPoalim BeEretz Israel (Heb. The History of the Workers Movement in Eretz-Israel), Tel-Aviv, Am-Oved, 1955-1966 (three volumes).

8. For many years they formed a common list of candidates in the various Yishuv and Zionist general elections.

9. Heb: Guard. When Mapam was founded, its name was changed to Al-Hamishmar (On Guard), and under this name it is published up to the present day.

10. It secured 19 seats. Mapai, the largest party secured 45 seats, while the combined list of all the religious parties (it was the only time that the religious party formed such a "United-front") secured 16 seats. Herut was the fourth in size - 14 seats.

largest party in Israel. Nevertheless, it remained in opposition for quite a long time (even after the 1954 split), since it advocated a pro-Russian policy in the sphere of foreign affairs and a radical socialist policy in internal affairs. Its power (as a united party) was based, inter alia, on the fact that most of the Kibbutzim in the state were affiliated to it<sup>11</sup>, and it therefore symbolised the pioneering tradition of the Yishuv<sup>12</sup>. Many of the commanders of the Hagana and the Israeli army in the State's first year, were members of this United Party. After the split in 1954, Mapam in fact reverted to being the original HaShomer-HaTzair party, with HaKibbutz-HaAartzi movement<sup>13</sup> again its main backbone. But gradually urban elements in the party became stronger. This is exemplified by the fact that one of the two cabinet ministers which they provided for the government, following the 1969 elections, was for the first time a non-kibbutz member. Nevertheless, it seems that without the existence of HaShomer-HaTzair Kibbutzim movement, Mapam could not have maintained its independence, especially in the last 5-6 years. In this respect, the case of Achdut-HaAvoda in the sixties (see Section 4 in this chapter) is very similar. In contrast to Achdut-HaAvoda, Mapam, with its different history, is still trying to retain something of its independence.

11. Viz the Kibbutzim affiliated to HaKibbutz HaAartzi, and most of the Kibbutzim affiliated to HaKibbutz HaMeuchad (for figures, see below, table in p.89). See the following discussion of HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad and HaTnua-LeAchdut-HaAvoda in this chapter (Sec. 4).
12. For a discussion of the pioneering tradition of the Yishuv see S.N. Eisenstadt: "Israeli Identity: Problems in the development of the Collective Identity in an Ideological Society" The Annals, Philadelphia 1967, (No.370) pp. 116-123 and S.N. Eisenstadt: Israeli Society (op.cit.) pp. 44-54.
13. Although it has not been mentioned explicitly up to now, HaShomer-HaTzair is one example of organisational-political structure of rural Israel. The Moshavim (co-operative settlements) and Kibbutzim have their various nation-wide federations which are affiliated politically and ideologically to various parties (or, as in this case, parties develop under their guidance and control). The Israeli term for these organisations is "Settlement Movements". See a general analysis in S.N. Eisenstadt: Israeli Society (op.cit.) pp. 165-175; D. Weintraub et al.: Moshava, Kibbutz and Moshav (op.cit.); and the relevant chapters in Braslavski (op.cit.) and Even-Shushan (op.cit.). On the political aspect in particular see: Amitai Etzioni "Agrarianism in Israel's Party System" Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 23 (1957), pp. 363-375; see below, n. 52.

## 2. The Origins of the Labour Party - the pre-Mapai period

The origins of the present-day Labour Party go back to the first decade of this century. Many of the first immigrants in the Second Aliya (1904-1914) - became farmhands in the Moshavot founded by the immigrants of the First Aliya, and the two first Labour parties in the Yishuv were founded within a year or two of the beginning of the Second Aliya. The first was HaPoel-HaTzair (1905) and the second (several months later) Poalei-Tzion.<sup>14</sup> Originally these were not parties in the technical sense of the word - since there were no elections in the Yishuv to be contested at that time. Both had their ideological roots in various Zionist and socialist movements, but were founded nevertheless in Palestine not merely as branches of these movements, but as local labour parties. This applies especially to HaPoel-HaTzair, while Poalei-Tzion had a "Mother Party" in Russia. HaPoel-HaTzair was not a doctrinaire socialist party, and mainly advocated "return to labour life", and later agricultural settlement and "constructive activity". The first communal settlement in Palestine<sup>15</sup> (Kibbutz, at that time the common term was Kvutza, i.e. Degania), as well as the first co-operative settlement (Moshav, i.e. Nahalal), were founded by members of this party. Poalei-Tzionists were much more doctrinaire Marxist. Their leading ideologists (who did not emigrate to Palestine) were B. Borochoy<sup>16</sup> and N. Syrkin<sup>17</sup>. Generally speaking, Syrkin's approach was less doctrinaire, and he advocated "constructive" activities of the labour movement in the building of the Yishuv. For Borochoy, on the other hand, the concept of "class conflict" was central in his ideology, and his brilliant intellectual contribution to the tradition of the Zionist Labour Movement was the integration of Jewish nationalism and "scientific socialism". In practice, however, the labour movement in the Yishuv did not follow his ideologies, and in this respect Syrkin's influence was more long-lasting.

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14. While the foundation of HaPoel-HaTzair can be attributed to a certain meeting in Palestine, that of Poalei-Tzion seem to result from immigration to Palestine of some of its members in the diaspora. Although there were in the Yishuv about 550 workers in 1905, out of which 350 were newcomers (of the Second Aliya). 90 of these were in HaPoel-HaTzair and 60 in Poalei Tzion. See Z. Even-Shushan (Rosenstein), op.cit., Vol. 1, p.91.

15. See Y. Baratz: A Village by the Jordan: The Story of Degania, Tel-Aviv, Ichud HaBonim, 1960.

16. B. 1881; D. 1917; see the references to his main writings in the Bibliography.

17. B. 1868; D. 1924; see the reference to his biography, written by his daughter, Marie Syrkin, as well as to his writings in the Bibliography.

The workers in the Yishuv in the period of the Second Aliya were not integrated into the communities of the Moshavot in which they were working, and many of them changed places quite frequently. They, therefore, began to establish various facilities for themselves, mainly within the framework of their parties. Among the first of these were "restuarants for the workers", and later an organisation for medical aid and the supply of various commodities. Some of these were afterwards developed into organisations in which the two parties co-operated, i.e. trade unions of agricultural workers. All these rudiments and many others, were later absorbed by the Histadrut<sup>18</sup>.

The number of Jewish workers was at that period quite small and each party consisted in its prime of only several hundred members. They can, therefore, be described in a sense as primary face to face groups. Nevertheless, out of these small groups there developed the future backbone of the Yishuv and Israeli political system, and there emerged the ideologies which became characteristic to the Yishuv in later years<sup>19</sup>.

Besides the two parties, there were some influential people in the workers ranks, who were known as "non-partisan". Some of these were to become leading figures in the Labour movement in future years. Space does not allow a detailed discussion of the various leaders and personalities, but mention may be made of some of their names. Among the leaders of HaPoel-HaTzair were I. Sprintzak<sup>19a</sup> and I. Aharonowitch<sup>20</sup> and besides them there were two leading ideologists - A.D. Gordon<sup>21</sup> and Y. Vitkin<sup>22</sup>;

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18. For detailed information, see the standard histories of the Labour movement, e.g. M. Braslovski, op.cit. Vol. 1, pp. 69-134; Z. Rosenstein, op.cit., Chapters 18, 20, 21, 24, 25. See also Y. Shapiro: Avoda VeAdama (Heb. Labour and Land), Tel-Aviv, Am-Oved, 1961.

19. See Chapter 2, Section 6 (p.62, and n. 71).

19a He became first speaker of the Knesset many years later. D. 1959.

20. He was one of the main leaders of HaPoel-HaTzair, but after the foundation of Mapai did not retain the same position. For many years - director of Bank HaPoalim (The Workers' Bank). He died<sup>19</sup> 1936.

21. He came to Palestine in the year 1905, at the age of fifty, and joined the young workers as an agricultural labourer. The "cult of labour" is attributed to him. He was the ideologist of the non-doctrinaire elements of the Labour movement in the Yishuv, and as such, one of the prominent ideologists of the Labour movement. He died in 1922.

22. He immigrated to Palestine in 1898 and is considered as the forerunner of the Second Aliya. Later called upon the labourers to form their own settlements. Died 1912.

(among its younger members were Levi Eshkol<sup>23</sup> and S. Dayan<sup>24</sup>). The leaders of Poalei-Tzion were Yizchak Ben-Zvi and David Ben-Gurion<sup>25</sup>. The prominent figures among the "non partisan" were B. Katznelson<sup>26</sup>, I. Tabenkin<sup>27</sup>, S. Yavnieli<sup>28</sup> and D. Remez<sup>29</sup>.

HaPoel-HaTzair continued its separate existence until the formation of Mapai (1930). At a conference in Prague (1920)<sup>30</sup> immediately after World War I, it established contacts with sister parties which had come into existence in Germany and Eastern Europe. Some of the leaders of these parties immigrated to Palestine in the twenties and joined the leading ranks of HaPoel-HaTzair. The two best known of these were Ch. Arlosoroff<sup>31</sup> and E. Kaplan<sup>32</sup>. Other new immigrants who joined HaPoel-HaTzair, and held important posts many years later were P. Lavon<sup>33</sup>, Kadish Luz<sup>34</sup>, ~~and~~ M. Aish-Shalom<sup>35</sup> and E. Eliahu<sup>36</sup>.

Immediately after World War I, Poalei-Tzion in Palestine called for the establishment of one party of Jewish workers, but HaPoel-HaTzair refused to join. Their reasons were mainly that they did not want to become affiliated to the World Central Office of the Poalei-Tzion parties, did not share the "class consciousness" of Poalei-Tzion and in general, had their own "style of life" ("political culture"). A union took place between Poalei-Tzion and the "non partisans" and the new party was named Achdut-HaAvoda (Heb. Unity of Labour)<sup>37</sup>. It was affiliated to the world Poalei-Tzion movement, but gradually deviated somewhat from the orthodox Marxism which characterised Poalei-Tzion, and in several cases became in fact the "right wing" in the world Poalei-Tzion movement. On the other hand, some people in the world

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25. It should be mentioned in this context that for Ben-Gurion in particular, Poalei-Tzion in Palestine did mean something different from Poalei-Tzion in the diaspora. He was the driving force behind the formulation of a special "platform" for the party in Palestine. He also insisted upon the use of the Hebrew language, while for many members of Poalei-Tzion the use of Yiddish was an ideologically justified principle.

30. Besides the representatives from Palestine some prominent intellectuals from Western Europe participated in this conference. Among them - Martin Buber and S.H. Bergman (later: Professor of Philosophy in the Hebrew University).

31. See Ch. 2, n. 66.

37. This was the original Achdut-HaAvoda, to be distinguished from the group which left Mapai in 1944, and formed a party with a similar name (see below, n.48 and later, Section 4 of this chapter).

23,24,26,27,28,29,32,33,34,35,36 - For further information on these people please see the end of this chapter, p. 103.



Poalei-Tzion movement resented this merger which took place in Palestine, and there was a split in Poalei-Tzion itself. The group which was formed of the majority in the "international" organisation of Poalei-Tzion, but was the minority in Palestine, became known as "Poalei-Tzion-Smol" (Poalei-Tzion left. Later they were for several years divided among themselves into two minor parties. They did not take part in the Zionist movement until 1939). Achdut-HaAvoda, whose life span was only eleven years (1919-1930), absorbed many of the new immigrants of the twenties (e.g. Mrs. Golda Meir<sup>38</sup>, Zalman Arran<sup>39</sup>, Mordechai Namir<sup>40</sup>, Israel Bar-Yehuda<sup>41</sup>, Zalman Shazar<sup>42</sup>, Moshe Beilinson<sup>43</sup>, etc.) as well as some Tel-Aviv youngsters (e.g. Moshe Sharett<sup>44</sup>, Eliahu Golomb<sup>45</sup>, Dov Hoz<sup>46</sup>).

A comparison between Achdut-HaAvoda and HaPoel-HaTzair in the twenties will reveal that Achdut-HaAvoda tended to be more of an activist party in many spheres (e.g. it founded the Hagana Defence Organisation, started activities in the field of urban development, established an office for construction, encouraged "unconventional" developments in Kibbutzim), while HaPoel-HaTzair tried to maintain its semi-utopian character and concentrated on "constructive activities" closer to the rural sector. In the beginning, each party had its own instruments for "constructive activities" (termed in the previous chapter "institutional expansion"). After its establishment, the Histadrut took over responsibility for many of these activities; but taking the party affiliation of the people who were in charge as indicators, one could still distinguish between spheres which were in the interest and under the direction of each party.

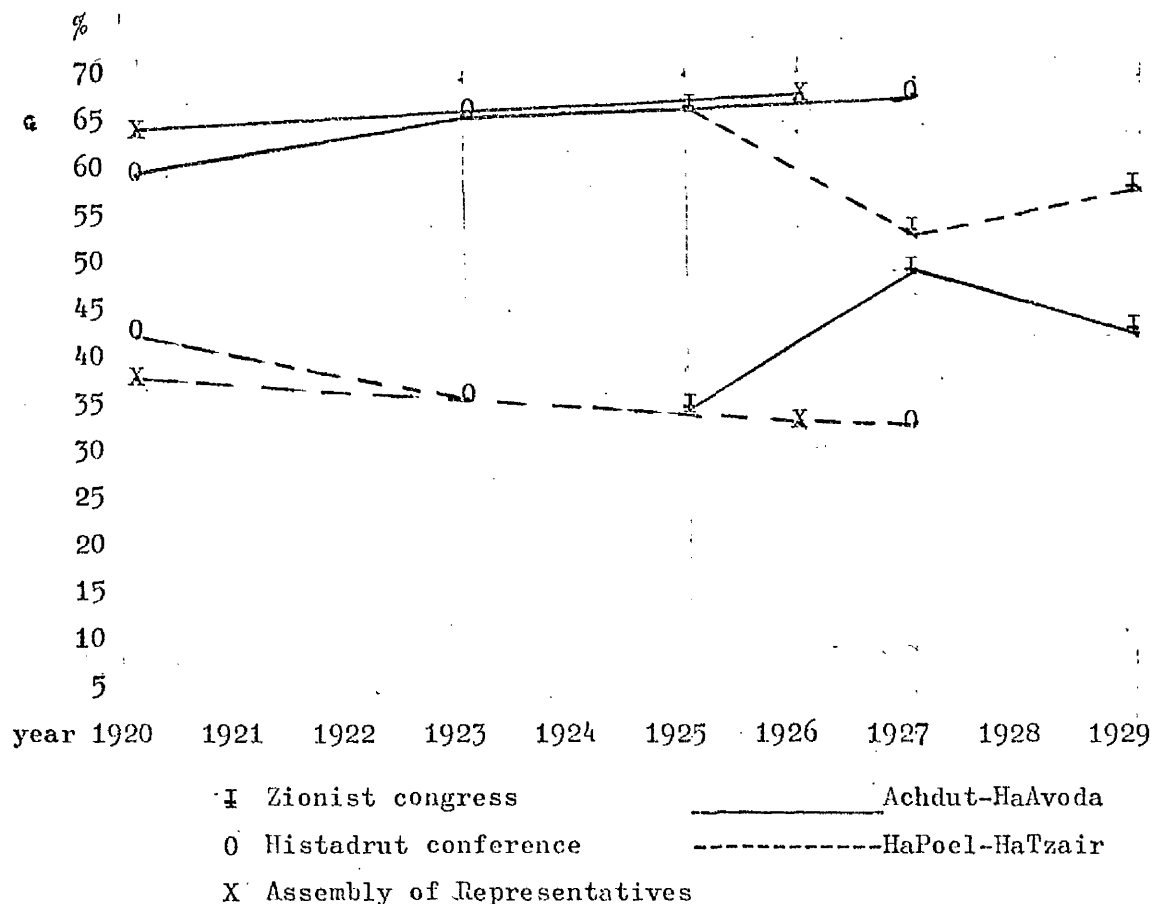
HaPoel-HaTzair and Achdut-HaAvoda were in fact the first political parties in the Yishuv. They were more or less organised, there was a continuity in their existence, they were politically oriented, developed their own structures, developed internal hierarchy and internal processes, etc. They also demonstrated what became an integral part of Yishuv party activities, viz - activities in "non-political" spheres. Parties not only took part in elections and in recruiting followers, but were engaged in practical and economic activities. This situation had many repercussions on the political culture of the Yishuv, it had a feed-back impact upon the parties themselves and influenced the pattern of political mobilisation, social control and political struggle in the Yishuv.

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Notes 38 - 46 - for further information on these people, please see the end of this chapter, p. 104

While Achdut-HaAvoda was more "socialist" than HaPoel-HaTzair, it was more "activist" in the Zionist movement, and often found itself in opposition to the Zionist Executive, led by Weizmann (in which HaPoel-HaTzair was represented in the middle twenties). Nevertheless, the two parties (together with their sister parties in the diaspora) formed the "Labour wing" in the Zionist congresses. The growth of the Yishuv and the emergence of a relatively strong middle class as a result of the Fourth Aliya (1925-1931), as well as internal developments in the Zionist Organisation<sup>47</sup>, made a merger of the two parties an immediate issue. This merger took place in 1930, leading to the formation of Mapai.

Before dealing with the history of Mapai, let us compare the power of Achdut-HaAvoda and HaPoel-HaTzair during the twenties, according to the returns of the various elections. The following chart constitutes a comparison of their respective representation at world Zionist congresses, conferences of the Histadrut and the Assemblies of Representatives in the Yishuv. The total representation of the two parties is considered as 100%.



47. E.g. the emergence of the extreme nationalist Revisionist party (see Chapter 6) and policy of "Consolidation" adopted by the Zionist Executive in 1927 (on this policy, see the brief discussion in A. Bein: Return to Soil, op.cit. pp. 301-303 in the Hebrew 1954 edition). In the period 1927-1929 the whole "Labour wing" was in opposition.

It should be recalled that while the composition of the Histadrut and other Yishuv bodies depended upon votes merely in Palestine, the composition of the Zionist congress reflects votes from all the countries in which the Zionist movement was active. Unfortunately the material on hand, concerning the 12th Congress (1921) and 13th Congress (1923), refers to the two parties together, and it is therefore not included in the chart. There is, however, no reason to think that power relations were different in these two congresses, compared with the later ones. The majority among the diaspora Poalei-Tzion was against the participation in the Zionist congresses (there was a split in this movement in the early twenties). The Yishuv's Achdut-HaAvoda was much more a Zionist party than her (former) sister parties in the diaspora. The chart demonstrates clearly that in the Yishuv Achdut-HaAvoda was much stronger than HaPoel-HaTzair in its mobilisation potential. On the other hand, HaPoel-HaTzair was stronger in the Zionist movement. These conflicting power-positions more or less balanced each other, when it came to the formation of the united party - Mapai.

This point, namely the influence of strength in the diaspora upon power relations in the Yishuv, as well as its limitations, will be further discussed in various contexts.

### 3. Mapai

The main landmarks in the history of Mapai are: 1) Its formation in 1930; 2) the first split in 1944, with the splinter group taking the title LeAchdut-HaAvoda<sup>48</sup>; 3) the "Lavon Affair" of 1961 which caused an immediate minor split in the party<sup>49</sup>; 4) the split in 1965, when Ben-Gurion, after resigning from premiership, left the party and with a group of supporters formed the Rafi Party; 5) the alignment with LeAchdut-HaAvoda in the same year; 6) the reunion with LeAchdut-HaAvoda and Rafi (without Ben-Gurion) and the formation of the Labour Party (1968).

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48. They did not strictly name themselves Achdut-HaAvoda, as the party of the twenties was called (of which nearly all the main leaders, including Ben-Gurion, Katzenelson, Sharett, Golomb, Shazar, and Mrs. Meir, remained in Mapai), but HaTnua-LeAchdut-HaAvoda (-the Movement for the Unity of Labour). About two years afterwards, when a merger took place between them and Poalei-Tzion-Smol, the official title of the party became HaTnua-LeAchdut-HaAvoda-Poalei-Tzion. This was quite a long title, and in daily use, they were simply referred to as "Achdut HaAvoda".

49. A group of followers of Lavon left the party. Their attempts to form a new party, named "Min-HaYesof" ("From the Foundation") has failed.

The "Lavon Affair" had its origins in certain intelligence events when Lavon was Minister of Defence (1954)<sup>50</sup> and had nothing at that time to do with the party. But it influenced relationships in the inner circle of the Mapai leadership, and when the problem became a public issue in the early sixties, it turned into the focal point of many internal cleavages and struggles in the party. One can say that in this respect the "Lavon Affair" was a junction in the development of Mapai, and all later occurrences mentioned above, go back to this issue, which brought to the surface many latent tensions in the party.

With this general impression of relatively recent events, let us return to a discussion of earlier processes, some of which eventually led to the developments in the sixties.

The union between Achdut-HaAvoda and HaPoel-HaTzair in the Yishuv was followed by a union of their sister parties in the Zionist movement abroad. The party branches in the diaspora fulfilled two important functions:

- (a) in mobilising support in the elections to the Zionist congresses;
- (b) in recruiting members (especially the younger age groups) as prospective immigrants and Mapai members in Israel. At first sight this also seems to be the case with all other Zionist parties, but in fact no party equalled Mapai in this respect, and many lagged far behind. The fact that Mapai was not just an "ordinary" Zionist party, but was in fact identified with the Histadrut and, generally speaking, with the pioneering enterprise of the Zionist movement in Palestine greatly added to its position and power, morally as well as politically. What seems, however, to be one of the two basic factors<sup>51</sup> behind the power of Mapai, both in the Yishuv and the Zionist organisation, was its achievement in bringing together under one roof some of the most dynamic components in the Yishuv. As an organised party, it had a central recognised leadership, branches in the vast majority of Jewish settlements in Israel and control over the activities of the Histadrut in its various spheres. With the exception of the Moshavot, all rural settlements in Israel were organised on a nationwide basis in "settlement movements"<sup>52</sup>. The Statistical Handbook of Jewish Palestine<sup>53</sup>

50. See Chapter 1, n.40.

51. The other factor was its bargaining position, which will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

52. A "settlement movement" is a national federation of rural settlements which share a common structure, a common ideology and a common political affiliation. For a general description see H. Halperin: Changing Patterns in Israel Agriculture, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957, pp.205-209.

53. Gurevich and Gertz, op.cit.

ends (p.411 ff) with a list of all settlements in Palestine populated by Jews (in 1946 - including mixed towns). Altogether 318 such settlements are listed. Out of these, 103 are classified as towns, Moshavot, agricultural schools, etc., while the other 215 comprised what was known in the Yishuv (and still in Israel) as the "Hityashvut"<sup>54</sup>. The movement-affiliation of each rural settlement is mentioned in this list. Altogether there were 9 such movements at that time. A calculation of the number and size of settlements according to their movement affiliation gives the following picture:

The Movement	HaKibbutz HaMeuchad	Hever HaKvutzot	HaKibbutz HaAartzi (Ha- Shomer HaTzair)	Tnuat HaMoshavim	Other 5 movements	Total
No. of settlement	49	32	37	59	38	215
Total popu- lation	18,876	7,024	9,306	14,562	11,716	61,484

HaKibbutz-HaAartzi was mentioned earlier as the backbone of Mapam.

<sup>54</sup>The other three "Settlement Movements" were, not officially but in fact, affiliated to Mapai<sup>55</sup>. Consequently about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the settlements and the population of the "Hityashvut-HaOvedet" (see n.52) were in the "domain" of Mapai (until the split of 1944). The unique position of the "Hityashvut-HaOvedet" has already been discussed by another author<sup>56</sup>, and some additional aspects of it will be discussed in the concluding chapter. In the present context, one point is of special importance, namely the fact that the settlement movements, and especially those of the Kibbutzim, could supply manpower for various missions and enterprises carried out for the Yishuv,

54. Viz "pioneering" rural settlements which were established with the help of Zionist funds. The term "Hityashvut-Ovedet" is attributed usually to rural settlement affiliated to the Labour movement.

55. In this case, HaKibbutz <sup>Ha</sup>Meuchad was in a special position, as will be seen further on. Nevertheless, the movements were integrated in all respects into the framework of the Histadrut, each and every member in a Kibbutz or a Moshav being a member of the Histadrut.

56. A. Etzioni: "Agrarianism in Israel's Party-System" (op.cit.)

the Histadrut, the party or the movement, since they could regulate and direct the activities of their members. Of the residual five movements, only one was a Kibbutzim movement (affiliated to HaPoel-HaMizrachi, but with less than ten Kibbutzim at that time), while the other four were hardly organised at all as a nation-wide organisation.

Besides their recruitment capabilities, the Kibbutzim particularly were active in the sphere of political and ideological socialisation, and had youth movements directly affiliated to them, both in the Yishuv and in the diaspora<sup>57</sup>. In this respect Mapai had a certain price to pay, viz there was quite a keen competition between the various youth movements, in the Yishuv and in the diaspora, even between those which were affiliated in the last resort to Mapai. On the other hand, the party had benefited from the functions of "political socialisation" fulfilled by the various youth movements.

In an earlier chapter, the growing differentiation in the Yishuv was mentioned, inter alia as a source of the intensification of internal conflicts. The same may be said about Mapai. Although "by definition" it was a party of the workers, its structure became quite heterogeneous, and many groups with different interests and ideas grew within the party.

Mapai was not only rooted in the Yishuv and Zionist Labour movement, but it became the Yishuv's political backbone, both as a movement and as a "sub-system". Nevertheless, from its beginning, it did not commit itself to a strictly defined doctrine. Its foundation manifesto<sup>58</sup> opens with a declaration that "The Labour Movement in Eretz-Israel is united in its historical destiny", viz the revival of the Jewish people in Palestine as a working people, in all spheres of agricultural and industrial activity and the development of a Hebrew culture; participation in the world's working class struggle against class subjugation, collective ownership of natural resources, and the creation of a society of "Labour, equality and freedom". The rest of this short manifesto consists of some "working definitions" of the frameworks in which it participates (the Zionist Movement, "Knesset-Israel", the Yishuv, the Socialist International, etc.) and spheres of activity (e.g. "extension of rural settlement", "strengthening of the national funds and the accumulation of capital by the "Workers' Society" of the Histadrut, etc.).

57. For details concerning the diaspora see M. Basok (ed.): Sefer HeHlalutz (Heb. Hallelutz volume-The Pioneer), Jerusalem, The Jewish Agency, 1940.

58. See Ktavim Uteudot (Heb. Writings and Documents), Tel-Aviv, Mapai, 1935, pp. 15-16.

Mapai very quickly emerged as the main party and power in the Yishuv and the Zionist movement, and almost from its creation was on the way to becoming the dominant party in these two frameworks. The combination of basic ideological orientations (but not dogmatism), and pragmatism in daily activities, enabled it gradually to develop the image of something like what Kirchheimer calls a catch-all "people's" party<sup>59</sup>. This future trend may be traced to some of the relatively early writings of Ben-Gurion, which were reprinted in the early thirties in a book called "From a Class to a Nation"<sup>60</sup>.

As might be expected, differences inside Mapai grew as a result of its growing internal differentiation (reinforced by the growth of its several internal units, as part of the general growth of the Yishuv), and as a result of its increasingly responsible and central position in the Zionist movement. This last point had two aspects: 1) at the ideological level there was a feeling that the conception and symbols of class were sacrificed in order to build the image of nationally oriented "catch all" party; 2) there were disagreements on policy problems both in the Zionist movement and the Histadrut.

The internal differentiation led to the formation of various internal "power centres". Generally speaking, these were again of two types 1) units in the <sup>b c</sup>hierarchical structure of the party, i.e. local branches; 2) units which could be defined in broader terms, e.g. the "settlement movements".

It was the responsibility of the central leadership of the party, to mediate between these "centres of power", whenever they were in conflict. In this respect, the leadership of the party acted in various capacities, according to the issues which were to hand. If the problem was one of land settlement, the issue was usually decided within the framework of HaMerkaz HaHaklai (the Agricultural Centre) or HaMoatza HaHaklait (the Agricultural Council)<sup>61</sup>. There were many issues of this type in the thirties owing to the fact that the settlement movements had many groups of candidates for settlement, while lands and funds available were limited. It was therefore up to the "institutions" (a concept used generally with reference to various authorities in the Histadrut and the Yishuv) to determine

59. Otto Kirchheimer: "The Transformation of West European Party Systems" in J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner, op.cit. pp. 177-200 (esp. pp. 184 ff).

60. D. Ben-Gurion: Mimaamad Le'am (Heb.) Tel-Aviv, Davar, 1933; notice the order of the subtitles 1) Towards the Future; 2) The Union of the Class 3) The Society of the Workers; 4) The Struggle of the Class; 5) The Worker and the Nation (there is a chronological order here, and not merely a grouping of articles according to subjects. Another book by Ben-Gurion, published two years later (Mishmarot, Tel-Aviv, Davar, 1935) has the subtitle: "An examination of the place of the Labour movement in realisation of Zionism").

61. The Executive Committee and Council of the Rural Sector of the Histadrut respectively.

priorities. A different issue in which, however, more or less the same groups were involved was that of activities in the diaspora and competition between movements affiliated to various "settlement movements" in Israel. In such a case the matter was brought before a forum in the Histadrut. In certain cases the central committee of Mapai as such dealt directly with issues, or appointed an ad-hoc committee to deal with them.

As to the leadership of the party, one could distinguish between the central leadership, composed of persons acceptable to all, due to their standing in the Labour movement (e.g. Ben-Gurion, Katznelson, Sprintzak, Remez, Sharett, Kaplan, etc.) and leaders who represented groups and factions in the party, and who were not considered among the top leadership. With the growth of the party, a party apparatus came into existence, which was destined to play an important role in the party some years later. It was composed of "specialists" in the sphere of mobilisation of support at the local (micro) power structure level.

One of the first places in which a local party apparatus proved itself was Haifa. Of all towns of Palestine at that time, Haifa was the most "proletarian". It had the only modern port in Palestine, the oil refineries (there was a pipeline from Iraq to the Mediterranean, and the crude oil was refined in Haifa and shipped from there), and most of the heavy industries of Palestine were concentrated in its vicinity. This situation gave the Haifa "Workers' Council" a special position within the Histadrut. Needless to say, this Workers' Council, like all others in the Yishuv (there were local "Workers' Councils" in towns and Moshavot, which acted for the local branches of the Histadrut<sup>62</sup>) was run by Mapai. The difference between members of the Histadrut with an ideological background dating back to the Second or Third Aliyah, and "ordinary" urban unskilled or semi-skilled workers is apparently self-evident, and it was the special task of the Haifa Workers' Council to bring these workers within the network of the Histadrut and its trade unions. It was in the early thirties that "Haifa" (which was known in the Yishuv as "Red Haifa") began giving trouble to the leadership of Mapai and the Histadrut, by becoming "too independent". A special commission of inquiry, composed of some of the top leaders, was appointed, and its report, which was never published, contained some severe accusations as to the method in which business was handled in Haifa<sup>63</sup>. Nevertheless,

62. In the "Hityashvut", the settlements were affiliated to the Histadrut directly (i.e. as individual settlements) as well as through the "settlements movements". Besides every individual settler was, by definition, a member of it.

63. See a series of six articles by Shabtai Teveth under the heading "Yad Kasha Al Haifa" (Heb. Strong Hand over Haifa) HaAretz daily newspaper, 20th Feb.-3rd March, 1959.



this branch of "Histadrut-Mapai" succeeded in maintaining a relative autonomy for a very long time (including the post 1948 period). It had one of the first and most efficient "bosses" in the Yishuv (and Israeli) party-politics, Abba Hushi<sup>64</sup>.

While the Haifa branch attempted to establish and maintain its autonomy, the story of the Tel-Aviv branch is somewhat different. Tel-Aviv was in fact the centre of the Yishuv, (in politics, economy, culture, etc.) and the Tel-Aviv branch was geographically close to many of the top leaders. This branch (namely "Histadrut-Mapai") conducted its own affairs, without trying to establish autonomy in the Haifa pattern, while the top leadership for its part did not interfere with its internal routine activities. The heads of the branch, who, as in Haifa, controlled the local Workers' Council, gradually formed their own apparatus or establishment. In the late thirties an opposition came into existence in the Tel-Aviv branch, known later as Faction B (Si'a Bet in Hebrew); the arguments which this opposition presented were that the leadership of the branch had become an oligarchic group, avoided democratic processes in the branch and were not active enough in guarding the interests of the workers. For sometime, in the late thirties and early forties, this opposition became powerful enough to lead the Tel-Aviv branch of Mapai, but were unable to replace the personnel in the Workers' Council.

This development began threatening the position of the top leadership as early as the late thirties, but as yet no drastic measures were taken. It should be remembered that this was a period of disturbances in Palestine, and problems of security, growth (including the erection of new settlements) and policies concerning a solution to the Palestine problem were top priority in the Yishuv. Nevertheless, the internal problems of the party were the main issue at the fourth conference (May, 1938)<sup>65</sup>.

Several months earlier, a division of opinion had taken place in Mapai, concerning the party's attitude to the idea of the partition of Palestine, and the formation of a Jewish state in part of it<sup>66</sup>. This division cut

64. He was the Secretary of the Haifa Workers' Council from the early thirties he became Mayor of Haifa, after the first municipal elections held in Israel (1952) - was mayor for nearly 20 years, until his death in 1970. All in all, Hushi "ruled" Haifa for about forty years.

65. See the reports of the conference in Mapai's weekly "HaPoel-HaTzair" - the issues of May 1938, as well as in the standard histories of the Labour movement.

66. As recommended by the Palestine Royal Commission (The Peel Commission) (H.M.S.O., 1937; Cmd. 5479). The minutes of the discussions of Mapai "international" council concerning the party's attitude were published in a brochure called "Al Darkei Mediniutenu" (Heb. Problems of Our Policy), Tel-Aviv, 1938.

across many other divisions and alliances in the party (e.g. of the two top leaders of the party, Ben-Gurion was in favour of it while Katzenelson opposed it). Nevertheless, the majority of the party (in its "parliamentary party" at the 20th Zionist Congress, August 1937) supported the idea in this respect, following Dr. Weizmann and their representatives in the Zionist Executive and Jewish Agency. The whole issue did not endanger the <sup>unity</sup> ~~integrity~~ of the party, especially after it became evident that the British were not ready to support this idea. But there was one lasting effect of the whole controversy in the party. The leadership of HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad, headed by Yzchak Tabenkin, almost unanimously rejected the idea of partition. It seems that from this controversy onwards, a potential split between HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad and the majority in the party, was developing<sup>67</sup>.

The unique position of the settlement movements, and especially the Kibbutzim movements, has already been mentioned. It was not only due to the values they symbolised and their appeal to the younger generation in the Yishuv and abroad, but also to their organisational efficiency at the nation-wide level, that they could supply many functionaries of a high ideological and personal standard to the party and the Histadrut. In this respect HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad was much more active than Chever-HaKnutzot. As it happened, some of its members fulfilled functions not only in the executive committees of Mapai and the Histadrut, but also in the Tel-Aviv branch and Workers' Council. Many important details have to be omitted here in order to come straight to the point, namely that Faction B in the Tel-Aviv branch and HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad formed an alliance within Mapai.

This alliance endangered the position of the leadership and the whole modus vivendi which existed in Mapai, and might also have endangered its position in the Histadrut and the Yishuv. In some cases Faction B (as it became known throughout the party) joined other parties and groups in opposition to the official Mapai (especially in various towns of the Histadrut). The fifth conference of the party (1942), therefore, decided that there was no place for organised factions within the party, and demanded that Faction B disband. The faction refused, and attempts at reconciliation lasted for another two years. But the split became a fact in 1944, shortly before the elections

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67. Besides Katzenelson, there were other top leaders and leaders of the second echelon (as, in that time, Golda Meir) who opposed the partition plan. But in the last resort, they all belonged to the same group inside the party. On the other hand, some of the "trouble makers" (such as Abba Hushi and his followers from Haifa) did support the policy which was advocated by Ben-Gurion and other Mapai members in the Zionist executive.

to the sixth general conference of the Histadrut and to the Assembly of Representatives of Knesset-Israel.

The split had lasting effects on Mapai in subsequent years. It strengthened the power of the party apparatus; on the other hand, this apparatus proved itself loyal to the top leadership and did not interfere in problems of high politics. But as far as various local appointments and the manning of the various organs of the party were concerned, this apparatus was in control. Some of its members became "strong men" behind the scenes, not holding any prominent posts in the Histadrut or (afterwards) the state, while others, who emerged out of this apparatus or helped to build it, later succeeded in securing their positions as recognised leaders, and many years later some of them even became members of the Israeli government. On the other hand, this apparatus (known popularly as the Bloc, HaGush in Heb.) blocked the way to many young aspirants who tried to fight the party establishment. These occurrences took place mainly after the founding of the state. The term "Anonymous Empire" used by a British scholar to describe pressure group politics, [very well] fits the Gush in Mapai. Its central figure (never elected as such) was a man named Shraga Netzer, who was never an official functionary in the Histadrut or the party, or in the state, and was employed until his retirement several years ago as deputy director of the Department of Sanitation in the municipality of Tel-Aviv. Among other things, this man took part in the small group which decided who was going to represent the party in the municipality of which he was an employee<sup>68</sup>.

The split in Mapai did not in the long run change its position as the leading party in the Yishuv and the Zionist movement. There were, however, some short-lived consequences in this respect. The fact that some members of HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad and others who joined them (it should be recalled that as a result of the split, Faction B became an independent party - HaTnua LeAchdut HaAvoda) held key positions in various organisations of the Yishuv, sometimes created a "problem" for Mapai. This is especially true in the case of the Hagana, the "official" defence organisation of the Yishuv. One should remember in this context that Palestine was at that time moving

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68. The Gush was very loyal to Ben-Gurion, but fought against many of his young supporters, who later joined him in Rafi. The split in 1965, was therefore for many of them a traumatic experience; some of them followed Ben-Gurion while others remained loyal to the party. For Netzer himself the dilemma was a very severe one. In the end he decided to remain in Mapai, but he never regained his informal status as a "king-maker". Netzer was never a leader of Mapai, and the official story of politics in Israel can be told without even referring to him; but any analysis of Mapai, however, would be very incomplete if it did not deal with the Gush and its central figure.

towards one of the most crucial phases in its history, and the Yishuv was approaching open conflict with the British Government. Key positions in the Hagana at that time were, therefore, of utmost importance. Nevertheless, Mapai succeeded in regaining effective control over the Hagana.

At the 22nd Zionist Congress in Basle (1946), Dr. Weizmann, who was considered too moderate in his attitudes toward the British, was not re-elected as President of the Zionist Organisation and the Jewish Agency<sup>69</sup>, and the position remained vacant. The "second in command", David Ben-Gurion (Chairman of the Executive), who had emerged as a political rival of Weizmann, and Dr. A.H. Silver (leader of the American Zionist Federation) were elected as co-chairman of the Jerusalem and New York branches of the Executive respectively. Several years earlier, Mapai had adopted the "Biltmore Plan"<sup>70</sup>, which was interpreted as an expression of its readiness to accept a partition solution for Palestine, if the territory of the Jewish State were sufficiently extensive.

The Executive in New York was engaged mainly in political contacts with the U.S. Government and the U.N., while the Executive in Jerusalem was more in charge of the "home front". The two years which followed - 1946-48 - proved to be the last years of the mandate, and were packed with intensive political and military activities. Various resistance movements became very militant in the Yishuv, and were engaged in guerrilla activities against the British and in organising large-scale illegal Jewish immigration. It was in these years that Mapai emerged as the leading power in the Jewish national struggle<sup>71</sup>, and its leadership, with Ben-Gurion as the central figure, became

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69. These concepts are used interchangeably. Since 1929, the Jewish Agency has also included non-Zionists. The problem of "expanding" the Jewish Agency was an issue in the Zionist movement during the twenties. Although it raised a good deal of controversy at that time, "non-Zionists" did not in fact play a prominent role, and the distinction between the two became merely formal.

70. Named after the Biltmore Hotel in New York, where a conference of American Zionists was convened in 1941. At this conference Ben-Gurion played a prominent role, and a resolution, calling for the turning of Palestine into a Jewish commonwealth was adopted. See: Ben Halperin: The Idea of the Jewish State, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 39-42.

71. The activities of the two dissident guerrilla organisations, so far as they are relevant to this study, will be discussed in Chapter 5 (esp. in Section 6). See also the discussion in the following section of this chapter (and n. 73).

identified as the national leadership. If one describes Ben-Gurion's leadership during Israel's first decade as "charismatic", its origins as such are to be found in these last years of the mandate.

#### 4. HaTnua LeAchdut-HaAvoda-Poalei-Tzion

Poalei-Tzion (or Poalei-Tzion Smol - Poalei-Tzion-Left has already been mentioned above (p.85). They returned to the Zionist movement in 1939, but more than any other group in socialist-Zionism, they considered themselves as followers of B. Borochoy and guardians of his ideology. Among other issues, the preservation of Yiddish became a symbolic principal, demonstrating their identification with the "masses of the Jewish proletariat in the diaspora and their national language". This, of course, was to become an anachronism, and although Poalei-Tzion sensed this, the whole issue gradually lost much of its importance. They constituted in the Yishuv a small group, and although they were the main opposition in the Histadrut in the late twenties and early thirties, they have become a minor opposition with the growth of HaShomer-HaTzair, <sup>and</sup> especially since 1944, with the formation of the new HaTnua LeAchdut-HaAvoda party.

There were several differences between LeAchdut-HaAvoda and Poalei-Tzion in ideology, political mentality and patterns of activity in the Yishuv. LeAchdut-HaAvoda emerged in fact as the party of HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad (in this respect, it resembled HaShomer-HaTzair), while Poalei-Tzion formed mainly small urban cells, without the tradition of "constructive activity" and land settlement. It seemed, however, in the interest of the two parties that they should unite,<sup>72</sup> and the party with the long name of "HaTnua-LeAchdut HaAvoda-Poalei-Tzion" came into existence in 1946. Nevertheless, Mapai retained its position as the majority party in the Histadrut.

The top leadership of the new party was mainly recruited from HaKibbutz HaMeuchad, as were its main functionaries. In the Histadrut it usually collaborated with HaShomer-HaTzair - together forming the left-wing opposition. In its approach to the main issue of that period, that of defining national goals and the struggle against the British, it differed from both Mapai and HaShomer-HaTzair. The whole issue of "The Struggle"<sup>73</sup> (1946-47), was

72. Two years earlier, in the elections to the 6th Conference of the Histadrut and the Assembly of Representatives of Knesset-Israel, Poalei-Tzion participated in HaShomer HaTzair's list of candidates.

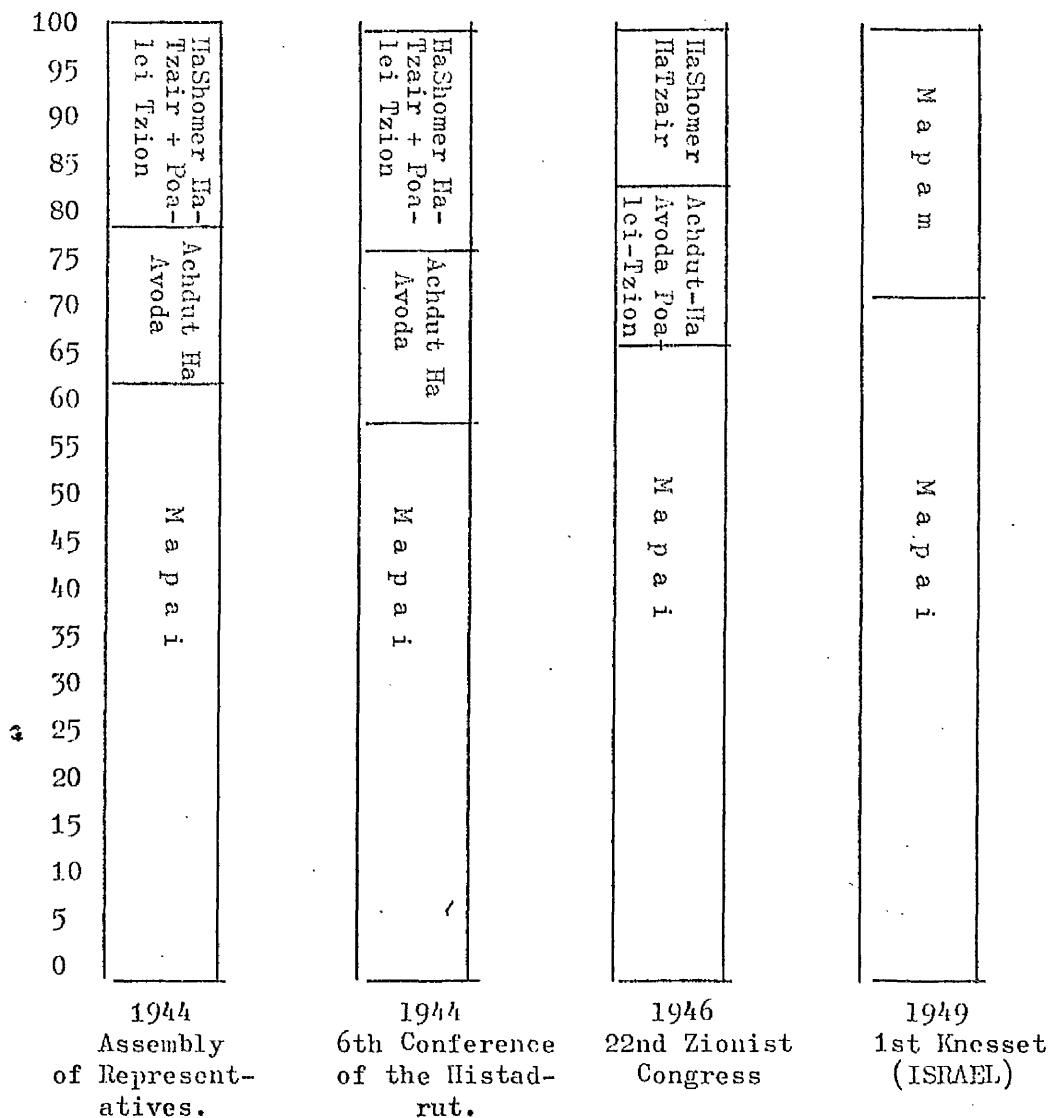
73. This was in common terms used in the Yishuv at that time, for all political and military activities against the British (Heb. HaMaavak). See above, n. 71.

obviously a central issue in the Yishuv at that time. While Mapai advocated a policy based politically on the "Biltmore Plan" and, generally speaking, moderation in the "struggle"<sup>74</sup>, and HaShomer HaTzair favoured a bi-national political solution and even a more moderate approach than Mapai with regard to the "struggle", Achdut-HaAvoda (to use the shortened name, remembering to distinguish between that of the forties, which was revived in the fifties, and that of the twenties) rejected the "Biltmore Plan" and advocated an "international mandate", under which free Jewish immigration as well as settlement in all parts of Palestine would be guaranteed. As far as the struggle was concerned - they were the most activist (the term used at the time) in the Labour movement. By comparing the policies of Mapai with those of Achdut HaAvoda from a historical perspective, one gets the impression that although Achdut-HaAvoda was ready to accept something less than a Jewish state at that time, its nationalist aspirations in the long range were much more radical, at least as far as the language of ideology and slogans was concerned. It was also much more militant in the sphere of the "struggle". The following sketch summarises the attitude of the three Labour parties concerning the various issues:

	Socialism	Immediate National Goal	Methods of "Struggle"
Mapai	"Reformist"	Jewish State (partition)	Moderation with some activism
Achdut-HaAvoda	"Quite Revolutionary"	International pro-Zionist Mandate	Activist
HaShomer HaTzair	"Revolutionary"	Bi-national state	Very moderate

74. The struggle consisted, generally speaking, of three types of activities - personal terror against the British, sabotage and illegal immigration. The so-called "Stern Group" advocated personal terror, the Irgun mainly sabotage and personal terror "when necessary" (they were also active to some extent in illegal immigration). For the Labour movement the struggle consisted mainly of illegal immigration, as well as some sabotage activities. All the three underground organisations (viz the Hagana and the two dissident ones) had for a short time in 1946 co-ordinated their activities, under a common title - "The Jewish Resistance Movement".

A comparison of the representation of the three parties after the elections<sup>cf</sup> 1944-1949, gives the following picture (the total representation of the three parties is considered for the present purpose as 100%):



NOTES: 1. In the 1944 elections, Poalei-Tzion presented a common list of candidates with HaShomer HaTzair. They later united with Achdut HaAvoda which explains the relative changes of the Left-wing Labour parties.  
*in the representation*

2. The proportions in the Zionist Congress (1946) represent the vote from both the Yishuv and the diaspora. In the Yishuv, the left-wing parties were somewhat stronger, viz. Mapai 58.5%; Achdut-HaAvoda-P.T. 20.75%; HaShomer-HaTzair 20.75%. Notice, however, the equality between these two minor parties.

3. In comparison with the situation at the 22nd Congress, and especially when one considers the returns in the Yishuv (Note 2 above) - the swing to Mapai in the elections to the First Knesset is striking. This seems to justify the attribution of the concept "catch-all party" to Mapai at this stage. This fact is of even more importance when one remembers that Mapam was returned to that Knesset as the second largest party. A comparison of relative strength in the Histadrut, where the left-wing parties were relatively stronger, leads to the same conclusions.

Having HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad as its basis of power, as well as its source of organisation, Achdut-HaAvoda was able to develop another stronghold in the Yishuv, namely in the Hagana. The Hagana in the forties was comprised of a popular militia and a small mobilised unit called Palmach<sup>75</sup>, the bases of which were mainly in the Kibbutzim of HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad. Consequently, of all the units of which Mapai and the Histadrut were comprised, HaKibbutz HaMeuchad was considered as the most influential in the Palmach. Members of HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad, as well as members of Achdut-HaAvoda who were not kibbutz members, also held key positions in the supreme command of the Hagana. As it happened, the three top leaders of the Hagana during one of the most crucial moments of the "struggle"<sup>75a</sup> were members of Achdut-HaAvoda - the head of the Hagana command - Israel Galili<sup>76</sup>, its acting Chief of Staff Yzhak Sadeh<sup>77</sup> and the commander of the Palmach - Yigal Allen (then Paikowich<sup>78</sup>). This situation was quite unbearable for Mapai, and therefore immediately after the 22nd Zionist Congress, Ben-Gurion himself took control of the Hagana<sup>79</sup>. Nevertheless, the influence of Achdut-HaAvoda, and later (1948) of the newly united party - Mapam, was very strong in the Hagana, and particularly in the Palmach. It ended only with the creation of the Israeli Army. The controversy over the disbandment of the Palmach (1949) was one of the most intensive in the early history of the State of Israel.

75. From the point of view of co-operation among various groups in the Yishuv and the problem of coalitions, the Hagana presents an interesting case, and will be mentioned in that context in Chapter 8.<sup>1931</sup> In the present context, only a part of the picture is presented, as far as it seems relevant to the present topic. The whole complex of relationships between various parties concerning the Hagana, and particularly the Palmach, is presented in detailed scholarly, although somewhat biased, way in Yehuda Bauer: From Diplomacy to Resistance, Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1970. A less penetrating discussion is Amos Perlmutter: Military and Politics in Israel, London, Frank Cass & Co. 1969, pp. 32-53. See also Ben Halperin: "The Military in Israel" in J. Johnson (ed.): The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries, Princeton University Press, 1962.

75a Including the time of the "Jewish Resistance Movement", see above, n.74.

76. Galili is one of the first "graduates" of the Histadrut's youth movement - HaNoak-HaOved (The Working Youth). During the forties he emerged as one of the leaders of HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad, and during the fifties he became the second in the leadership hierarchy in LaAchdut-HaAvoda. With his party, he joined the Labour Party (1968) and is one of the influential members in Mrs. Meir's cabinet.

77. Yzhak Sadeh was one of the founders of Gdud-HaAvoda - the labour battalion mentioned above. He was active for many years in the Hagana, was the first commander of HaPalmach, and served in the 1948-9 War as a general in the Israeli Army. He died in the early fifties.

78. - on following page

79. - on following page



The split in Mapai caused many tensions within the Kibbutz-HaMeuchad as well as within the various kibbutzim affiliated to it. The majority of the members of HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad became members of Achdut-HaAvoda, and the party was in fact considered as the party of HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad. Almost all the elite members of that movement were members of Faction B. There was still, however, a considerable number of members in Kibbutzim who remained members of Mapai, and in some Kibbutzim, the majority of the members remained Mapai members. The <sup>unity</sup> ~~integrity~~ of many Kibbutzim was therefore jeopardised and in fact there were splits in many kibbutzim, exchanges of members from a Mapai-dominated Kibbutz to an Achdut-HaAvoda dominated one and vice versa (sometimes parents remained in the original Kibbutz and their children moved or vice versa). The whole conflict reached its summit with the split in HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad movement itself, a few years after the establishment of the state. At that time, Mapam (in which Achdut-HaAvoda was included) was in bitter opposition to the Mapai-led government. Soon afterwards the Kibbutzim which left HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad and which for a while formed their own Mapai affiliated movement, united with Hever-HaKvutzot<sup>80</sup>.

- Since HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad and HaKibbutz-HaAartzi (HaShomer-HaTzair) did not merge - both Achdut-HaAvoda and HaShomer-HaTzair could easily maintain their semi-factional structures within Mapam. Mapam as the biggest opposition party in the Knesset was occupied for a while with severe criticism of the various governmental policies - in economic and foreign policy spheres and problems of defence and strategy; but in the early fifties, the signs of a

78. Yigal Allon is now Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education in Mrs. Meir's cabinet, and is mentioned frequently as a potential future contestant to premiership. He was one of the most brilliant commanders of the Israeli Army in the 1948-9 War (with the rank of General), but gave up his military career (at the age of 29), like many other LeAchdut-HaAvoda commanders, owing to differences of opinion with Ben-Gurion.

79. See D. Ben-Gurion's description in his book: Medinat Israel HaMechudesbet (Heb. The Restored State of Israel) - to be published shortly in English, Tel-Aviv, Am-Oved 1969, pp. 68-75.

80. Now, with the formation of the Labour Party, there are again two Kibbutzim movements, affiliated to it. Will there be a union between the two? And what about HaKibbutz-HaAartzi, in case Mapam joins the Labour Party, with whom it is now in an alignment? The whole issue of unity and division among Kibbutzim movements is one of longstanding. Mapai leader B. Katzenelson tried in vain to bring the various movements to terms. See B. Katzenelson (ed.): HaKibbutz VeHaKvutza, Tel-Aviv, The Executive Committee of the Histadrut, 1940, as well as minutes of discussion published in the Mapai bulletins "Yediot Merkaz Mapai" Nos. 118 (13th September 1938) and 136 (20th November 1938).

coming split were becoming more and more evident. The final one was the most crucial - when Achdut-HaAvoda left Mapam. This act was preceded by the secession of two small splinter groups - one of the left-wing<sup>81</sup> and the second of the right-wing. The whole dialectic of the history of the united Mapam in its six and a half years of existence are not within the scope of this study.

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81. Led by Moshe Snek, one of the most brilliant Israeli politicians, with a most unconventional career. As a young man, he became one of the leaders of the progressive wing of the General Zionists in Poland. He came to Palestine in 1940 and was appointed head of the command of the Hagana - since both the Labour movement and the right-wing in the Yishuv were ready to accept him as one who held the balance of power. He later became a member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency (representing the Liberal-wing of the General Zionists). During the period of the "struggle" he became gradually very activist, resigned from the Jewish Agency, and later joined Achdut-HaAvoda. In Mapam he moved very quickly to the left-wing, until even HaShomer-HaTzair considered him as a menace to the party. He justified the Russian Middle-Eastern and anti-Zionist policy and several months after leaving Mapam, he joined Maki and gave up Zionism altogether. But in 1965, he realised that Russian interests were contradictory to those of Israel, and it was mainly thanks to his influence that Maki started advocating a more "pro-Israeli" policy, the result of which was the split in Maki and the formation of Rakach (see Chapter 1). At present, Dr. Snek (a physician by education, who never practised medicine) is the only representative of Maki in the Knesset.

23. He was Minister of Finance 1952-1963. Prime Minister 1963-1969. Died 1969. See his biography - Terrence Prittie: Eshkol of Israel, London, Museum Press, 1969.
24. He was the father of General Moshe Dayan, present Israeli Defence Minister. Was active himself in political life in the Yishuv.
26. He was a member of all central committees of Mapai, the Histadrut, etc., but never held a formal office (apart from being officially the editor of Davar - The Histadrut daily). Nevertheless, he was considered as a spiritual and political leader of the Zionist Labour movement. In the lists of candidates of Mapai to Zionist congresses, he was usually second (D. Ben-Gurion, the first on the list), but in ideological matters, his influence was greater than that of Ben-Gurion. He devoted much of his time to cultural and "political socialisation" activities. Died 1944.
27. He did not hold formal offices, but was a member of various central organs of Mapai, the Histadrut and the Zionist movement. Semi-charismatic leader of "HaKibbutz HaMeuchad", the nation-wide movement of the larger Kibbutzim, and head of the group which left Mapai in the split of 1944. He was a member of the Knesset for several years. One of the few "founding fathers" of the Zionist Labour movement who are still alive and a prominent figure in the Yishuv politics (Several days after writing this note, Tabenkin died; see obituary, The Times, 7th July, 1971).
28. He did not hold many key positions in the Histadrut (except Secretary of its "Centre for Education" for some years), and did not even become a member of the Knesset, but was considered as a moral authority and one of the founding fathers of the Labour movement in Israel. Died 1962.
29. He was Secretary General of the Histadrut 1933-1945; Chairman of the Vaad HaLeumi 1946-1948. Minister of Transportation and Communication 1948-1951; Minister of Education and Culture 1951 until his death in 1952. His son was Israel's Ambassador to the Court of St. James 1965-1970.
32. He was a member of the executive of the Jewish Agency and the Zionist Organisation 1933-1948 (Treasurer from 1935). Minister of Finance since the establishment of Israel until several days before his death (1952).
33. He was a leader of the Youth Movement "Gordonia" (named after A.D. Gordon) in Poland in the late twenties, and leader of "Hever HaKvutzot" (organisation of the small Kibbutzim) for many years. Secretary of Mapai in the late thirties. Secretary General of the Histadrut 1949-1952. Minister of Agriculture 1953; Minister of Defence 1954-5; Secretary General of the Histadrut again 1956-1961 (when forced to resign as a result of the "Lavon Affair". On the Lavon Affair (a.-1955; b.-1961), see the references in Chapter 1, n.40.
34. Luz is a member of Kibbutz Dagan B. He was Minister of Agriculture 1955-59 and Speaker of the Knesset 1959-1969.
35. He was Mayor of Jerusalem, 1960-1965.
36. He was first Ambassador of Israel in Washington, and later, for many years, Ambassador in London.

38. She is at present the Prime Minister of Israel
39. He was Secretary General of Mapai, and later for many years Minister of Education. D. 1970.
40. He became later Israel's ambassador in Moscow, Minister of Labour and Mayor of Tel-Aviv.
41. He was a member of Kibbutz Yagur and one of the leaders of the splinter group which left Mapai in 1944 and founded a new party - "HaTnua Le Achdut HaAvoda" . He served later in various Israeli governments. D. 1966.
42. He is now President of Israel. He came to Palestine originally with the Second Aliya, but left afterwards in order to resume his higher studies. Was a member of Poalei-Tzion Party. Succeeded B. Katznelson as editor of "Davar" (see next footnote).
43. He was one of the ablest journalists of the Yishuv. Immigrated from Italy he became the main writer of the leading articles in the Histadrut (viz Labour movement) daily "Davar". Died 1937 at the age of fifty.
44. He was Secretary of the political department of the Jewish Agency under Arlosoroff (1931-33) and later its head until the establishment of Israel (for a while in the New York branch); first Foreign Minister of Israel until 1956 (in 1953-4 was Prime-Minister too, when Ben-Gurion went on a "self-imposed exile" to a kibbutz in the Negev). Was forced to retire owing to differences in opinion with Ben-Gurion in 1956. Died 1965.
45. He was the de facto head of the Hagana for many years until his death in 1945.
46. He was the Liaison Officer with the British Labour Party. He was killed in a road accident in 1940. He was (I mention it as a paradox) a personal friend of Ernest Bevin many years before one could imagine that Bevin was going to symbolise, as far as the Jews were concerned, the break between Britain and the Zionist movement. Sharett, Golomb and Hoz were brothers-in-law.

## CHAPTER 5

### General Zionists: Liberals and Independent Liberals

#### 1. The Origins of Gahal: An Outline

There were five parties listed as non-labour secular parties, in the classification presented in Chapter 1. Reference has already been made in that context to two of them - the small new-centre (HaMerkaz-HaHofshi) which split from Herut, and the State-List, which contained members of the former Rafi party, who refused to join the Labour Party. This chapter and the following will deal with the origins of the other three parties - the two which form the Gahal Bloc, viz the Liberals and Herut, and the small party of Independent Liberals.

The Gahal Bloc represents an attempt to bring together several groups in the non-Labour "camp". The last step in this direction was the formation of the present bloc of the Liberals and Herut. But even before a deeper analysis is made, one great difference between the two is evident. Herut has a history of its own, which in fact goes back to the early and middle twenties, when the first units of the Betar youth movements were formed in the diaspora<sup>1</sup>, and the first steps were taken by Vladimir Jabotinsky<sup>2</sup> to form a radical nationalist opposition. In a short time, the Betar movement and the newly formed Revisionist Party established close ties, and Jabotinsky became known as "Head of Betar". The history of the Revisionist Party, or rather movement, is somewhat complex, but it more or less has its own defined boundaries. Until his death in 1940, Jabotinsky was its acclaimed leader, and those who succeeded him, still call themselves the "disciples of Jabotinsky".

The situation is very different as regards the Liberal Party. This party, as well as that of the Independent-Liberals, has its background in what was the amorphous General Zionist bloc<sup>in</sup> the Zionist Organisation of the twenties, and in the various secular middle-class groups in the Yishuv. More than with any other party under discussion, it is in this context that the institutionalisation of party-political activity and the formation of viable party structures showed themselves to be problematic. With all its internal splits, the Labour movement succeeded in establishing and maintaining its socio-political organisation, viz the Histadrut. Its power, therefore, did

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1. See the discussion of Betar in the next chapter, Section 3.

2. See the detailed discussion in the next chapter.

not depend merely upon the size of its representation in the Zionist congresses, but was reflected in the daily life of the developing Yishuv. In this respect the middle-class elements in the Yishuv lagged a good deal behind the Labour movement. One could say in this case that Labour succeeded in overcoming internal cross-cutting cleavages and maintaining its basic integration, while the non-Labour camp failed, and remained fragmented during the whole mandatory period. The intensity of internal division among the various middle-class groups was reflected not only by the large number of units which were active in the party-political arena, but also in the fact that there was a lack of continuity between groups in the Yishuv and parties in the Zionist movement. In other words, various opponents of the Labour movement (i.e. Mapai) in the Yishuv and in the World Zionist Organisation could not come to terms with each other.

The non-Labour non-religious camp in the Zionist movement in the early twenties was composed of the so-called "General Zionists". As mentioned earlier (Chapter 2, Section 2), "General Zionists" appeared as a separate power primarily in order to be distinguished from those who were not "general", viz Labour and religious factions in the pre-World War I Zionist congresses. A simple use of this concept in the context of the Yishuv especially after World War I, would be entirely misleading. Some of the distinguished leaders of the middle-class groups, whether or not they were formally "General Zionists", did not emerge as political leaders in the Yishuv, as representatives of the "General Zionists". In many cases they were not active in Zionist party-politics at all, as far as the framework of the World Zionist Organisation with its congresses and other bodies was concerned.

In fact, there is room here for another comparison with the Labour movement, which will in the last resort illustrate the large difference between the two "camps". It has already been mentioned that there were some groups within the Histadrut which did not take part in the Zionist movement, e.g. Poalei-Tzion-Smol (until 1939). One should, however, remember: 1) that these were small and to some extent marginal groups in the Yishuv; and 2) especially, that these were branches of world movements, the main power and centres of which were outside Palestine. In the non-Labour camp in the Yishuv the situation was the reverse. The strongest and most important groups came into existence as a result of the growth of the Yishuv. They, therefore, had their roots in the Yishuv itself, and did not, a priori,

form part of a world-wide Jewish movement or sub-movement, nor were they integrated as a group in a world-wide movement, although individual members were.

The commonly used terminology of the "centre" and "right wing", is avoided here as much as possible. The reason for this is that the use of these general stereotyped terms may only make it difficult to distinguish the various internal differences in this diversified and fragmented social and political sector of the Yishuv.

The Revisionists too emerged out of the "General Zionists", but from the mid-twenties they formed a party of their own, and in 1935 left the World Zionist Organisation altogether and established the "New Zionist Organisation". It was only with the formation of Gahal, about forty years after the Revisionist Party was founded, that some former General Zionist Groups, as well as some "right wing" Yishuv political elements, together with the Revisionists formed a common political framework. It should be stated, however, that even now, the future of this political alignment is somewhat obscure. While Herut would like it to become a unified party, the majority of the Liberals are not ready for such a step<sup>3</sup>. No doubt the type of issues which will face the State of Israel in the future will influence the developments in the Gahal Bloc<sup>4</sup>.

## 2. The "General Zionists" in the Zionist Organisation

In 1945, a leading journalist from the General Zionists, who was also editor of the official weekly of the Zionist Organisation, presented the following definitions and descriptions<sup>5</sup>:

"Those members of the World Zionist Organisation, who are not members of a "special association", are called "general Zionists". The term "general" was automatically applied to them under the influence of the German and Yiddish term, "Allgemeiner Zionismus" which means "un-specified" in the sense of belonging to any particular faction .... It referred to Zionists who did not join any such faction, and who stayed within the frameworks of the Zionist Organisations of their countries.

In the beginning, the World Zionist Organisation was based on such territorial organisations, since it was impossible, from a legal point of view, to establish an international Jewish organisation..... Legally, the World Zionist Organisation was a weak federation of representatives of national organisations, each of which was operating under the law in force in that particular country .....

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3. A motion for such a union was heavily defeated at the last conference of the Liberal Party, held in Tel-Aviv, in 8th June 1971.

4. See the short reference to this subject in Chapter 1, Section 6.

5. Quoted from: Moshe Kleinmann: HaTzionim-HaKlalyim (Heb. The General-Zionists Jerusalem, HaMachon LeHaskala TZionist, 1945, p.10.

Without going into detail about the formal organisation of the Zionist movement, the appearance of parties (or "separate associations" in the formal nomenclature) turned it into an organisation based upon "national organisations" (i.e. the Zionist Organisation in Britain) on the one hand and upon "separate associations" (such as HaMizrachi and Poalei-Tzion in the early congresses) on the other. A member of HaMizrachi, say, in Latvia, was not a member of the Zionist Organisation of Latvia, and his affiliation to the World Zionist organisation was contracted by his membership of HaMizrachi. There was a special document, known as the Shekel, and the strength of each national organisation or "separate association" in the World Zionist movement was measured according to the number of "Shekalim" (pl.) which were sold. The Shekel also served as an official certificate, granting its bearer the right to vote in elections to the World Zionist Congresses (where each country usually formed one constituency, and the size of its representation was fixed according to the total number of Shekalim in it<sup>5a</sup>). The composition of its representation was proportional to the number of votes each list of candidates obtained in the elections, in which the "separate associations", the territorial Zionist Organisation and various ad hoc lists took part). Until the thirties, these "Allgemeine Zionisten" formed the majority in the Zionist congresses. The first party to emerge from this majority, was not in fact the Revisionist Party, but another party, whose span of life was only about ten years (1923-33). This party, known as The Radicals, although it was quite a small one, included some people who became well known in the Zionist movement, such as Yizhak Gruenbaum<sup>6</sup>, Nahum Golmann<sup>7</sup> and others. Most of them afterwards became leaders of one of the General Zionist parties, once the General Zionists became formally organised in parties (see below)<sup>8</sup>. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to conclude that before 1923, the so-called "General" Zionists formed a homogeneous united group in the Zionist congresses. Some differences in the conception of Zionism and what types of activities it should emphasise, and the emergence of an opposition as early as 1901 have already been mentioned<sup>9</sup>. There were also differences of opinion

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5a From the twenties, a "double shekel" was instituted, as far as the Yishuv was concerned. This meant that the "power" of each shekel sold in the Yishuv equalled that of two Shekalim in the diaspora. The advantages of this arrangement for strong parties in the Yishuv are self-evident.

6. Y. Gruenbaum was considered for many years leader of Polish Jewry, and was a member of the Polish Parliament. In 1935 he was elected member of the Zionist Executive and immigrated to Palestine. He was the Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government, but was not elected to the First Knesset and withdrew from active political life. D. 1970 at the age of 91.

7. Goldmann became President of the Zionist Organisation after the establishment of the State. See also next footnote.

Footnotes 8 and 9 on following page.



as well as demands for representation in the executive bodies, by the representatives of the various national organisations. The main difference in this respect was between the Zionists from Russia (whose tradition went back to Hovevei-Tzion, nearly two decades before Herzl convened the first Zionist congress) and the "establishment" in the Zionist movement, headed by Herzl and later by his successor, David Wolffsohn. A person by the name of Menahen Ussishkin emerged as a leading figure among Russian Zionists<sup>10</sup>. One of the famous cases in which Russian Zionists found themselves in opposition to Herzl was in the so-called "Uganda Controversy" at the Sixth Congress (1902)<sup>10a</sup>. The

The history of the General Zionists as a party<sup>11</sup> (which afterwards passed through various splits, as well as a growing internal differentiation within each of its units) starts with a meeting of the General Zionist delegates in the 16th Zionist Congress (1929)<sup>a</sup> and the conference of representatives of various General Zionist Groups in Poland (Poland did not form one "Zionist constituency" with its national organisation, but was divided into various provinces mainly in accordance with the pre-World War I position of the provinces). Meetings of the General Zionist delegates to the 17th Zionist Congress took place in Cracow in 1931. The second declared itself as the "Founding Assembly" of the "World Union of the General Zionists" (Heb. Brit HaTzionim HaKlalyim)<sup>12</sup>.

8. On the Radical Party, see the personal account of Nahum Golmann in his Autobiography (New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), esp. pp. 99-103.

9. The "Democratic faction", mentioned above (Chapter 2, Section 2).

10. There were others too, like Dr. Y. Tschlenov and Dr. L. Motzkin, but Ussishkin immigrated to Palestine immediately after World War I, and became a leading figure in the Yishuv too.

10a See a detailed account on this controversy in Alex Bein: Theodore Herzl, a Biography, Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society, 1943, Chs 13, 14. It is discussed also in every concise history of the Zionist Organisation and in biographies and autobiographies of Zionist leaders of that period (e.g. Weizmann's Trial and Error, op.cit.).

11. M. Kleinman: op.cit.; I.I. Schwarzbart: "General Zionism" in Felix Gross and Basil J. Vlavianos (eds.): Struggle for Tomorrow, New York, Arts Inc., 1954, pp. 24-51.

12. M. Kleinman: op.cit. p. 13ff.; I.I. Schwarzbart in <sup>Gross and</sup> Vlavianos, and Gross op.cit. pp. 30-31.

The fact that so much effort was needed in order to form the party of the General Zionists is not only a reflection of their lack of a partisan tradition, especially in the organisational sense of the word, but may also be considered as an index for the internal contradictions prevalent among them, which originated from various sources - different Zionist "political cultures" and conditions in the various countries, personal disagreements and of course differences in ideology and in approaches to internal Zionist party-politics, preferences of allies, etc.

The differences between the development of the Labour movement and the General Zionists are already evident. The main difference was that the General Zionists have mainly been an aggregation of diaspora Zionists, primarily organised within their national units. There was no unified framework, and attempts to build one had to face not only the problem of turning branches of a world-wide nationalist movement into a unified party within the same movement, but also the need to overcome the fact that the various national organisations already existed as reasonably viable units. With the Labour movement the situation was entirely different. Since the Second Aliya, it had succeeded in building a basis for itself in the Yishuv, where almost all its leadership was concentrated, and from this basis, or centre, it activated "extensions" in the diaspora<sup>13</sup>. The leaders of the General Zionists who lived in Palestine (people like Mossinsohn<sup>14</sup>, Suprasky<sup>15</sup>, Bogratschow<sup>16</sup> Gluckson<sup>17</sup> etc.) did not have - in what developed to be their world party organisation - the same position as the Yishuv Labour leaders had e.g. none of these four has ever become a member of the Zionist Executive. Usually General Zionists' leaders from the diaspora were elected.

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13. This is, of course, a somewhat simplified presentation. Zionist Labour movements also came into existence independently in various countries in the diaspora, but it was the political skill of the leaders of HaPoel HaTzair and Achdut-HaAvoda in the early twenties, which enabled them to establish contact with leaders of like-minded movements, and to form two "world movements" which were united after the formation of Mapai in Palestine. For references, see Chapter 4, Section 2.

14. B. 1878; D. 1942. After the split among the General Zionists he joined the "A" Party (Hitachdut HaTzionim HaKlalyim.) In his last years of life he was the director of the Department of Education of HaVaad Haleumi.

15. B. 1879 in Poland; D. 1948. Immigrated to Palestine in 1920. He was a member of the Zionist Council ("Actions Committee") and Chairman of the "B" Party in Palestine after the split among the General Zionists.

16. B. 1876 in Russia; D. 1963. Immigrated to Palestine in 1906. One of the founders and for many years headmaster of the first Hebrew secondary school "Gimnasia Hetzlia" in Tel-Aviv. He joined the "B" Party following the split. He served as a member of the Second Knesset on behalf of the General Zionists (1951-1955).

Footnote 17 on following page.

In this respect a serious problem was, that some of the people who were considered as General Zionists, and held prominent positions in the Zionist movement, literally remained General Zionists, in the non-partisan sense of the word. Due to their personal status in the Zionist movement, they could "afford" to remain outside the sphere of party-politics, as far as partisanship was concerned, and this fact even strengthened their positions in some cases. People like Weizmann, Sokolov, Ruppin and to a lesser extent Ussishkin were such non-partisan leaders of what became the General Zionist Party. On the other hand, this fact contributed to a weakening of the General Zionist Party, since some of the top leadership maintained their "general" status.

Mention should be made here of another comparison with Labour. When the leaders of Mapai emerged as national leaders, of the Yishuv and the Zionist movement, this was accompanied by the emergence of Mapai, their basis of power, as the dominant party. The General Zionists were never a dominant party. While they held the majority in the Zionist congresses (up to the early thirties), they were not yet a party. When they became a party (and this was soon followed by a split into two parties), they lost their majority in the Zionist congresses. In the Zionist congresses of the twenties they had  $\pm$  50% (with the Radicals, 55-60%) of the delegates, while in later congresses their representation (in this case their representation included two "umbrella parties", which were themselves to some extent coalitions) dropped to 25-35% (in the 18th Congress, 1933 they had no more than 23% + 5% Radicals)<sup>18</sup>. In the Yishuv they were even weaker. From the late twenties, the Yishuv, due to its unique position in the Zionist Organisation, was entitled to a double representation, i.e. the quota of representatives from Palestine was calculated as if each Shekel sold in the Yishuv was equal to two Shekalim in the diaspora (see n. 5a). This fact of course strengthened the representation of the Yishuv Zionist parties, and first and foremost, Mapai. Let us make a random comparison - the percentage of the General Zionists in the 15th Congress (1927) and the 20th - ten years later. Compared with that of the Labour parties<sup>19</sup>, and the percentage of

17. B. 1878; D. 1939. For many years he was the editor of the daily "HaAretz". His main writings were published in two volumes under the name ImChilufei Mishmarot (Heb. changes of periods). He was one of the influential leaders of General Zionists A.

18. These figures were taken from Table 4; the composition of Zionist congresses after World War I, in The Minutes of the 22nd Zionist Congress 1946, Hebrew Edition, published by the Executive of the World Zionist Organisation, Jerusalem, p.xxiv.

footnote 19 on following page.

the Yishuv representation within each respective group. Even in the

	General Zionists		Labour	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Yishuv delegates</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Yishuv delegates</u>
1927	54%	8%	22%	45%
1937	35%	9%	46%	70%

twenties, nearly half of the support for Labour came from the Yishuv (this is manifest especially in Poalei-Tzion (Achdut-HaAvoda), while among the General Zionists, even the enlarged representation which was granted to the Yishuv did not give to the Palestinian General Zionists any degree of power within their world-wide parties. These figures, however, do not reflect the real power of those Yishuv groups which might be considered as the equivalent of the General Zionists in the Zionist movement, as will be presented later in this chapter (i.e. non-Labour groups in the Yishuv which were not oriented to political activity in the Zionist movement).

From the ~~organ~~organisational point of view, therefore, a clear distinction should be made between the General Zionists of the pre-1930 period and those of the later period. One can, of course, find many ~~divisions~~ divisions in the Zionist national organisations, and the formation of various factions. The three strongholds of the General Zionists in the diaspora were in Poland, Britain and the United States (to some extent also in Germany). Of these, Britain was the "quietest" area, and the local federation, generally speaking, followed Dr. Weizmann, the President of the World Zionist Organisation. The leading figures here were Professor Z. Brodetsky and later B. Janner. In the American Zionist Federation, there were many internal conflicts, the extent of which is beyond the scope of this study. American Zionism had the benefit of having among its leaders in various periods such personalities<sup>as</sup> /

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19. The figures are compiled from the minutes of these congresses. As for the General Zionists, it does not include the vote for the Radicals in the Yishuv in 1927 (another 4%, but no representation). Labour in 1937 includes HaShomer HaTzair, since they formed a common list of candidates. Without HaShomer-HaTzair, however, figures would be roughly 42% and 63% for 1927 and 1937 respectively, and this does not change the basic trend.

Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis<sup>20</sup>, Dr. Stephen S. Wise<sup>21</sup>, L. Lipsky<sup>22</sup>, Dr. A.H. Silver<sup>23</sup> and others. This asset also took its role in personal and factional antagonisms. In Poland two groups were crystallised during the twenties, known as "Et Livnot" (Heb. "Time to Build") and "Al HaMishmar" (Heb. On Guard). These factions existed only in one of the "Zionist constituencies" of Poland (the so-called Congress Poland, which was under Russian rule before World War I, with Warsaw as its centre. This was not the largest Polish "constituency", but included some of the central figures of Polish Zionism). Using a more or less conventional terminology, one can say that "Et Livnot" was inclined to "conservative" ideology, (although they supported some of Weizmann's policies at that time. See below footnote 25), while "Al-HaMishmar" was more "Liberal-radical". The leader of "Al-HaMishmar" was Y. Gruenbaum, who was also the leader of the Radical Party in the Zionist Congresses in the twenties. These details are mentioned here, since attempts to integrate the General Zionists and their organisations into a political party have their roots in Poland, and are associated with the name of Isaak Schwarzbart (who was "technically" a non-faction figure since he was in the territorial organisation of West Galician Zionists).

The great paradox, as far as the General Zionists are concerned, is that their transformation into a unified political party was in fact accompanied by a formal split and by the institutionalisation of the internal differences among themselves in the form of two General Zionist parties, known as

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- 20. B. 1856; D. 1941. He was the first Jew to become a member in the U.S. Supreme Court. Was active in Zionism especially during and immediately after World War I. He opposed Weizmann's policies, but was defeated in the London Conference (1920). See B. Halpern: The Idea of the Jewish State (op.cit.) pp. 184-188.
  - 21. B. 1874; D. 1949. He was one of the founders of the Zionist Federation in the U.S.A., and a leading figure in American Zionism for many years.
  - 22. Among all Zionist leaders in America, he seems to have been the closest to Weizmann. B. 1876; D. in the mid sixties.
  - 23. B. 1893; d. 1964. See his biography (by Y. Weingrad, Tel-Aviv, 1957). See also below n. 29.

General Zionists A and General Zionists B. The present day distinction in Israel between the Liberals and the Independent Liberals is a reflection of this split, with the Independent Liberals being the successors of General Zionist A and the Liberals the successors of General Zionists B. This succession was not a simple one. During the whole period (say 1931 - 1971) new groups in the periphery of the historical General Zionists were formed, and various unifications and splits took place<sup>24</sup>.

Without attempting a detailed analysis, one can attribute the various developments among the General Zionists to two causes: 1) the policies of Dr. Weizmann as President of the World Zionist Organisation and 2) the emergence of other parties in the Zionist movement and particularly the rapid growth of the Labour movement.

The Revisionists criticised Weizmann's political conceptions and methods<sup>24a</sup>. The Radicals mainly opposed some of Weizmann's internal tactics, which they thought might cause the Zionist movement to lose its Zionist nationalist character and become just a general Jewish philanthropic organisation<sup>25</sup>. The split which led to the formation of the two General Zionist parties

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24. In fact there were two splits. The one in 1931, when the supporters of Weizmann (see further in the text, as well as n.26 in this chapter and n.20 in the next chapter) called themselves General Zionists A, and another in 1934, when officially the Union of the General Zionists was split. The problem here was, in general terms, whether the party was oriented to the "left" or to the "right" wing in the Zionist movement. The issue at hand was the relationship with the Histadrut. The "left" wing left the "union" and formed the "Confederation of General Zionists", and although some of the General Zionists A of 1931 remained in the "Union", while some of the General Zionists B joined the federation, the labels of A and B were still used, the "union" being referred to as G-Z B and the "confederation" as G-Z A. In this year (1934) the Radicals ceased to exist as a separate party. Most of their leaders joined the "confederation". Some of them, however, moved to extreme nationalism (e.g. R. Stricker, leader of Austrian Zionists).

24a See the following chapter and also V. Jabotinsky: "NaRotzim HaTzionim HaRevisionistim" (Heb. "What do the Revisionist-Zionists Aim at?") in V. Jabotinsky's Collected Writings (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, E. Jabotinsky publisher, Vol. VI, pp. 279-302. This is one of the first presentations of the Revisionist concept (written originally in 1925), and contains references both to their "basic" and "operational" ideologies, to use in a somewhat simplified way the concepts of a recent Israeli scholar.

25. This refers especially to the issue of his projected extension of the Jewish Agency, mentioned already in another context (Chapter 4, n.69). This issue caused a controversy in the Zionist movement for several years. Opposition to Weizmann came from other wings of the Zionist organisation too, including the Labour Parties.

took place at the 17th Zionist Congress (1931). At this congress, the first ever vote of no confidence in Dr. Weizmann was passed, the reason being dissatisfaction with Weizmann's "foreign" (moderate) policy<sup>26</sup>. Weizmann's main support was the Labour Party (now united under the title Mapai in Palestine and the "World Union of Poalei-Tzion, Zeirei-Tzion and Hitachdut" in short the "World Union" in the diaspora. Sometimes it was also termed as "Eretz-Israel HaOvedet" - "Working Jewish Palestine") and some of the General Zionists. His opponents were the Revisionists, the Mizrahi and the majority of the General Zionists (58 out of 82 delegates)<sup>27</sup>. Those General Zionists who supported Weizmann called themselves General Zionist A, and so the remainder (the majority, which became a minority in later congresses, gradually became known as General Zionists B, although in the beginning they claimed to be "The" General Zionist Party (their official name was, and remained, Brit HaTzionim HaKlaliyim - The Union of General Zionists, while the official name of General Zionists A became Hitachdut HaTzionim HaKlaliyim - The Confederation of General Zionists<sup>28</sup>).

Although Weizmann was not elected as President at this congress (he returned to the Presidency four years later at the 19th Congress), this congress marks the beginning of the political alliance between Weizmann and the Labour movement (Mapai) in the Zionist Organisation, which lasted until 1946<sup>29</sup>.

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26. The direct cause was an interview given by Weizmann to a journalist during the congress, in which he was quoted as saying that "he did not consider it necessary for the Jews to become a majority in Palestine, and had no sympathy for this demand".

27. Kleinman, *op.cit.*, p.24.

28. See above, n. 24.

29. The whole story of the break will not be told here in detail. The partnership ended when Ben-Gurion emerged as the leader of Mapai, and succeeded for a while in neutralising in the party the many supporters of Weizmann, among them leaders of the first echelon such as Kaplan, Sprintzak, Sharett, Locker, Remez, and to some extent Mrs. Meir. Katzenelson had died two years earlier. The success of B.G. is to be attributed, again, to dissatisfaction with Weizmann's moderation in his attitudes towards the British, and in 1946 he (B.G.) co-operated with the activist leader of American Zionists, Dr. A.H. Silver. This alliance in fact did not last long, and Dr. Silver's path to a leadership position in Israel was blocked. The story is presented now from a "Weizmannist" point of view, in M. Weisgal's forthcoming memoirs. See the excerpts published in the Israeli daily *Maariv*, esp. in the issue of 28th September, 1971 ("Why the Chapter on Ben-Gurion was not included in Weizmann's Autobiography").

To sum up: In the thirties two General Zionist parties in the Zionist Organisation came into existence. Each party had its internal factions, which in many cases were factions merely within a certain country. In the Zionist movement and its various bodies, however, all these formed a unified party. Usually, however, the national Zionist Organisations did not split, but became affiliated to one of the two parties. World War II paralysed to some extent the activities of the Zionist Organisation as a movement, with the exception of the Yishuv of course, and the American Zionist Organisation (i.e. the American General Zionists who were, with all their internal differences, affiliated to General Zionists A). After the war the General Zionists reunited, and in the World Zionist Organisation they form a formally united party up to the present day.

Two things should be remembered, however: 1) the emergence after World War II of the American General Zionists (led at that time by Dr. A.H. Silver), as an important factor in the politics of the World Zionist Organisation; 2) that developments in the Yishuv took their own course.

### 3. The "General Zionists" in the Yishuv: the early phase.

As in other countries, there had been general Zionists (in the non-partisan sense of the word) in the Yishuv since "General Zionism" came into existence. Reference has already been made in the former section to the weaknesses of the Palestinian general Zionists within the world group (not yet a party) in the World Zionist Organisation and its congresses. Let us return to the case mentioned above, viz the 15th Zionist Congress<sup>30</sup>. Palestine General Zionists were represented by 10 delegates - 7 elected representatives and 3 who were members of the Council of the World Zionist Organisation ("Actions Committee"<sup>31</sup>), by definition eligible for

30. All the information (figures) on which this analysis is based is from the official minutes of this congress (in German. There have been Hebrew minutes of Zionist congresses only since the 19th Congress, 1935. The use of the German language as more or less the official language of the congresses goes back to Herzl's time, although the centre has since moved to London and Jerusalem).

31. This was the title given to a body elected by the Zionist congresses, in order to have 3 or 4 sessions between one congress and the successive one. It was composed of representatives of all parties in the Congress. In fact it was something like a World Zionist Council, composed of leaders of the various Zionist parties, and acted as a "mini" congress.



automatic membership of the congress<sup>32</sup>. The seven elected in Palestine did not contest the elections in one common list of candidates, but in three lists. Apparently, two of them were elected under the title of General Zionists (obtaining altogether 1426 votes. The total vote to that congress in the Yishuv was 36,105), four others were on a list of candidates called Histadrut Ezechim Leumiim<sup>33</sup> (3,575 votes) and one was elected in an ethnic Yemenite List<sup>34</sup>. This distinction between General Zionist proper and what became known in the Yishuv as the "Ezechim" ("civic-bloc" or "citizens" is fundamental for the understanding of the party-political structure of the non-Labour secular sector in the Yishuv, and party-politics in the Yishuv in general<sup>35</sup>. Now if we turn to the elections to the "Assembly of Representatives" about 15 months earlier, there was no list or party called "General Zionist" (although there was the grotesque list of the "Inhabitants of Givat Rambam" mentioned in a former chapter, which secured one seat). On the other hand there were several lists which are within the "boundaries" of the secular non-Labour camp. Besides ethnic and locally characterised lists, there was a list of the Agricultural Bloc (later this became the Farmers' Federation), a list of "Federation of Hebrew Women", a list called "Democratic Federation" (including Gluckson, Massinsohn and Bogratschov), a list called the Centre (composed mainly of some Yishuv middle class dignitaries of the older generation, who were, generally speaking, non-partisan, e.g. David Yellin, Chaim Solomon, H.M. Kalvariski and M. Ben-Hillel HaCohen) and a list of "Histadrut Ezechim Leumiin"

32. Ibid, p.xiv. The list of their names, which follows is presented here because these people will be mentioned later, since they were among the leaders of the general Zionists in the Yishuv. The three senior members were Ussishkin, Mossinsohn and Suprasky. Among the seven elected representatives were Gluckson, Zuchowiecki and Ismojik.

33. In the German minutes of the congress they are named "Bürgerlich-Nationale Vereinigung" *ibid.* p. xix. See below n. 35 and Section 5.

34. Mr. Gluska. He was the head of a small Yemenite semi-party in the Yishuv and represented it in various "Assemblies of Representatives" of the Yishuv in Zionist Congresses (where he usually joined the "parliamentary party" of the General Zionist and G-Z B in the thirties. He also became a member of the first Israeli Knesset as head of a Yemenite List. See the discussion on ethnic parties at the end of Chapter 7.

35. The concepts of "civic-bloc" and "citizens" are a translation of the Hebrew titles "HaGush HaEzechim" and "HaEzechim" respectively. The basic concept here is Ezech "a citizen". But in political jargon it was applied to groups which considered themselves as local (autochthonous) and non-labour, and in this respect the nearest non-Hebrew concept is the German Bürger, which has no exact English translation to fit this context. I am indebted to Dr. Sh. Avineri for the suggestion to use the English concept "civic bloc" for this group.

(headed by an ageing Zionist philosopher Achad-HaAm and composed of such personalities as the Mayor<sup>cf</sup> Tel-Aviv, M. Dizengoff and Y. Suprasky<sup>36</sup>. Ussishkin was elected in the ethnic Sephardic list, but this seems to have been a demonstrative act on the part of the veteran leader of Russian Zionists, who enjoyed a high personal reputation in the World Zionist movement, although he was not exactly a "Weizmann-man". The Zionist movement, it should be remembered was in fact an "Ashkenazi" Jewish movement, and the Sephardi Federation in the Yishuv did not participate in it as such.

The above description leads to the conclusion that the various General Zionist and "Bürgerlich" groups were not yet crystallised in the Yishuv during the twenties. They became more crystallised during the thirties, although the "Bürgerlich"<sup>37</sup> groups never became an organised party. Things will become clearer later in this chapter, but it now seems worthwhile, after a general idea of the situation has been presented, to turn to an examination of the roots of this situation in the Yishuv.

Political organisations in the Yishuv in general (to be distinguished from local or municipal ones) started with the Labour movement. The farmers in the Moshavot as well as small elements of the urban middle classes in the towns (particularly in Jaffa, and later in Tel-Aviv, which was founded as a suburb of Jaffa in 1909) were "merely" Zionist (or general Zionists in the original sense of the word). Among the farmers, attention was paid especially to their problems, which could be summarised under the present day concept of rural and economic development, with all the inherent problems and crises<sup>37a</sup>). In the veteran Moshavot, a second

36. Ten years later, Suprasky and Bogratschov were among the leaders of General Zionists B in the Yishuv; Mossinsohn and Gluckson were leaders of General Zionists A in the Yishuv, while the successors of Dizengoff in the Tel-Aviv municipality in collaboration with the farmers and other non-Labour groups, whose scope of activity was mainly in the Yishuv's private economy, formed the "Civic Bloc" (HaGush HaEzrachi).

37. See the discussion of the English "Semantic" problem above, and in footnotes 35 and 36. In order to avoid an inaccurate English concept for the Hebrew word Ezrach, as it was used in the politics of the Yishuv, I shall from now on use the German term "Bürger", as well as the Hebrew concept Ezrach. A literary translation of "Histadrut Ezrachim Leumi" would be "Federation of Nationalist Citizens" (Bürger).

37a See D. Weintraub et al: Moshava, Kibbutz and Moshav, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1969, pp. 32-67; 159-184 and the relevant sections in Dan Giladi's unpublished Ph.D. thesis (1968, details presented in the Bibliography.)

generation was already coming of age in the first decade of the century. This second generation was reared in an entirely different environment from that of its parents. They were not the children of the diaspora absorbed in a rudimentary national<sup>ist</sup> movement, but "natives" in a rudimentary new society. The problems which faced them, as well as the whole culture in which they were reared, had very little in common with those of the diaspora Zionists, or the Zionists who settled in Palestine during these years (generally speaking: 1900-1914). A gap existed between this new generation and the workers in the Moshavot (viz most of those who became the founding fathers of the Labour movement), but no less than that between them and the new Zionist middle class in the Yishuv. Moreover, whereas in the case of Labour one can detect a common attitude on the part of the farmers and their younger generation (which may be formulated in terms of "class"); the gap between the young generation in the Moshavot and the Zionist middle classes is to be attributed to differences in background, outlook and culture in general (including "political culture")<sup>38</sup>. This gap became evident in later years (especially during the first World War and afterwards), and was later reflected (from the thirties until the establishment of the state), in the political structure of the Yishuv in general, and in its non-Labour secular groups in particular. With the growth of the "non-Zionist" middle class element in the Yishuv, a form of collaboration took place between all these groups, whose sphere of activity was centred in the Yishuv rather than in the Zionist movement.

The Zionist "Bürgerlich" groups in the Yishuv will now be dealt with. In the 'twenties they lacked a stable political organisation. Attempts at such an organisation started immediately after the British conquest, with the formation of a party by the name of HaEzrach ("The Citizen" or "der Bürger"). This party took part in the elections to the First Assembly of Representatives (1920), but did not secure many seats (only 3 out of 314 representatives, the total electorate on the roll was at that time nearly 30,000, of which only  $\frac{2}{3}$  voted). Among those included in this list were S. Ben-Zion<sup>39</sup> and M. Dizengoff<sup>40</sup>. Another "general Zionist" list in those elections was "The Progressive Party" (Mifleget Ha-Mitkadmm) which had

38. See the elaboration of this topic in a wider context in the concluding chapter.

39. A Hebrew writer and the founder of HaEzrach.

40. One of the founders of the "First Jewish City" - Tel-Aviv and its first mayor. He served as mayor (with a short break during the late twenties), until his death at the age of 75 (1936). In the twenties he was a member of the Zionist Executive (1927-9).

more success in these elections (13 representatives, including Boygrat<sup>S</sup>chov, Mossinsohn and also this time D. Yellin<sup>41</sup>). There were another two or three lists which may be classified as "general Zionists" (among these, one called "A group without a name" and which included people of quite different backgrounds and orientations, such as V. Jabotinski<sup>42</sup>, the future founder and leader of the extreme-nationalist Revisionist party, and H. M. Kalvariski, a future prominent member of the Jewish League for understanding between Jews and Arabs and "Ichud", the very moderate group of intellectuals in the 'forties, led by Dr. J.L. Magnes and Professor M. Buber<sup>42</sup>).

The material presented here demonstrates how inarticulate the "general Zionist" and non-labour "camps" were in the 'twenties. It should be recalled however that with the exception of the Revisionists, all the groups, whose traditions go back to this period, succeeded in establishing two parties on the eve of the establishment of the State, namely the "General Zionists" and the "Progressives", and that these two parties were even united for a while (the Liberal Party - 1961-65). The developments from say 1921 or 1925 to 1948 and 1961 are not characterised by a "straight line". They were influenced by developments among the General Zionists in the World Zionist Organisation on the one hand and developments in the Yishuv on the other.

#### 4. The "General Zionists" in the Yishuv - the later phase.

The unifications and splits among General Zionists in the World Zionist Organisation had their impact on the General Zionists in the Yishuv. The split among the General Zionists in 1931, immediately after the formation of the party, was reinforced by conflicts between the labour and non-labour sectors in the Yishuv (especially the problems of labour, namely the principles of "Jewish labour" and "Organised labour") and the General Zionists' need to define their attitude towards these issues.

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41. A native of Jerusalem of a "mixed" Ashkenazi-Sephardi origin. He was active in Yishuv politics in the 'twenties, and was for a time chairman of HaVaad-HaLeumi. He was a well-known scholar (in Mediaeval Hebrew literature) and became Professor at the Hebrew University. He was not active in politics in his last years of life (d. 1939).

42. This group has its origins in the twenties. See the detailed discussion of the whole issue and the history of the Jewish movement for rapprochement with the Arabs in S.L. Hattis: The Bi-National Idea in Palestine During Mandatory Times, Haifa, Shikmona, 1970.

Nevertheless, a unified party survived in the Yishuv until 1935, while in the diaspora the split occurred earlier (in this respect one should distinguish between various countries. While the split was evident in Poland, the Zionist federations of Britain and U.S.A. for instance, did not split at all, and were integrated afterwards in General-Zionists A). Finally when the split came, the General Zionists in the Yishuv, never having been a central power, now became small parties. The positions which their leaders in the Yishuv still maintained, is to be attributed to the power of the General Zionist parties in the World Zionist movement.

In the Yishuv proper, various "Civic Bloc" (*Bürgerlich*) groups emerged in the forties, but were not active in the Zionist arena (see below). The World Zionist Organisation was paralysed and Zionist politics were absorbed in Yishuv politics. There was therefore a certain anomaly in the fact that some General Zionist leaders, who came to Palestine from the diaspora, were members of the executive of the Jewish Agency, but did not have many followers in the Yishuv, while the leaders of the "Civic Bloc", who did not take part in Zionist politics, and many of them not even in the politics of the Yishuv within the formal organisation of "Knesset Israel", were the real leaders of the non-labour secular camp (e.g. the four mayors: I. Rokach of Tel-Aviv, Y. Sapir of Petach Tikva, O. Ben-Ami of Natanya and A. Krinitzi of Ramat-Gan, as well as heads of the Farmers' Federation, etc.). One of the leaders of the General Zionists B, F. Bernstein<sup>43</sup> described this situation in his short autobiographical note. After writing about his arrival in Palestine (from the Netherlands), and being a member of "General Zionists B", he goes on:

"The masses which Mr. Yehoshua Suprasky had promised me, comprised only several hundred members in Tel-Aviv, a few dozen in Jerusalem and a few dozen in Haifa. There were several people in some Moshavot, who were considered as sympathisers. The "citizens" (*Ezrachim*) in the Moshavot, and to a considerable extent in the towns, pursued a local policy and were interested, neither in the Jewish Agency, nor in the Zionist movement and the Zionist parties. The Zionist Federation in the Netherlands included only a small portion of Dutch Jewry. Its organisation, however, was much larger than that of the party in Palestine, to which I had come"<sup>44</sup>

43. He later co-operated with Rokach and Sapir in founding the unified "General Zionist Party". On the eve of the establishment of the State, He was a member of the executive of the Jewish Agency" 1946-1948 and Minister of Commerce and Industry in several Israeli Governments representing the "General Zionists". Until recently, Elder Statesman of the Liberal Party. He died in 1971.

Footnote 44 - see following page.

The two parties of the General Zionists, however, followed what became a characteristic pattern of activity of political parties in the Yishuv, namely promoting activities in the economic sphere.<sup>44a</sup> General Zionist A supported the organisation of all workers in one Federation of Labour, and therefore had a group in the Histadrut, which became known as HaOved-HaTzioni (the Zionist Worker)<sup>45</sup>. General Zionists B, on the other hand had their own trade union (Heb. Irgun HaOvdim HaTzionim HaKlaliyim) which existed until 1945. Later its members also joined the Histadrut. According to what seems to be typical of the Yishuv's party-politics, one could also trace here unions and splits if space permitted.

The two General Zionist Parties in collaboration with some "Bürgerlich" organisations also founded a company called "HaMifdeh-HaEzrachi" (1938 - existing up to the present day). In one of its more recent annual reports it is described as follows:

"HaMifdeh-HaEzrachi serves as an economic constructive instrument of the General Zionist Federation in Israel.

Four branches of the HaMifdeh-HaEzrachi carry out its constructive functions in their respective scopes of activity:

- (a) Shikun Ezrachi Ltd. (a housing company, O.S.)
- (b) Idud Ltd. - for the granting of loans (established jointly with the Jewish Agency)
- (c) The Small Loan Funds Centre (established jointly with the Jewish Agency)
- (d) The Department for Co-operatives, Industry and Trade".

44. Translated from the Hebrew Sefey Peretz Bernstein (P. Bernstein Volume) Jerusalem, A Special Committee, 1961, p.25. The late I. Rokach and Mr. Yoseph Sapir told me in fact the same thing in personal interviews. I would like to mention in this context the case of Y. Gruenbaum, who was a prominent Zionist leader, Member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for many years until the establishment of Israel, and a Minister in the Interim Government (1948-9). He even played an important part in internal Yishuv party-politics, e.g. in the relationship between the "Organised Yishuv" and the dissident guerrilla group. When the General Zionist and Progressive parties were organised before the establishment of the state, he preferred not to join any of them and so was left as a general without an army. Nevertheless, he contested the elections to the First Knesset, with the hope that his former supporters from Poland would give him their votes. His list did not get enough votes and he (one time leader of the Polish Jewry) was not returned to the Israeli Parliament even under the system of proportional representation. By the way, Dr. Moshe Sneh (mentioned in the end of Ch. 4, n.81) was as a young man his adjutant in Poland. Sneh's original surname was Kleinbaum, and he was nicknamed "Klein-Gruenbaum" ("small Gruenbaum").

44a This sphere of activity has already been mentioned in the discussions of the Histadrut and the Labour parties. See also the concluding chapter.

Footnote 45 on following page.

Since such economic enterprises have a considerable importance as far as various allocations on behalf of the parties are concerned, and can serve as mechanisms of political control (of loyalty to the party), they themselves form an arena for competition between parties and factions.

On the other hand, HaOved-HaTzioni, which strove to present a synthesis of General Zionism and Labour, was aware of the possibility that it would be identified "too much" with the "middle class" General Zionist. It participated, as already mentioned, in the Histadrut and its various organs, had a small number of Kibbutzim and Moshavim affiliated to it, and some rudiments of its own organs of "constructive activity" (e.g. economic concerns). Nowadays, these have developed into enterprises of quite a considerable size).

The two General Zionist parties in the Yishuv, as well as in the World Zionist Organisation, were formally reunited in 1945. But this reunion does not seem to have been of much significance, at least as far as the Yishuv's political scene is concerned. Viewing the various political processes in a historical perspective, one can say that the Yishuv was already approaching the threshold of statehood. Various developments in the Labour "camp" in this period, described in the former chapter, should also be viewed from this point of view. In this respect, the General Zionist Party which contested the first election in the State, was quite different from the unified General Zionist Party of 1945. In order to understand these developments, attention should be paid to some other processes among the General Zionists themselves, during the early and mid-forties, as well as to the structure and politics of the various "bürgerlich" groups, which have been so far mentioned only in passing.

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45. In several general elections in the forties, e.g. to the 22nd Zionist Congress and the Fourth Assembly of Representatives, they presented their own lists, and later with Aliya Hadasha (see below) formed the Progressive Party (1948) which is the present Independent Liberal Party. The Origins of HaOved-HaTzioni go back to Poland in the 'thirties, where they were inspired politically by Y. Gruenbaum. Then called HaNoar HaTzioni (The Zionist Youth), they considered themselves to a great extent disciples of the "classical" labour non-Marxist ideologist, A.D. Gordon (see Chapter 4, n.21). Their "teacher" in Palestine in the 'thirties was Dr. M. Gluckson.

The first of these two subjects, not in historical order but for reasons of presentation, is connected with the emergence of a part of new immigrants in the Yishuv at that time, called Aliya-Hadasha (New Immigration).

##### 5. Aliya-Hadasha and the emergence of the Progressive Party

Organisation of population groups according to ethnic tradition or countries of origin is a typical phenomenon in countries of immigration. In American politics, the mobilisation of political support among new immigrants by party-apparatus (particularly in New York in the first decades of the present century) led to some of the famous cases in the sphere of immigrants and politics (e.g. the famous "Tammany Hall"). In the Yishuv, organisation according to countries of origin goes back to the "Old Yishuv" period (the Kollelim). With the development of the "New Yishuv", the non-Ashkenazi groups lost much of their weight in the Yishuv. The New Yishuv, and the Zionist Organisation in general were mainly enterprises of Ashkenazi Jews<sup>46</sup>. The first immigrants to Palestine came mainly from Russia (including the parts which later became Poland) and to some extent from smaller countries in Eastern Europe, such as Rumania. After the first three waves of "pioneering" Aliyot (with all the differences between them), there came the fourth wave (1924-31) which consisted, especially in its first years, of immigrants from impoverished lower middle classes in Poland<sup>46a</sup>. This wave of immigrants caused a great deal of disappointment in the Zionist Organisation at that time, since it deviated from the "pioneering" image of the former Aliyot. Its arrival in Palestine coincided with a severe economic crisis, and this added to the feelings of bitterness, especially in the Labour movement and the Establishment of the Zionist Organisation (which were not identified with each other as they later became). Many of the newcomers settled in towns (especially Tel-Aviv)

46. This is evident from the discussion throughout Chapter 2. See also Chapter 7, Section 7.

46a See the detailed study of this period in Dan Giladi's dissertation (details in the Bibliography): See also Chaim Arlosoroff's analysis and evaluation of the 4th Aliya (published originally in HaPoel-HaTzair Vol. 18, No. 30-31, 1925, and later in his writings).



and were engaged in "non Zionist" activities such as small businesses in commerce and real estate, etc. (Dr. Weizmann intimated at that time that he did not want another Nalewki<sup>47</sup> in Eretz-Israel). There were no doubt some negative side effects too, such as speculation in land, etc..

The ambivalent if not hostile attitude towards these Polish immigrants, as well as the fact that they were not absorbed in ideologically legitimised frameworks of the Yishuv, caused them to feel somewhat alienated, and this had its political manifestations at the party-political level. A list of "The Fourth Aliya" ("Immigrants from Poland") took part in the elections to the Third Assembly of Representatives (December 1925 - 4 out of 221 representatives 630 out of 36,763 votes) and in the Municipality of Tel-Aviv (December 1926 - 6 out of 41 councillors). Nevertheless, neither this list nor the candidates which formed it in 1925-6 (they were more or less the same persons) took part in the following elections to the Tel-Aviv municipality (December 1928) or the Assembly of Representatives (January 1931).

This phenomenon of the "rise and fall" of this ethnic list is relatively easy to explain. Once their initial difficulties of absorption were overcome, these immigrants, who were from the same "cultural zone" as the majority of the Yishuv, had no basis for a continued separate existence. Members of the Fourth Aliya became an integral part of the Yishuv, and some of them entered politics as representatives of various interests and functional groups within the Yishuv.

The situation concerning the immigrants from Germany in the two decades that followed was quite different. Although the Zionist Organisation was founded by a German-speaking (Austrian) Jew, its first representative in Palestine was a German Jew (Dr. Arthur Rappin) and the first Yishuv member

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47. Ch. Weizmann: Trial and Error (op.cit.), p. 373; Nalewki was a quarter in Warsaw in which Jewish small business was concentrated. Something like Whitechapel in London, particularly 50-60 years ago, and perhaps the Gorbals in Glasgow at that period too (only with a larger population). From a historical perspective, the Fourth Aliya contributed a great deal to the development of the Yishuv - in the spheres of the urban development and economic activity. This contribution was underestimated at that time, for ideological reasons, and this underestimation can still be found in the "official" historiography of the Yishuv, which is influenced mainly by the tradition of the Labour movement. (See for instance, M. Bruslawski op.cit., Vol.2, pp. 16-22) and on the other hand the more balanced discussion of Dan Giladi (op.cit.) as well as Arlosoroff's sophisticated analysis (op.cit.).

who became head of the political department of the Jewish Agency was an immigrant from Germany (Dr. Chaim Arlosoroff) - there was no tradition of "mass" immigration from Germany. The few German immigrants were absorbed as individuals within the various units of the Yishuv, without changing the basic traditions of a mainly East European Zionist "political culture", transfused into the Yishuv's concepts and structures. The mass immigration of refugees from Germany after the Nazis came to power presented the Yishuv with the problem of the absorption of a new type of immigrant. Again, in the long run the immigrants from Germany contributed a great deal to the development of the Yishuv. In the initial stages, however, many problems arose. Many of the German immigrants were professionals who had achieved a high status in their country of origin,<sup>as</sup> citizens of one of the most developed countries in the world. In a relatively underdeveloped country such as the Palestine of the 'thirties, and in the small Yishuv of that time (on the eve of the Fifth Aliya the population of the Yishuv was more or less like that of Aberdeen today; this was only 15 years before the establishment of Israel), there were no places for the absorption of these many highly qualified professionals. Many of these immigrants were not originally Zionists, but came as refugees, and although they were ready to "assimilate" into the Yishuv, they developed certain ambivalent feelings towards it. They were not ready, for instance, to give up easily the culture of their country of origin, which was considered by many of them as superior to that of East-European standards<sup>48</sup>. The political culture of the Yishuv did not appeal to many of them, neither were they ready to accept without criticism the leadership which had emerged in the Yishuv, and its political frameworks. In a later period, when the conflict with the British was approaching, many of them rejected extreme nationalist tendencies, and were worried by the fact that "activist" orientations permeated even the usually more moderate sections of the Yishuv and the Zionist movement.

The existence of federations of immigrants (Landsmannschaften) in the Yishuv has already been mentioned in this section. With the Fifth Aliya, the Federation of Immigrants from Germany and Austria entered the political arena. It seems that this trend started with the Tel-Aviv Municipal election in 1935, when they secured one of the fifteen seats in the municipal council and were represented by F. Rosenbluth<sup>49</sup>. Later, in the elections to the

48. There was also a tradition of a "culture conflict" between "West Juden" and "Ost Juden" in Germany, going back to the Nineteenth Century.

49. He later Hebraized his name to P. Rosen. He was Leader of the Aliya Hadasha Party during the late mandate period and later of the Progressive Party (now Independent Liberals). He was for many years Minister of Justice in the State of Israel.

two last Zionist congresses before World War II, two lists affiliated to the General Zionists A took part in the elections in Palestine, in one of which some of the former leaders of Germany's Zionists were a dominant element. However, it was only in the early forties that the new political group of Aliya-Hadasha was formed. Some members of Mapai, originally from Germany, joined this group, and for a while tried to remain members of Mapai and Aliya Hadasha simultaneously. They claimed that Aliya Hadasha was not a political party, but simply a political organisation within the organised Yishuv, including people of various parties who were not satisfied with the dominant political style and policies of the Yishuv. One of these Mapai members, Dr. G. Landauer, was a veteran member of the party from the days of HaPoel-HaTzair and its sister party in Germany in the twenties (Arlosoroff, now deceased, also came from the same circle). Mapai decided, however, that one could not be a member of both parties at the same time. Landauer left Mapai and in fact became the leading ideologist of Aliya Hadasha<sup>50</sup>. It should be noted that in contrast to the list of the immigrants from Poland in the 'twenties, Aliya Hadasha was founded and led by veteran Zionist-leaders (Rosenbluth, for instance, was a member of the Zionist Executive in the 'twenties), many of whom came to Palestine before the Nazi era. It also became a party with an ideology, adopted attitudes in various issues, and was not merely a representation of a certain group of immigrants.

Aliya Hadasha contested two "general elections" in the Yishuv in the forties (the Assembly of Representatives in 1944, and the Zionist Congress in 1946, where it formed a "parliamentary party" on its own, not as a part of the now united General Zionists) with considerable success (about 10% of the vote to the Assembly of Representatives and more than 6% of the vote to the Zionist Congress)<sup>51</sup>. They also founded a party within the Histadrut - Aliya Hadasha Ovedet (Labour New Immigration), which took part in the election to the Conference of the Histadrut in 1944. Although the party retained its "German" character (even publishing a weekly in German) as long as it existed, it was joined by some persons who did not come from

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50. B. 1895; D. 1954. He was one of the founders of HaPoel-HaTzair in Germany. He immigrated to Palestine in 1926. In the sphere of Zionist policy, he was a moderate, and the adoption of the "Biltmore Plan" by Mapai was one of the main reasons for his departure from that party. See the reference to his discussion of Aliya Hadasha in the Bibliography.

51. The lower percentage in the elections to the congress can be explained by the fact that various groups and parties which boycotted the elections to the Assembly of Representatives (such as the then General Zionists B and the Revisionists) participated in the elections to the congress.

Germany, mainly intellectuals, who considered this party as a manifestation of a liberal moderate political party, following the best tradition of Western democracy.

Aliya Hadasha also had rural settlements affiliated to it, through a settlement movement called Halchud-HaHaklai (Heb. The Agricultural Villages) affiliated to this movement were cooperative in their structure but differed from the Moshavim of the Labour movement in various ideological and structural respects. Generally speaking, they tended to be more liberal and ideologically "permissive". There were also various economic enterprises affiliated directly or indirectly to Aliya Hadasha, one of the most important of which was the Rasco housing company, founded by the Jewish Agency to solve the housing problems of the German immigration in the 'thirties.

In 1948, when the Yishuv and Zionist parties and other political organisations were facing the problem of adaptation to new conditions and issued several changes in the map of the parties took place. Those in the Labour movement have been discussed in the former chapter. In the non-Labour secular camp (with the exception of the Revisionists) there were two important developments: 1) the various "Türgerlich" groups (discussed below) merged with the General Zionists and formed the General Zionist Party of the early state period (now the Liberals); 2) HaOved HaTzioni as well as some of the members of the former General Zionists A united with Aliya Hadasha and formed the Progressive Party (now the Independent Liberals).

#### 6. HaEzrachim: an outline.

The term Ezrachim was commonly applied in the political context of the Yishuv (i.e. not in the context of the Zionist Organisation's party politics) to the groups which emerged in the private sector of the economy, viz industrialists, merchants, proprietors, farmers and so on. These have been mentioned several times in this chapter, and the aim of the present discussion is to give some additional information and to reach a general conclusion of the various goals and properties of these groups. Two factors may be singled out as points of departure for the formation of these "Türgerlich" groups: 1) the fact that in the 'twenties there was no party-political organisation of the General Zionists in the Zionist Organisation (with the exception of two small "non-conformist" groups of the Radicals and Rev-

while in the Yishuv social and political differentiation was becoming more and more evident even in organisational terms; 2) the fact that the Yishuv was developing as a society distinguished not only from other communities in Palestine, but also from the Zionist movement. As it became to some extent a distinctive society, party politics and problems of power and authority were becoming more and more important in the Yishuv itself.

The first fact led to the formation in the 'twenties of various Zionist "Bürgerlich" groups which took part in the politics of the Yishuv (Knesset-Israel) as well as the Zionist Organisation (being identified as "General Zionists" in the congresses). The second fact had differing impacts on various elements of the "Bürgerlich" population, since development in various sectors of the population were not simultaneous. These impacts, however, reached their culmination in about the late 'thirties, and the early 'forties witnessed an attempt to form an overall organisation of all the "Bürgerlich" groups in the Yishuv, under the name of "HaIchud HaEzrachi" (The "Bürgerlich" Union). This attempt, generally speaking, proved to be a failure, but the fact that the "Bürgerlich" groups held power positions in some of the most important municipalities in the Yishuv (in particular: Tel-Aviv and the larger Moshavot), as well as in various key economic organisations of the Yishuv, was a safeguard for their political positions in the Yishuv, even without an "ordinary" party backing. The Ezrachim of the late 'thirties and early 'forties were, so to speak, much more "products" of the Yishuv than of the Zionist movement, and they can even be classified as non-Zionists<sup>52</sup>, in that they were to a considerable extent apathetic towards the affairs of the Zionist Organisation, as long as these were not related to the problems of leadership and authority within the Yishuv. With the emergence of the Labour movement (Mapai) as the leading power in the Zionist Organisation in the 'thirties, the "Ezrachim" more than once challenged the authority of the "National Institutions" in Palestine (see Chapter 8). In this respect, General Zionists like Ussishkin, who were known for their "right wing" attitudes<sup>52a</sup> often felt themselves closer to the labour movement with its constructive enterprises

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52. Not in the sense that they did not share the national aspirations, but as far as their "milieu" is concerned. At the personal level, some of them were Zionists even as far as frameworks of the Zionist Organisation are concerned (e.g. General Zionist parties, contribution to Zionist funds, etc.). The "political elite", however, was more indifferent towards the Zionist Organisation.

Footnote 52a on following page

(which were financed to a large extent from the Zionist funds and were part of the organised Zionist enterprise in Palestine), than they did to circles of Ezrachim.

The strongholds of the Ezrachim were in Tel-Aviv and the Moshavot including towns which grew up out of Moshavot (such as Petach-Tikva). In Haifa and Jerusalem (the only two other major Jewish urban centres at that time) the various middle-class groups did not form lasting relationships with the Ezrachim. The explanation lies in the social and political structures of the Jewish population in these towns, which unfortunately cannot be discussed here. Nevertheless, from what has been said about "Red Haifa" and from the discussion of the various ethnic groups, the centre of which was mainly in Jerusalem (see also, Chapter 7, Section 7), some general points can be derived. To this should be added the important fact that both Jerusalem and Haifa were mixed towns where Jews confronted Arabs in various municipal and communal frameworks.

#### 7. The Farmers and the Moshavot

The history of the Moshavot or even their various nation-wide organisations (which developed in the late 'twenties into the present day Association of Farmers) is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, the farmers formed a political faction in the Yishuv, and no study of the Yishuv's party politics can ignore them. There are several points which

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52a It was Ussishkin who said: "We are a party of landlords (in Hebrew - Baalei-Batim, viz owners of houses). See: Polles: "HaTzionim HaKlaliim BeIsrael" (Heb. the General Zionists in Israel) in Parties in Israel on the Eve of the Election to the Second Knesset (in Hebrew), published by HaAretz Daily, Tel-Aviv, 1951, pp. 17. In the political jargon of the Yishuv, the term "Baalei-Batim" was used in reference to the urban middle classes in general. For the Labour leaders this concept had a negative connotation not only in the "class struggle" context proper, but also in the Zionist context. Zionism was interpreted as "pioneering" while the "Baalei-Batim" were referred to as non-pioneers. See for instance the writings of D. Ben-Gurion in the 'twenties and 'thirties collected in his books MiMaMad Le'Am and Mishmarot (op.cit.).

should be briefly mentioned:

- 1) Although at the beginning (i.e. before 1900) some of the Moshavot were supported by the Russian Hovevei-Tzion, the Moshavot did not become a "national enterprise" like the Kibbutzim and the Moshavim, and did not develop under the auspices of the Zionist Organisation<sup>53</sup>.
- 2) While attempts at organising the farmers proved to be somewhat troublesome, they had some success at the beginning with the foundation of economic organisations for credit and marketing<sup>54</sup>.
- 3) In the early stages of the organisation of the Yishuv (immediately after the British occupation), the farmers in fact were among the main representatives of the new Yishuv (besides some professionals and leaders of middle classes).

In terms of economic backing and number of settlements, they were in a position of considerable power. But here the proportional system of representation worked against them, and the principle of "one man, one vote" caused their representation in the first assemblies of representatives to be much smaller than what they considered to be their real weight in the Yishuv. This problem of representation became an issue, since they had demanded a fixed and secure percentage; and the result was that from the 'thirties they withdrew from active participation in "Knesset-Israel".

- 4) In some Zionist congresses, a representative of the farmers did participate, as a member of a General Zionist list. In this respect, however, comparisons cannot be made between the farmers of the Moshavot and the Kibbutzim or even Moshavim of the Labour Movement. On the one hand, the Federation of Farmers was based on individual membership and not on an affiliation of total Moshavot. (Before World War I, there existed for a while associations of Moshavot in various geographical regions, but later with the growing differentiation in the structure of the Moshavot and the

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53. Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris came to the aid of the Moshavot, following the economic crisis at the turn of the last century. He instituted a special administration to look after the economic problems of the Moshavot; for many years the Moshavot were economically, and consequently in other spheres, dependent upon him. There is no doubt that in this respect Baron Rothschild saved the new Yishuv from disintegration in its early phases, before the Zionist Organisation was formed. No comprehensive study has yet been made of Baron Rothschild's enterprise in Palestine, but some information can be gathered from the various historical volumes published by some Moshavot (e.g. Petach-Tikva, Rehovot) and from the writings of M. Smilansky. See also D. Weintraub et al: Mashava etc. (op.cit.) pp.3-5; 42-54; 160-170.

54. E.g. the institution of the "Pardes" marketing company. See Weintraub et al: ibid, pp. 161-164; 181-182.

composition of their population, there was no place for the incorporation of the Moshavot as such in a "movement").

5) On the other hand, the Moshavot developed into large villages and according to the system of local government prevailing in Palestine, achieved the status of small township governed by what was called "Local Councils". As is self-evident, the problem of who was entitled to vote in the elections to these local councils immediately arose. The Histadrut (as a body incorporating all the Labour parties) pressed for universal suffrage, while the farmers wanted only those holding property to be eligible to vote. On the one hand they claimed that a number of the other residents in the Moshavot were merely temporary residents, and members of groups awaiting their turn to be settled on the land as a new kibbutz or moshav, and therefore it was not just for them to have a vote and to alter the balance of power in the Moshavot against the farmers to whom, after all, the Moshavot "belonged". On the other hand, they claimed that the Moshavot had a certain social and cultural character, the protectors of which were the farmers, and therefore it was unjustifiable that "strangers" should come and change it.

In this case it was up to the Mandatory Government to decide, since local government could not be kept entirely within the framework of the Yishuv. It seems that, generally speaking, the Mandatory Government supported the farmers' point of view<sup>55</sup>, and universal suffrage in the Moshavot was granted only after the establishment of Israel. The attitude of the Mandatory Government may be explained by the fact that they had a certain interest in the formation of a counter-weight to the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Hалеumi in the Yishuv<sup>56</sup>.

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55. I say explicitly "it seems", since I do not have documents to prove this assumption. The historian of the Labour movement (who was not unbiased, as is proved also by his terminology, but not necessarily wrong in his arguments, had no doubts in this respect). In his words: "The Workers faced a bitter struggle in the Moshavot too. The League of Municipal and Local Councils was a stronghold of the "Association of Farmers". A reactionary constitution, backed by the Mandatory Government, deprived many workers and other residents the right to vote, and restricted it to owners of land and property; although a minority in the population, the farmers consolidated their rule in many Moshavot and consequently ignored the demands of the Jewish Agency and "Knesset Israel". M. Braslavski: op.cit. Vol. 2, p. 292.

56. E.g.<sup>in</sup> the year 1936, Labour managed to manoeuvre in the municipal council of Tel-Aviv, so that a member of the council who was not the official candidate of the Ezrachim was elected as mayor. Nevertheless, the British District Commissioner ignored this vote and appointed the defeated candidate as mayor. In 1939, the votes for mayor of Petach-Tikva (which had in the meantime attained the status of a town) were divided equally between the candidates of the Ezrachim and those of Labour. Again the district commissioner appointed the candidate of the Ezrachim.  
(cont. on following page)



This short description of the farmers would not be complete without mentioning very briefly two phenomena connected with the farmers and the Moshavot in general. The first concerns the coming of age in the last decade of the 19th Century of the second generation in the Moshavot. Reference has already been made to their "nativistic" ideas, which can in fact be described in ideological terms, although they were never crystallised as an ideology. The central point in this case was in the first stage the rejection, ideologically as well as socially, of the pioneers of the Labour movement who were agricultural labourers in the Moshavot. In a second stage it turned into a rejection of the rudimentary middle class leadership within the Yishuv as well as the official representatives of the farmers themselves, and finally, in the first years of the Mandate it turned into rejection of the Zionist establishment, namely the branch of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem.

The limited scope of this study prevents any detailed elaboration of these three stages. It seems, however, relevant to mention in this context in very general terms the main phenomena which characterised them. Doubtless it is now clear that not all groups in the Yishuv were represented in the party-political arena by more or less organised parties. This does not mean, however, that they did not take part in the political struggles. Under the conditions of the Yishuv (a stateless society without traditional political mechanisms) it seems legitimate not to ignore such groups in any discussion concerning the roots of the institutionalised party system.

Of the various Moshavot, Zichron Yaacov (which in contrast to other Moshavot, still retains its rural character and has not developed into a town) was a centre of this "non-conformist political youth culture". The initiative which originated in this place found a response in other Moshavot too, especially Rishon-LeZion and Petach-Tikva. The central figures were the second generation of one family - the Aaronsohns.

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56. (cont. from previous page)

In 1946, after the arrests of most of the members of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, the Mandatory Government approached some of the mayors with the suggestion that they form an alternative leadership of the Yishuv, but they refused. Several months later, after the release of the Jewish Agency members, some of these mayors were arrested themselves, suspected of being supporters of Jewish terrorism. This somewhat confusing situation will be touched upon in the concluding chapter.

The three stages of "revolt" mentioned above can be linked with three concrete situations before, during and after the first world war, viz.:

- 1) The formation of the youth organisation of the Gideonites ("Gideonim" in Hebrew);
- 2) The formation and activities of the network of the "Nili" spies (who supplied information to the British and antagonised the leaders of the Yishuv at that time, who worried that the Turkish reaction against the Yishuv, once this ring was discovered, would be a repetition of the Armenian case several years earlier)<sup>57</sup>;
- 3) The formation of the organisation of "The Sons of Benjamin" ("Bnei-Binyamin" in Hebrew. Benjamin was the Hebrew name of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, the patron and economic saviour of the Moshavot several decades earlier)<sup>58</sup>).

Without going into details concerning these phenomena, they all represent what may be called a "deviant" tradition in the history of party politics in the Yishuv. The sector of the farmers itself, i.e. the first layer in the "New Yishuv", quite rapidly became a minority within it and had to accept the authority of those who joined the Yishuv later, and in many cases started their "careers" as farmhands in the Moshavot of the early pioneers. The "Protest" of the "Gideonites", which took place before the Histadrut was even founded, was a sign of an awareness of the fact that the descendants of the early pioneers were realising that they were politically on the defensive. The whole epic of "Nili", which can be compared in a certain respect to another severe internal conflict in the Yishuv many years later - that between the "organised-Yishuv" and the dissident guerrilla organisations - was also an attempt on the part of the "nativists" to pursue a direct action which, in the last resort, was "collectivist" (to use an old Parsonian concept) in its orientation. They spied for Britain not in order to secure personal gains or rewards, but were motivated by the idea that the Yishuv with its aspirations for Jewish revival in Palestine, shared common interests with the British. In this respect, they decided upon a certain course of action which they thought would benefit the Yishuv. This fact brought them into conflict with all other elements in the public (although loosely organised) life in the Yishuv. The Nili ring was later discovered

57. See: Eliezer Livneh (Chief Editor): Nili - Toldoteha Shel Haaza Medinet (Heb. Nili - the history of a political venture), Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, Schocken, 1961; Anita Engle: The Nili Spies, London Hogarth Press, 1959, E. Livneh: Aaron Aaronsohn, HaIsh Uzmano (Heb. Aaron Aaronsohn, His Life and times) Jerusalem, Mosad Bialik, 1969.

58. See above, n. 53.

and liquidated by the Turks and the leaders (viz dignitaries) in the Yishuv were worried that the Turks were going to inflict reprisals upon the Yishuv. This, of course, could have happened had they not already been in the process of retreat from Palestine<sup>59</sup>. The head of the Nili ring, Aaron Aaronsohn, who was attached during the war to the British High Command in Egypt (Allenby's Headquarters), afterwards co-operated with Weizmann in the deliberations with the British Government. He was killed in mysterious circumstances during the Peace Conference (1919) when the aircraft in which he was travelling from London to Paris disappeared in the Channel<sup>60</sup>. His biographer describes him as the first statesman to arise from inside the Yishuv<sup>61</sup>.

Aaron Aaronsohn's brother, (Captain) Alexander Aaronsohn, founded the "Bnei Binyamin" in the early twenties. Basing this organisation again on the nativistic ideology, he and his friends tried to engage in "constructive" activity, mainly by developing the rural sector, independently of the Zionist Organisation. Their position among the sector of the farmers was somewhat ambivalent, since on the one hand they were part of this sector, shared its values and identified with its interests vis-a-vis the growing Labour movement and the Zionist enterprise in Palestine, while on the other hand they had their reservations, as far as the leadership of the farmers was concerned, and the memories of the "Nili" experience, when the establishments in the Moshavot did not approve of this venture, left their mark

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59. The relations between the Turkish authorities and the Yishuv, particularly during World War I, is a topic which cannot be dealt with here. Generally speaking the Turks had doubts as to the loyalty of the new Zionist Yishuv. Persons like Ben-Gurion, Ruppin and many others were expelled, and many others arrested. By spying for the British, the Nili people not only "took the fate of the Yishuv in their own hands", but could also become potential speakers on behalf of the Yishuv after the War.

60. The Jewish "war effort" on the side of the allies had various manifestations, and cannot be described here. Let us merely mention the Jewish Legions in the British Army, which were sent to the Middle East. The first idea was that of Jabotinsky and he was supported by Weizmann. Jabotinsky himself, as well as many of the leaders of the Labour movement e.g. Ben-Gurion, Ben-Zvi, Katzenelson and Eshkol joined the legions.

61. E. Livneh: Aaron Aaronsohn, op.cit. Mr. Livneh himself, a former Mapai member and a former representative of the party in the Knesset, comes from another political tradition, but in his writings in recent years there is a critical approach to the Labour "political culture" in the Yishuv.

on the relationships between Bnei-Binyamin and the farmers' leadership. Bnei Binyamin tried to raise funds from private sources in the United States, and there are several settlements in Israel which owe their existence to Bnei-Binyamin; among them, the Moshava Even-Yehuda and the (now) town Natanya (the veteran mayor of Natanya for many years, <sup>61</sup>Ben-Ami was one of the young members of Bnei Binyamin in the twenties). Bnei Binyamin did not contest elections in the Yishuv or the Zionist Organisation (they tried, however, to have their members elected to the committees of the Moshavot, before the whole system of local government was institutionalised by the Mandatory Government). They had a certain voice in the Yishuv political life, through their co-operation with the journalist Itamar Ben-Avi ("the first Hebrew child", son of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda. The Moshava Even-Yehuda is named after Ben-Yehuda), who founded a daily newspaper - "Doar HaYom" - "Daily Mail" (at that time it was the second daily in the Yishuv). One of the major pre-occupations of this paper was its criticism of the activities of the Zionist Commission in Palestine (personified mainly by Ussishkin and also by Ruppin). The attacks on the "Odessa Mentality" (Odessa, in the Southern Ukraine, was the seat of the Central Committee of Hovevei-Tzion in the 'eighties and 'nineties) by the "Children of the Moshavot and the New Yishuv"<sup>62</sup>, was characteristic of this paper, which was considered as sensational according to the standards of the 'twenties in the still small Yishuv. In the late twenties Bnei-Binyamin in fact ceased to exist. The daily "Doar-HaYom" was bought by the Revisionists and for a while became their organ.

A <sup>more</sup> complete picture of the farmers and their place in the Yishuv's party-politics will emerge as a result of the discussion of "HaIchud HaEzrachi", which is to follow. There is another development, however, which has at least to be mentioned in this context. To some extent this was a reaction from the opposite pole to developments in the Yishuv in general, and in the farmers' sector in particular, namely a reaction stemming from well established Zionists. The problem of Jewish (or as it was named - Hebrew) Labour in the Moshavot has already been mentioned in one or two contexts, but must be referred to again. From the farmers' point of view, the justification for employing Arab labour was not only economic, but ideological (or better still cultural). They objected to the penetration of "strangers" (viz Jewish labourers) with their ideological and political claims to the Moshavot. For the farmers, Arab-labour was a guarantee that

62. The Yishuv-born generation developed its own mentality, and considered itself different from Jews in the diaspora. But the hegemony in this respect was taken later by the second generation of the Labour movements, with its Kibbutzim, Moshavim and Youth movements.

the social and cultural character of the Moshavot, as it was conceived by them would not be jeopardised. The whole issue was really quite complicated, since there were on the other hand farmers with a much broader outlook, who did not concentrate on the "business" aspect of their lives. One of these, and in many respects uncharacteristic, was the leader of the farmers for many years - Moshe Smilansky<sup>63</sup>. But for Smilansky, a man of letters and a figure of national standing in the Yishuv, Arab labour, besides Jewish labour, of course, was justified for political reasons - namely the need, which Smilansky saw to avoid a gap between the two peoples in Palestine. This was a Zionist argument for the employment of Arabs. Certainly, this was not the only argument of people like Smilansky, and as a farmer he shared many of the other interests of his fellow farmers, but on the other hand Smilansky was a man who belonged to higher echelons of the Yishuv leadership, or at least was one of the Yishuv's "notables".

Finally, a short reference must be made to an organisation of farmers (or in this case rather to Moshavot as such), which did not follow the dominant pattern among the farmers, however diversified it was. In the late 'twenties an organisation by the name of "Hitachdut HaIcarim HaLeumiim" (Union of the Nationalist Farmers) was founded. Its members came mainly from some newly founded moshavot in the Sharon area of Palestine (north of Tel-Aviv) such as Magdiel, Raanana, ~~Hezliq~~<sup>5</sup> (which is now a town) etc. In contrast to the settlers in the veteran Moshavot of the First Aliya period, the farmers in these Moshavot came as members of the Zionist movement (they were also given some help from Zionist funds). The leader of "HaIcarim HaLeumiim" was a veteran (General) Zionist leader, whose activity in the Zionist Organisation goes back to his pre-Aliya period in Poland - Shmuel Zuchowiecki (see footnote 32). Zuchowiecki himself later became one of the leaders of General Zionists A in Palestine in the thirties and forties. The union under his leadership existed for only about ten years (1926-1937) and then merged with the "Association of the Farmers".

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63. Smilansky was a farmer in Rehavot, but was active in many spheres. A Hebrew writer - sometimes under the Arab pseudonym of Havadja Massa (Mr. Moses) - a romantic ideologist of the Zionist vision of "return to soil" (in this respect he established a common language with the Labour Settlement movements and the settlement organs of the Zionist Organisation) served in the Jewish legions in World War I (volunteered at the age of nearly 50), was active in the Hagana and one of the leaders of Ichud, the group that tried to reach understanding with the Arabs in Palestine by not insisting upon Zionist goals such as unlimited immigration etc. See his autobiographical story: Tkuma VeShoa (Heb: Rise and Holocaust) Tel-Aviv, Massada, 1953. On his political activity in "Ichud" (with Dr. Magnes, Prof. Buber and others) see: Susan Lee Hattis: The PiNational Idea in Palestine during Mandatory Times, Haifa, Shikmona, 1970.

The attitudes to the issue of "Avoda Ivrit", as well as the attitude to the organs of the Zionist movement formed the basic dividing line between the old and the new farmers, and it was therefore natural that the merger took place when the whole matter of "Avoda Ivrit" ceased to be an issue<sup>64</sup>.

#### 8. "HaGush-HaEzrachi" and "HaIchud-HaEzrachi"

Several references to these groups<sup>64a</sup> have already been made in this chapter, focussing attention on these groups and their origins, and In order to see the relationship between situations in the 'twenties and 'thirties and later developments in the State of Israel, one must start with the General Zionist Party in the first years of the State of Israel. The party's official name was "The General Zionist Party", and it was composed of some of the veteran General Zionists (mainly of the G-Z B, but also some of G-Z A, with the exception of HaOved HaTzioni and Aliya Hadasha) and the various Ezrachim. This party had very limited success in the first general elections receiving only 5% of the votes and 7 representatives in the Knesset. About a year and a half later, there were municipal elections in Israel, which resulted in a great success for this party. This success was attributed to a middle class vote of protest against the economic policies of the Mapai-led government, especially the so called "Austerity Policy", including rationing of food and clothing. Several months later the Knesset was dissolved as a result of the first governmental crisis in Israel (on religious issues). In the general election to the Second Knesset (1951) the "General Zionists" emerged as the second largest party, securing 16% of the votes and 20 seats (the real loser was Herut, which had 14 seats in the First Knesset, and secured only 8 seats in the Second). The slogan of the "General Zionists" in those elections was "Enable us to live in this country" (Heb. "Tnu Lichyot BaAretz Hazot"). Mapai retained its power (55% of the votes in the first general election and now 37%), but it seems that this was a result of its ability to secure the votes of many new immigrants, while losing votes of members of the pre-state Yishuv, who supported it during the struggle for independence and the creation of the State ("catch-all" party;- many of these, in fact, returned to support Mapai in later elections).

64. For a somewhat more detailed description of "Hitachdut HaIcarim HaLeumiim" see D. Weintraub et al: op.cit. pp. 174-176, (they translate it as "national Farmers League"). See also: S. Zuchowiecki: Gola Umoledet (Heb: Diaspora and Homeland) Nagdiel, The Local Council, n.d. pp. 125-211.

64a These groups are named here by their original Hebrew titles. "HaGush-HaEzrachi" was mentioned sometimes in the text as the "Bürgerlich" or "civic" bloc, while "HaIchud-HaEzrachi" is the "civic" or "Bürgerlich" union.

Nevertheless, the election to the Second Knesset was considered as a vote of protest against Mapai, coming mainly from the veteran population. Its repercussions upon political developments in Israel in the following years are not in the context of this study. The problem here is that of the party which (for a while) unexpectedly became the second largest party in Israel. Let us, therefore, concentrate now on the process of growth of this party by reverting to earlier stages.

It seems worthwhile to quote here some excerpts from an article written by S. Z. Abramov immediately after the success of the General Zionists in 1951. Abramov, a member of the General Zionist party for many years, entered the Knesset himself in 1959 (Fourth Knesset), and like other members of his party, is now in the Liberal Party within the Gahal Bloc. He is not therefore an "outsider" who would criticise a party as an antagonist although, within the party he may be identified with one group or another. In 1951, Mr. Abramov wrote<sup>65</sup>:

"After members of Aliya Hadasha and HaOved HaTzioni left the confederation of the General Zionists ...., the mother party was left internally divided and externally - without any influence - ..poverty of, talents, and activity, and negligence dominated. The ideological and intellectual weakness was much more severe than the organisational weakness....."

One of the two components which were absorbed in the broad scope of General-Zionism was "HaIchud HaEzrachi" .... The people of "HaIchud HaEzrachi" lacked any political vision, and therefore had no interest in a political party. Their basic aim was to safeguard the economic branches under their rule from being brought under the control of the Yishuv's democracy, which had developed within the framework of the Jewish autonomy. In its composition, the Ichud-HaEzrachi was a somewhat miniature federation of interest groups, such as the citrus-growers, organisations of urban proprietors and representatives of industrial branches ...."

Mr. Abramov goes on to ask why these interests which formed a "political agency" in the Yishuv did not establish a political party which could compete with other parties and achieve influence in the "autonomous institutions of the National-Home". He suggests two reasons for this: one external and the other internal. The external reason lies in the fact that the Jewish autonomy did not control the government in Palestine, and the leaders of "HaIchud HaEzrachi", thanks among other things to their economic positions, were able to develop a direct relationship with the British authorities, without the mediation of the "National Institutions". In other words,

65. In an article under the title "The Victory of the Bourbons" in the Hebrew Independent periodical Baterrem, September 1951, pp. 8-13.

they did not require all the democratic mechanisms which came into existence in the Yishuv. The internal reason lies within the mentality and "political culture" of the leaders of "HaIchud HaEzrachi".

Mr. Abramov's article is rather polemical because, when it was written, immediately after the electoral success in 1951, the General Zionists' party had become dominated mainly by former "Ichud-HaEzrachi" people, and the writer was disturbed by this. Nevertheless, his analysis seems basically to be correct, not only when one compares it with the quotation from Bernstein mentioned earlier in this chapter, but also when one utilises by other sources too<sup>66</sup>. Generally speaking, in various day-to-day affairs, the Ezrachim did not use the Yishuv authorities as their channels of communication with the Mandatory Government, but tried to establish "direct contact", e.g. in "Bustenai", the weekly of the Farmers' Federation one can find many reports about meetings and discussions of representatives of the farmers and the Mandatory Government. One report of such a meeting between representatives of the Federation of Farmers and the British High Commissioner (7th February 1936) mentions a memorandum which was presented to the High Commissioner, concerning the following matters:

1. Excise duties in Britain; 2. Commercial agreements; 3. Agricultural property tax; 4. Auxiliary roads; 5. Schools in the Moshavot; 6. Problems of health; 7. Rural councils; 8. The agricultural school in Pardes-Hana<sup>67</sup>

"HaIchud HaEzrachi" was an organisational attempt, in the early 'forties, to bring together under one roof the various "Bürgerlich" organisations, such as the Federation of Farmers and similar organisations of industrialists,

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66. E.g. in personal interviews both Mr. Joseph Sapir (Mayor of Petach-Tikva during the last ten years of the Mandate) and the late Israel Rokach (Mayor of Tel-Aviv 1937-1952) - see footnote 44 in this chapter, said that they had no interest in Zionist party-politics and they considered the municipal organisation as the basis of Jewish autonomy in Palestine. In this respect Sapir, who is now the leader of the Liberal Party was somewhat less extreme than Rokach. At that time, Rokach, as mayor of the largest Jewish urban centre in Palestine, was considered as the No. 1 leader of HaIchud HaEzrachi. Even several years earlier, Arlosoroff, Head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, complained that Rokach (then Deputy Mayor of Tel-Aviv) did not co-operate with the Jewish Agency. See: Ch. Arlosoroff: Yoman Yerushalayim (Heb: a "Jerusalem Diary") Tel-Aviv, Mapai, 1959 (published posthumously) pp. 155, 177.

67. Bustenai, 27th March, 1936.



businessmen etc., as well as the "League of Local Councils" which was dominated by groups of Ezrachim, the Municipality of Tel-Aviv, and even the Party of General Zionists B. It was not based on individual membership but on affiliated organisations. These organisations differed considerably from one another (e.g. a Zionist political party on the one hand and economic interest groups on the other), and each of them was reluctant to give up its own autonomy. The idea was to form an organisation which could counterbalance the position and influence of the Histadrut in the Yishuv. The structure of the Histadrut, however, with its integrative mechanisms, systems of social control and the existence of a well established political leadership and hierarchy, was entirely different from that of "HaIchud Ha Ezrachi". What united the organisations which formed this union was the wish to curtail the power of the Histadrut in the Yishuv, but this could not be done simply by forming a loose federation of independent organisations. The political party of the General Zionists B itself had aspirations to become the political party of these groups, while in HaIchud HaEzrachi they were reduced to being only one of the several member-organisations.

Formally HaIchud-HaEzrachi existed until the establishment of the state. It concentrated within its framework economic as well as political power, and the leaders of the authorised organs of the Yishuv could not ignore this fact. Nevertheless, it never formed a real threat to the central position which the "National Institutions" (and Mapai in particular) held in the Yishuv. "Cross cutting" cleavages avoided a total identification of "HaIchud-HaEzrachi" with some other opposition groups in the Yishuv, in particular the Revisionists. It should be mentioned too that "HaIchud-HaEzrachi" continually faced problems of maintaining its federative structure vis-a-vis the separatist and independent orientations of some of its member organisations. General-Zionists B, for instance, did not stay within this union for any length of time.

The existence of "Bürgerlich" circles in the Yishuv preceded the attempt to form a "Bürgerlich Union". In this respect there is also a difference between the situation here and in the Labour movement. The whole Labour establishment, as well as what may be called the "working class", developed after the ideological, political and organisational foundations were laid by the "founding fathers". On the other hand, many of the "Bürgerlich" groups, such as the farmers, various urban middle class organisations, etc, developed independently of each other. Realising,

therefore, the "objective" difficulty of merging these groups in a mechanical way, one can still raise the question of the channels for their political activity in the Yishuv. The material concerning the Zionist congresses and assemblies of representatives, as far as these groups participated in these organs, has already been presented. But what of the local level, which seems to be the basis of their more politically defined power? Generally speaking - lack of institutionalisation characterised this sphere too. There was no stable organisation of parties or semi-parties. In Rokach's words: "it was a rule by notables. Before elections, a list of candidates formed ad hoc, especially in order to back a certain personality". One need not wonder, therefore, that from one election to the other, there were changes in the titles of lists and their composition, or that the lists of candidates were entirely local.

The situation was different, of course, with the Labour Party (Mapai) (usually under the title of the Histadrut), and to some extent one or two religious parties too. As a result, five or six lists of Ezrachim were usually returned in the elections to the municipal or local council, each of these with just one or two representatives - and these representatives formed the Gush HaEzrachi - civic or Bürgerlich bloc in the council. Nationwide meetings of the members of these blocs in various councils took place occasionally, and these forums became more or less the public representation of the Ezrachim, particularly before the formation of HaIchud HaEzrachi. There is, therefore, no point in comparing lists of candidates in various elections since the "raw material" demonstrates clearly the general idea. This section is concluded, therefore, with several such examples<sup>68</sup>.

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68. All the figures concerning the composition of the Tel-Aviv Municipal Councils are calculated according to information presented in Yediot Tel-Aviv-Yaffo, Vol. 22 (1952), No. 1-3, p.30 (an official publication of the municipality of Tel-Aviv).

A. The Composition of the Municipal Council of Tel-Aviv (elected 1926)

0.	Total membership	41
1.	Tel-Aviv and Jaffa Workers Council List (Histadrut)	15
2.	The Fourth Aliya List	6
3.	The Revisionists-Zionists	5
4.	The United Centre	5
5.	Poalei-Tzion Smol -	3
6.	League of Neighbours (i.e. middle class, but not property owners o.s.)	1
7.	League of Orthodoxy	1
8.	List of Torah and Avoda (Religion and Labour i.e. HaPoel-HaMizrachi)	1
9.	List of National-Religious	1

N.B. After these elections a Labour mayor was elected for the only time in the history of Tel-Aviv until the year 1960. He was in office for about two years.

B. The Composition of the Municipal Council of Tel-Aviv (elected 1928)

0.	Total Membership	15
1.	The Histadrut List	5
2.	The Centre	4
3.	The Middle Class	2
4.	The Landlords	2
5.	The Merchants	1
6.	HaMizrachi	1

N.B. Lists 2 to 5 formed the "Bürgerlich Bloc" and the representative of HaMizrachi usually joined them.

C. The Composition of the Municipal Council of Tel-Aviv (elected 1932)

0.	Total Membership	15
1.	The Histadrut List	5
2.	The Centre	3
3.	The Popular List	3
4.	"For Tel-Aviv"	1
5.	Landlords	1
6.	Merchants and Businessmen	1
7.	Revisionists	1
8.	HaMizrachi	1

N.B. Lists 2 to 6 formed the "Bürgerlich Bloc". The Revisionist and HaMizrachi councillors collaborated with them.

D. The Composition of the Municipal Council of Tel-Aviv (elected 1935)

0.	Total Membership	15
1.	The Histadrut List	6
2.	Immigrants from Germany and Austria	1
3.	The Centre	1
4.	"For Tel-Aviv"	1
5.	M. Dizengoff	1
6.	League of Landlords and Owners of Flats	1
7.	Landlords	1
8.	Centre of Retail Tradesmen	1
9.	Revisionists	1
10.	HaMizrachi	1

N.B.: Lists 3 to 8 formed the "Gush HaEzrachi" (Bürgerlich bloc) and were supported by HaMizrachi and Revisionist Councillors.

It should be realised that changes in titles of lists were not necessarily accompanied by changes in personnel, e.g. The Mayor of Tel-Aviv until his death in 1936 (with the exception of 1926-28), M. Dizengoff was returned in 1936 presented under his own name (but there was a list of candidates, and when he died he was automatically succeeded as councillor by the second in the list, one Mr. Caplan, while in former elections his list bore another title).

The next elections in Tel-Aviv took place only in 1951, and here the map of contesting lists was entirely different (with one exception, however. The list of HaMaarach in 1969 and the lists of the Histadrut in the 'twenties and 'thirties are in fact the same). It was comprised of more or less the same parties which contested the elections to the Knesset in the same period. In the first chapter the returns of the 1969 parliamentary elections and list of parties were presented. In the same day elections to local government organs all over Israel took place too. It is interesting to see which lists contested in Tel-Aviv in 1969 and how "Rule of Notables" dispersed entirely from Tel-Aviv. In other words, Hagush-HaEzrachi was absorbed within the party system.

E. The Composition of the Municipal Council of Tel-Aviv (elected 1969)

0. Total Membership	31
1. HaMaarach (The Labour Party and Mapam)	13
2. Mafdal	3
3. Agudat-Israel	1
4. Gahal (Herut and Liberals' Bloc)	12
5. Independent Liberals	1
6. The State List	1

N.B. The elections were always proportional and in 1969 four more lists took part, but did not secure representation. These were all lists of parties represented in the Knesset (Hakach, Maki, HaMerkaz, HaHofshi and HaOlem Hazeh)

The same phenomenon can be traced in all the major Moshavot - some of which are now towns. With the exception of the Histadrut and one or two Zionist parties - all the lists in the Yishuv period were either personal or represented narrowly defined interests. After the establishment of the State - the institutionalisation of a party system takes place - from the centre to the periphery. The case of the Ezrachim is the most characteristic of this process. Let us, therefore, end this section by presenting another example of another stronghold of the Ezrachim - Petach-Tikva.<sup>69</sup>

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69. The source of information for the composition of the council elected in 1932 is in G. Kresel (ed.): Em-HaMoshavot Petach-Tikva (Heb. "Mother" of the Moshavot Petach-Tikva). Petach-Tikva Municipality, 1943, p. 395; on the 1940 election, see Z. Yoeli and A.S. Stein, Kovshim U'Donim (Heb. Conquerors and Builders), The Workers Council of Petach-Tikva, 1955.

A. Composition of the Local Council in Petach-Tikva (elected 1932)

0.	Total Membership	15
1.	The Histadrut	5
2.	Farmers	5
3.	"Citizens in their town - Farmers"	1
4.	Merchants	1
5.	Association of Landlords (owners of houses)	1
6.	Revisionists	1
7.	Independent Religious List	1

N.B. Lists 2 to 5 formed the "Gush-HaEzrachi" and the Revisionist and the Independent Religious co-operated with them (9 (!) additional lists contested the elections but did not secure the minimal vote required for representation).

B. Composition of the Municipal Council in Petach-Tikva (elected 1940)

0.	Total Membership	15
1.	The Histadrut	6
2.	Orthodox and Agudat Israel List	2
3.	Mizrachi and HaPoel-HaMizrachi	2
4.	The United List	2
5.	Young Farmers	1
6.	The Women	1
7.	The Centre	1

N.B. Here HaGush HaEzrachi had difficulties in securing a majority and in the voting for mayorship its candidate (Mr. Y. Sapir) and the Labour candidate each got 7 votes (one councillor abstained). The lists which supported the Histadrut candidate got more votes in the elections. The district commissioner, however, as mentioned above, appointed Mr. Sapir as mayor.

## CHAPTER 6

### Revisionism and Herut.

#### 1. "Tnuat HaHerut" (The Freedom Movement): a general outline

The Herut party, whose official name is "Tnuat HaHerut", <sup>1</sup>Miyasodo Shel HaIngun HaTzvai HaLeumi" (The Herut-Freedom-Movement, founded by the Nationalist<sup>1</sup> Military Organisation") came into existence in summer 1948, after the Irgun was disbanded by the Provisional Government of the State of Israel. It is not, however, an "ordinary" case in which an underground military organisation, the origins of which are in a nationalist movement, turns into a political party once independence has been achieved. On the one hand, the Irgun was not the only resistance or para-military organisation in the Yishuv and the Zionist movement. During the history of the Yishuv, there were several such organisations (whether they were called "resistance organisations" or "defence organisations" or "guards", etc.) and one cannot ignore the relationship which existed between most, if not all, of these organisations and political parties or at least party-politics in the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation. On the other hand, the fact that originally I. Tz. L. was affiliated to a particular political formation in the Yishuv and in the Zionist Organisation, seems to be especially salient in this context<sup>1a</sup>.

The I.-Tz.-L. was a legitimate offspring of the Revisionist Party or movement. The Revisionist movement, however, was mainly a diaspora movement and not one which had its roots in the Yishuv. As long as he lived, (until July 1940), the founder and charismatic as well as formal leader of the movement was Vladimir Jabotinsky. His supreme authority in the movement

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1. The Hebrew word "leumi" has the dual sense of "National" (pertaining to the nation) and "Nationalist" (referring to a political ideology). In this study the word national is used only to refer to "official" and recognised frameworks in the Yishuv. I do, however, recognise that for those who referred to their organisations as "leumi" the word carried both senses. (See also p.3, n.4a).

1a To some extent, one can compare this situation with the situation in Ireland (1916-1922) and the developments which followed it, as well as with the French resistance movement during the German occupation in the second world war. Obviously, all three cases differ considerably from one another, and this is not the place to elaborate the theme.

was even further strengthened after the Revisionists left the Zionist Organisation (1935). As such, he was also the commander in chief of the I.-Tz.-L. With his death, and with the extermination of central European Jewry, with whom the basis of his movement's power had lain, the Revisionist movement in fact sank into a crisis. Some months before his death<sup>2</sup> a split took place in the I.Tz.L. The splinter group, led by Avraham Stern, the second in command in the I.Tz.L. military hierarchy, formed a rival organisation, which later became known as "Fighters for the Freedom of Israel", (Heb: Lohamei Herut Israel, in short "Lehi") or by the popular term of the "Stern Group"<sup>3</sup>. The leadership of the Revisionist Organisation in Palestine never really had control over the I.Tz.L., and in the mid-forties nothing was left even of the small amount of authority which it might once have had. Besides the split in the I.Tz.L. in summer 1939, it also faced successive internal crises. Many of its commanders had been arrested by the British, following activities against the British after the publication of the "White Paper" on Palestine<sup>4</sup>, but were gradually released later before and following the outbreak of World War II. During most of the years of the war, the I.Tz.L. was not active in any "external" front. On the contrary, it co-operated with the British in various operations in the Middle East. Its commander, David Raziel was made a captain in the British Army and was sent to Iraq, with his deputy Yaacov Merridor, to fight the pro-Nazi regime of Rashid Ali, and died in action there as a British officer<sup>5</sup>.

The "revival" of I.Tz.L. is to be attributed not only to the personality of Begin, but also to the fact that since 1944 (the declaration of its "revolt" against the British) it had once again become a viable organisation, which could offer its members a cause to fight for.

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2. Jabotinsky died in New York. His entry to Palestine had been banned by the British Government. In his last years he lived in London, and his headquarters were there.

3. For a more detailed discussion of this split and the differences between I.Tz.L. and Lehi, see below, Section 6 of this chapter.

4. Parliamentary Papers, Cmd. 6019, Palestine: Statement of Policy, London, H.M.S.O. 17th May, 1939.

5. For a detailed history of this period see D. Niv: Maarachot HaIrgun HaTzvai HaLeumi (Heb. The Battles of the Irgun - the "National Military Organisation") Tel-Aviv, Mosad Klausner, 1965/67, Vol. II pp. 225-282; Vol. III pp. 34-60; 67-91.



Under the leadership of Begin<sup>6</sup>, the I.Tz.L. carried on its military and guerrilla activities, in most cases in contrast to the policies and even the pressures of the "National Institutions" of the Yishuv, and with some support from the "civilian" Revisionist Party. The party was not consulted by the I.Tz.L. command, but nevertheless, the former could not oppose I.Tz.L. without questioning ipso facto its right of existence.

The Revisionist Organisation (or party, or movement) returned to the Zionist Organisation in 1945 and participated in the 22nd Zionist Congress. They remained in opposition in the Zionist movement, but when the Committee of 33 (which later became the State's Provisional Parliament)<sup>7</sup> was formed, they sent their representatives. The problem which faced the "organised Yishuv" at this stage, however, was no longer that of coming to terms with the Revisionists, but that of coming to terms with the I.Tz.L. Without going into a historical analysis of that dramatic period, and its events in the internal and external arenas in the winter and spring of 1948<sup>8</sup>, the important outcome as far as the I.Tz.L. was concerned was that it ceased to exist as a military organisation, and its commanders, headed by Menahem Begin, founded the Herut party. In the first general election, three lists of candidates whose origins were in the Revisionist movement, were among the contenders. The total electorate was composed of 440,080 voters. Herut received nearly 50,000 votes and fourteen seats in the Knesset. The "HaLohamim" (Heb. "The Fighters", namely the Lehi - Stern Group - whose

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6. See Begin's own account, M. Begin: The Revolt (The Story of the Irgun), New York, Henry Schulman, 1951.

7. See the first pages of Chapter 3.

8. Including the Altalena Affair (Altalena was a ship loaded with arms and ammunition brought by I.Tz.L. a month after the establishment of the State). For an official Israeli account, mainly from the Military point of view, see: Netanel Lorch: The Edge of the Sword (Israel's war of Independence), Jerusalem, Massada Press, 1961/68; for the events as seen from the Prime Minister's point of view see: D. Ben-Gurion: Medinat Israel HaMehudeshet (Heb: The Restored State of Israel), Tel-Aviv, Am-Oved, 1969, pp.179-191; descriptions from the I.Tz.L. angle - M. Begin: The Revolt (op.cit.) esp. pp. 340-380; E. Lankin: Sipuro Shel Mefaked Altalena (Heb: The Story of Altalena's commander), Tel-Aviv, Hadar, 1967, pp. 255-324; S. Katz: Yom Haesh (Heb. Day of Fire), Tel-Aviv, Karni 1966, pp. 324-456 (published also in English: Inside the Miracle, London, W.H. Allen, 1968.)

leaders were at that time serving prison sentences following the murder of Count Bernadotte<sup>9</sup>) received nearly 5,500 votes (one seat)<sup>9</sup>, while the third list, that of the Revisionist Party proper received less than 3,000 votes, without any representation.

I.Tz.L. and Lehi which were both underground groups did not, of course, take part in the elections to the 22nd Zionist Congress (1946). The Revisionists received nearly 15% of the votes in the Yishuv (about 27,000 out of 200,000) and gained 11 out of 73 representatives. The return of the elections to the First Knesset indicates, therefore, that the electorate which supported the so-called "Jabotinsky Camp", gave an overwhelming support to the I.Tz.L. and its command, and rejected the old establishment of the Revisionist Party. There still existed, however, a World Revisionist movement, and there were also funds and other property in Israel, which were owned by the Revisionist Party. Since the Herut leadership did not reach its position as a result of internal party conflicts and processes within the framework of the Revisionist Party, it had either to "start from the beginning", or find a way to replace or inherit the official Revisionist Party in Israel. An opening was soon found. Herut was recognised by the world movement as its party in Israel (in fact quite soon the leadership of Herut was acknowledged as the leadership of the world movement). The functionaries of the politically denuded Revisionist Party in Israel joined Herut, and some of them were included in the lists of candidates of Herut in the subsequent parliamentary elections, and became members of the Knesset (e.g. the Chairman of the Revisionist Party, Dr. A. Altmann). Some veteran Revisionists, however, refused to join Herut, and instead joined the General Zionists' Party (e.g. M. Grossman and B. Weinstein<sup>10</sup>).

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9. The head of this list, Mr. Yellin-Mor was later released from prison following a general amnesty, and took his seat in the Knesset. The "Lochamim" did not evolve into a political party, and did not take part in further general elections. Nevertheless some of them continued to form a loose ideological ultra-nationalist movement, and in the mid-fifties a rudimentary nationalist illegal underground was discovered, and some of its members were sentenced to several years imprisonment. Of the "triumvirate" which led "Lehi" after Stern was killed by the British, one did not take any active part in politics after the establishment of the State (Mr. Yezarnitzki-Shamir), but recently joined the Herut Party. Another personality, Dr. I. Sheib-Eldad was during the whole period an ideologist of extreme nationalism in Israel, and is now active in the Land of Israel movement (against any withdrawal from occupied territories), while Mr. Yellin-Mor became one of the exponents of reconciliation between Jews and Arabs on an "anti-imperialist" basis. When he was in London about a year ago, he was invited to address the Arab lobby in the Labour Parliamentary Party.

Footnote 10 on following page.

It has been mentioned elsewhere by the writer that the case of Herut is the only case where an entirely new, and younger, elite replaced the ruling elite in an Israeli political party<sup>11</sup>. One can assume, of course, that Begin and his colleagues would have secured leadership positions, even if they had preferred to stay in their "mother party" after the disbanding of the I.Tz.L.; but such a course of action would no doubt have put them in a position of opposition to the "oligarchy" of the "civilian" leadership in the party. The fact that they succeeded in getting the support of nearly the whole periphery of the Revisionist Party, saved them from this task, and established the rule of Begin, a leader with a special appeal, and the "Colonels" (as they were called - especially Y. Meridor, Ch. Landau and the late A. Ben-Eliezer) in the Herut Party for about twenty years. Of these, Ben-Eliezer died several years ago, while Meridor has given up political life. On the other hand, Ezer Weizmann (a popular general and a nephew of Ch. Weizmann) had retired from the army (Dec., 1969), joined Herut and served with Begin and Landau as its representative in the "Government of National Unity". It seems as if a new generation is emerging in Herut, although after the secession of ~~HaMerik~~<sup>az</sup> HaHofshi, Begin's position has not yet been officially challenged again.

Begin, who, particularly in the first years of his "legal" activity, developed an emotional-romantic-nationalist appeal, is the successor of Jabotinsky in the movement. There are many personal differences between the two, which are not within the context of this work, as well as differences in basic political and social orientation. Begin, for instance, is much closer to Jewish religion, and it seems that his nationalist ideology has a mystical religious component in it. Any content-analysis of his speeches, which are full of references to the "Saviour of Israel", the "Lord of Israel" etc., will reveal this at once (besides the fact that in his private life he is to a large extent an observant Jew, e.g. he does not drive on the Sabbath). Jabotinsky was an atheist. His nationalism, romantic too, was, so it seems, a reflection of Nineteenth Century European nationalist movements. Born in Russia (1880), and later living for a while as a young man in Italy, he became acquainted with European "civil culture". Besides being a man who devoted his life to politics, he was an outstanding orator, a journalist

10. Grossman was a veteran in the movement, belonging to the generation of Jabotinsky, and for many years his "second in command" in the party. Nevertheless, he parted from Jabotinsky even before the Revisionists left the Zionist Organisation, and for several years headed the small "Party of the Jewish State" within the Zionist Organisation. After World War II, with the return of the Revisionists to the Zionist Organisation, members of the "Party of the Jewish State" returned to the Revisionist Party. Weinstein was also a member of Grossman's "Party of the Jewish State".

11. O. Shapiro: "Political Parties in Transition", a paper submitted to the VIII World Congress of I.P.S.A., Munich, 1970, p.30 (mimeograph).

writer, poet and translator (e.g. he translated poems of Bialik, the modern Hebrew national poet into Russian, and Edgar Allan Poe into Hebrew). He mastered the major languages of the modern world and had an immense influence on people. Of all the personal cults which have existed in the Yishuv and the Zionist movement (there were several such cults - Weizmann's in the 'twenties and 'thirties, Ben-Gurion's in the 'fifties, Begin's in the 'fifties, to some extent Dayan's in the 'sixties, etc.), his seems to have been the most intensive and long lasting. (Herzl is named "Hozeh HaMedina" - the one who envisaged the State - and the first thing every official guest to Israel does, is to pay a visit to his tomb on "Mount Herzl" in Jerusalem. But Herzl's cult is an institutionalised one, e.g. like that of George Washington in the U.S.A.). Begin, with his emotional mode of talk, usually refers to Jabotinsky as "Our father and teacher" or "the teacher of the generations" and to the party <sup>(as)</sup> formerly <sup>(c)</sup> I.T.Z.L. as "The sons and disciples of Jabotinsky"<sup>12</sup> (the name Jabotinsky is sometimes replaced by the title - "Head of Betar" (Heb. Rosh-Betar)).

## 2. Jabotinsky, and the "Revisionist Zionists"

The various historians of the Revisionist movement who, (as it happens, played a prominent part in it) saw what they termed "Activism", as the point of departure for the development of this movement<sup>13</sup>. One of the first

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12. An illustration is that Begin's only son is named Ze'ev-Binyamin (Ze'ev was the Hebrew name of Jabotinsky while Binyamin was the Hebrew name for Herzl). In fact, Hertzl's name should have come before Jabotinsky's, but "unfortunately" Herzl had two Hebrew names - Binyamin-Ze'ev, and Begin had to name his son Ze'ev-Binyamin in order that it would become obvious that he was referring to Jabotinsky too. I regard it as co-incidental that Begin's father's Hebrew name was also Ze'ev.
13. Binyamin Lubotzki (now Eliav): HaTzohar U'Betar (Heb: The Tzohar (Tzionim HaRevizionistim - Revisionist Zionists) and Betar (Brit Trumpeldor - the Trumpeldor Union), Jerusalem, The Institute for Zionist Education, 1946, p. 1ff; Binyamin Akzin: "Mediniut HaHutz Shel Jabotinsky" (Heb: Jabotinsky's Foreign Policy) in "Sugiot Bemishpat Ubemedinaut" (Heb: Issues in Law and Statesmanship), Jerusalem, The Magnes Press, 1956, pp. 77-108 (Prof. Akzin was one of the closer assistants and confidants of Jabotinsky in the 'thirties. In this chapter, which was published earlier (1960) in a Hebrew periodical, Prof. Akzin did not use the word "activism" explicitly, but this seems to be the dominant theme in the paper, which is, by the way, a fine example of an objective evaluation in an historical perspective without, at the same time, any attempt to ignore his personal sympathies and identification); Joseph B. Schechtman and Yehuda Benari: History of the Revisionist Movement, Vol. 1., 1925-193 Tel-Aviv, Hadar Publishing House, 1970, Chapter 1; D. Niv: Maarachot HaIrgun HaTzvai HaLeumi (op.cit.) Vol. 1, pp. 109ff.

manifestations of this "activism" was the creation of the Jewish battalions in the British army in the year 1917 (this was preceded by the formation of an auxiliary "Zion Mule Corps" in 1915, especially on the initiative of Trumpeldor<sup>14</sup>). This "activism" should, however, be distinguished from the activist orientations which were apparent in some sectors of the Labour movement as early as the twenties and later in the forties<sup>15</sup>. "Activism" in the Labour movement took as its point of departure the Yishuv as a community developing on the basis of daily "constructive efforts". In this respect, this kind of activism emerged out of the tradition of "practical Zionism", going back to the early history of the Zionist movement. The Revisionist "activism", on the other hand, was "political". Akzin, in his balanced exposition, writes<sup>15a</sup>:

"problems of foreign policy were central in Jabotinsky's approach to Zionism .... Those of his critics, who have claimed that Jabotinsky neglected the practical, settlement aspects of the Return to Zion, are also right".

Jabotinsky's "activism" clashed with Weizmann's pragmatism. One should, however, be aware of the fact that these two Zionist leaders started with a more or less common platform during the first world war. Weizmann and Jabotinsky alike claimed that the Zionist Organisation should take sides with the British in World War I (officially the Zionist Organisation was

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14. Trumpeldor, for a long time the number 1 hero-martyr in the tradition of the Yishuv, was killed by Arabs while defending a Jewish settlement in 1920. Born in Russia, he was one of the few Jews who became officers in the Tzarist Army. He immigrated to Palestine in the Second Aliya, but returned later to Russia. During the first world war he came to Egypt and was very active in the formation of Jewish military formations. This brought him into collaboration with Jabotinsky. After the war he returned to Palestine. He was in fact close to the Labour movement at that time. He was also a member of some pioneering groups. After Trumpeldor's death, a newly formed "Labour Battalion" with socialist orientations was founded, and named after him. On the other hand, several years later, Trumpeldor's name became a symbol of the activist-militarist orientations of Revisionism and its youth movement was named after him too. So both traditions, that of the Labour movement and that of the Revisionist movement - the two movements which became very hostile to each other in the 'thirties, claimed a certain "monopoly" of the legacy of Trumpeldor.

15. Although the relationship between the Labour movement and the "Disciples of Jabotinsky" was one of severe hostility for many years, during the Yishuv period and afterwards, it was not without a historical basis that Begin suggested in 1970 that Y. Tabenkin, the veteran leader of HaKibbutz-HaMeuchad should head an inter-party movement opposing any withdrawal from occupied territories.

15a B. Akzin: ibid, p.77.

"neutral", but there was a considerable pro-German "lobby" within it, namely people who did not believe in a British victory and did not want to endanger the prospects of Zionism by committing it to the British side). It was Weizmann who became the chief political negotiator with the British during the war (the Balfour Declaration<sup>16</sup> was to some extent his personal achievement). Weizmann also supported Jabotinsky's initiative concerning the formation of Jewish battalions in the face of considerable opposition in the Zionist movement, and, as became evident later, also within the Yishuv<sup>16a</sup>. Even many years later, when Jabotinsky became leader and symbol of extreme Zionist nationalism, and his entry to Palestine was banned by the Mandatory Government (acting in this case upon directions from Whitehall. The issue was raised several times at Westminster), he still did not relinquish his basic belief that the Zionist movement and Britain shared common interests. His criticism of Weizmann's policies (which led him in the first stage to resign from the Zionist Executive - 1923) was more in the sphere of tactics than on issues of essence. Generally speaking, Jabotinsky did not believe that the moderate policy of Weizmann, as far as the British were concerned, and the emphasis laid upon "building a society" rather than forcing the issue of the creation of a Jewish State would lead to the achievement of true Zionist aims<sup>17</sup>. Jabotinsky's view was that without appropriate political preconditions, Zionism did not have any chances of achieving its goals.

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16. Although the Balfour Declaration is central to the history of Zionism and the emergence of the State of Israel, the discussion of its various aspects, origins, what were the aims of the British, etc., is not in the context of this study. Besides the discussion in Weizmann's memoirs, one can find many references to it in writings and speeches of leading British statesmen such as Churchill, Lloyd-George, L. Amery and others. The 2nd Lord Harlech (then Major Ormsby-Gore) was the British liaison officer to the Zionist Commission headed by Weizmann (1918-19).

16a E.g. HaPoel-HaTzair members were, generally speaking "anti-legionists" (although some of them, including Levi Eshkol, joined the Army later). On the other hand, the future Achdut-HaAvoda leaders were "legionists". Ben-Gurion and Ben-Zvi, who were in exile in America, arranged for an "American Battalion" to be formed and sent to the near East. That history and politics are full of paradoxes is demonstrated here<sup>not</sup> only by developments in the 'twenties and 'thirties - the rift between Weizmann and Jabotinsky and the hostility between Labour and Revisionism - but also by the fact that in the last years of his presidency of the Zionist Organisation, Weizmann's closest supporters were the former HaPoel-HaTzair leaders within the Mapai Party. Although it sounds paradoxical, it is a logical result of developments in the Yishuv and the Zionist movement.

17. The fact that the ultimate aim of the "moderates" was also the creation of a Jewish state, now generally undisputed, may not have been so obvious to the opponents of Weizmann and Mapai in the late twenties and early thirties. See for instance N. Goldmann: Autobiography (op.cit.), pp.101-102. See also Arlosoroff's letters to Weizmann (esp. that of 30.6.1932) published for the first time in Yoman Yerushalayim (op.cit.) pp.327-359;

What seems to have originated from a controversy over tactics, quite soon became a basic difference in the whole approach and conception of Zionism. The opponents of Revisionism (i.e. the Zionist movement at large) were considered as "minimalists", and their whole Zionist approach was named by the Revisionists as "Klein-Zionismus" (in the sense that major ideas and goals were being sacrificed for secondary activities). Thus, a gap was developing between the Revisionists and their opponents which was later reflected in the emergence of totally different "political cultures" (many interesting aspects will have to be omitted from this work, but a striking feature in this context is that the "distances" became larger especially in some cases in which there was a certain affinity in ultimate political goals, as historical developments have shown. E.g. Tabenkin's concept of Zionism was closer, in the political sense, to that of the Revisionists, than was that of Rokach, for instance. But since the Labour movement in the Yishuv was opposed both by the Revisionists and the "Civic bloc", these two formed an opposition to the "dominance of one party in the Yishuv"<sup>17a</sup>).

As an alternative to Weizmann's approach, which was supported by many general Zionists, and by the Labour movement (the Labour movement had some reservations in other spheres, e.g. at least various elements in the movement did not approve of the "personal style" of Weizmann's leadership in the Zionist Organisation in the twenties), Jabotinsky had his own formula, viz the struggle

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17a. In this respect, I see things as much more complicated than Prof. Akzin does in the concluding paragraph of his paper (op.cit.). Akzin claims that many of Jabotinsky's ideas were adopted later by the Zionist movement under the leadership of Mapai, while during his life, all these ideas were rejected by them. The break started with issues of tactics, while the different slogans used by the various opponents latterly should be understood within the context of the different political cultures. The emergence of Revisionism as a separate movement was a result of the inability of the Zionist Organisation to develop effective mechanism to deal with certain cleavages which might, to a certain extent have become cross cutting by their nature. The situation is entirely different in this respect in the State of Israel. Akzin is right, however, as long as facts alone are being considered, e.g. the Revisionists advocated "militarism" while the whole idea was denounced by "official Zionism". Years later the Israeli Army was formed by a Mapai Government, which was and is very aware of its autonomy and development, and many of its commanders come from the "traditionally" "anti-militaristic" groups in the Yishuv.

for the creation of political preconditions for the development of the National-Home, "on both banks of the Jordan"<sup>18</sup>. These preconditions had to be composed of what he called a "colonizatory regime", (e.g. agrarian reform, reform of taxation, granting total authority to the Jewish Agency in problems of immigration, etc.) and the existence of legal Jewish military formations within the British Army, as a defence force of the Jewish National Home. The Jewish Battalions were demobilised after World War I, and Jabotinsky demanded their reinstatement (in this respect he had many opponents in the Zionist movement and the Yishuv. The idea which became dominant was that officially something like a Jewish Army was not required at that stage for the development of the Yishuv, and its man-power should be directed to "constructive activities", while for defence purposes, the Yishuv could develop its own defence militia - whether legally or illegally. The idea of an illegal defence militia at that time was unacceptable to the future Commander-in-Chief of the I.Tz.L. He wanted it to be legal and semi-professional<sup>19</sup>).

As a separate party in the Zionist Organisation, the Revisionists made their first appearance in the 14th Congress (1925), with 5 delegates (less than 2%). They reached the height of their power in the World Zionist

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18. A popular Revisionist song included the lines "the Jordan has two banks, and both of them are ours". However, as to the official definition of the aims of Zionism, as they were conceived by the Revisionists, see the document "Yesodot HaTzohar" (elements of HaTzohar) in Ch. Merchavia (ed): Uma U'Moledet (op.cit.) pp. 438-440. The second clause runs as follows: "Trans-Jordan is an integral part of the territory of Palestine, and like all other parts, is included within the area of Jewish settlement"; the first clause opens with the sentence, "The aim of Zionism is to gradually turn Palestine (including trans-Jordan) into a Jewish commonwealth, viz an independent commonwealth with a permanent Jewish majority"

19. An early, more or less detailed, exposition of the Revisionist platform is presented in Jabotinsky's brochure: "Ma Rotzim HaTzionim HaRevizionistim?" (Heb: What do the Revisionist Zionist Want?), Jerusalem, The Revisionist Organisation, 1926 (reprinted in the Writings of Zé'ev Jabotinsky, Jerusalem, E. Jabotinsky, 1953, Vol.VI, pp. 279-302). Jabotinsky himself was among the organisers of the the Hagana in Jerusalem during the disturbances of 1920. He was arrested and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. I would imagine that there was a difference between this case and later cases of arrests of members of Jewish illegal defence organisations. Latterly, the idea that defence (or resistance) was an underground and formally illegal activity became common, while for Jabotinsky at that stage, it was an activity for which he demanded recognition on behalf of the British. He did not even try to hide or escape, as a "real" underground man (e.g. Begin 25 years later) would have done



Organisation in the 17th Congress (1931), with 52 delegates (20% of the delegates, compared, for instance, with the 75 delegates - 29% of Labour-Mapai). It was at this congress that Weizmann was not returned as president of the Zionist Organisation after a vote of non-confidence in him, and the only time when a theoretical coalition of the anti-Weizmann and anti-Labour powers in the Zionist movement (with Jabotinsky as a possible president) became feasible<sup>20</sup>. In fact, such a coalition was not formed<sup>21</sup>, and the Seventeenth Congress marks the beginning of Mapai's rule in the "National Institutions", with Arlosoroff as head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency. It was at the 17th Congress that the Revisionists made the proposal that the Zionist Organisation should decide explicitly about the so-called "ultimate goal" of Zionism - namely the creation of a Jewish State. This proposal was rejected (the voting was followed by a famous episode in the history of Zionism, when Jabotinsky tore his delegate card to pieces while shouting: "this is no longer a Zionist Congress"<sup>22</sup>). The 18th Zionist (1933) Congress was the last Zionist Congress in which the Revisionists took part. It was several months after Arlosoroff's murder which members of the Revisionist party were accused of, and after an internal split in the Revisionist party itself. At this congress

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20. The official minutes of the congress present the events as they appeared on the scene. There are many descriptions of what went on behind the scenes at this dramatic congress. See for instance H.N. Bialik (the Hebrew national poet, who was a delegate to the congress and supporter of Weizmann): Igrot (Heb: Letters), Tel-Aviv, Vol. 5, pp. 165-167; Joseph B. Schechtman: Fighter and Prophet (The Jabotinsky Story, Vol.2) New York, Thomas Yesseloff, 1961, pp. 147-154 (this biography, although written by one of the leaders of the Revisionist movement, and therefore with no claim to be entirely unbiased, is to date the best biography written about any Zionist of Yishuv leading personality); Ch. Weizmann: Trial and Error, op.cit., pp. 417 ff; Vera Weizmann: The Impossible Takes Longer, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1967, pp. 119-120; Nahum Goldmann: Autobiography, op.cit., pp. 114ff; I. Sprintzak: Igrot (Heb: Letters), Tel-Aviv, Ayanot, 1969, Vol. II, pp. 150 ff.

21. See below, Chapter 8, pp. 252-254

22. Joseph B. Schechtman: Fighter and Prophet, (op.cit.), p. 152.

Labour's representation increased to 44%, while that of the Revisionists and the General Zionists decreased (General Zionist - 23%, Revisionist - 14% and the group which split from the Revisionists - which later became known as the "Jewish State Party" - 2%). The Revisionists left the Zionist Organisation in the year 1935, and founded the "New Zionist Organisation"<sup>23</sup>. This secession was the final stage of a long process in which Jabotinsky became more and more convinced that he had no chance of changing the Zionist Organisation from within. This feeling was strengthened by various events which in turn became expressions of the internal issues and cleavages in the Zionist movement in the first half of that decade.

The founding congress of the "New Zionist Organisation" took place in 1935. 713,000 voters took part in the elections to this congress, of these 450,000 were voters in Poland and about 26,000 voters in Palestine<sup>24</sup>. The number of voters in the 19th Congress in the same year was somewhat less, about 632,000; of these about 245,000 were voters in Poland (including all the Polish constituencies) while more than 92,000 were Palestinians (out of which  $\frac{2}{3}$  voted Labour)<sup>25</sup>. Jabotinsky's achievement in mobilising support among Polish Jewry should not be underestimated, but this achievement was lost with the holocaust. On the other hand the "Old" (as it was now named by the Revisionists) Zionist Organisation, with Mapai already as its dominant party, had a strong basis in Palestine, as well as among the more established groups in World Jewry. In the last resort, the secession of the Revisionists only strengthened Mapai's position in the Zionist Organisation and the Yishuv.

Although Jabotinsky's original idea was that the "New Zionist Organisation" would become a diversified organisation, with various parties within it, which could one day replace the "old" Zionist Organisation, it did not develop in that direction. Its actual lifespan was just less than four

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23. The Revisionists introduced several words to Hebrew political vocabulary. "HaTzohar" was a word formed from the Hebrew initials of the Revisionist Zionists; "HaTzach" - the New Zionist Organisation; "Betar" - The Trumpeldor Union (Betar happened to be also the name of the last Jewish fortress in the Bar-Cochva revolt against the Romans in the second century a.d.); "Etzel" - The I.Tz.L. or the Irgun and "Lehi" - the "Fighters for the Freedom of Israel" (Stern Group).

24. B. Lubotzki: HaTzohar Ubetar, op.cit. p. 47.

25. The Minutes of the 19th Zionist Congress (Hebrew Version), pp. xxxiv - xxxvii.

years, until the outbreak of the Second World War. Revisionism, HaTzohar and HaTzach remained in fact synonymous. In discussing Revisionism from 1935 onwards, no special distinction will therefore be made between HaTzohar and HaTzach, and the term Revisionists will be used in most cases<sup>26</sup>.

### 3. The Betar Movement

Betar's origins go back to the year 1923<sup>27</sup>. Among various young people's movements and clubs, which were formed in the early post-war period, there were also various "activist" groups. The first of these was formed in Riga, the capital of Latvia, without any direct connection with Jabotinsky's political activities in the Zionist movement. It did not take long, however, until contacts were established between the leaders of the "Organisation of the activist-Zionist youth named after Trumpeldor", and Jabotinsky. Various similar "activist" youth organisations in central and Eastern Europe were brought within a common world framework - The Betar movement.

The ideology of Betar was summed up by Jabotinsky about ten years later, in a brochure called "Raayon Betar" (The idea of Betar, 1934<sup>28</sup>). As far as the general conceptions of Zionism were concerned, this brochure contained, generally speaking, ideas which had already been expressed, although in some cases the definitions were made in a somewhat more pronounced way. These pronounced definitions may be explained by the date of their publication. In the early twenties, when Revisionism came into existence within the ranks of the "Allgemeine Zionisten", it called for a "revision" of Zionist policies

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26. A caricature published in the Histadrut daily "Davar" showed Jabotinsky throwing rubbish from a garbage can on which the word "HaTzohar" was written, into another can, on which the word "HaTzach" appeared. This example is just one indication of the "political culture" in the Yishuv and Zionist movement at that time. On the particular issue of political caricature, see Lawrence H. Streicher: "On a Theory of Political Caricature" Comparative Studies in Society and History Vol. IX, 1967, pp.427-445 and W.A. Coupe: "Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature", ibid, Vol.X, 1968, pp.79-95.

27. The most detailed history of the Betar movement is Ch. Ben-Yeruham: Sefer Betar (Heb: Betar Volume), Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, The Committee for the publication of Sefer Betar. It is planned to complete three volumes. The first one was published in 1969 and covers the years 1923-1933. Besides the writings of Jabotinsky himself, see also the relevant chapters in J. B. Schechtman: The Jabotinsky Story - Fighter and Prophet, (op.cit., esp. pp. 405-420); J.B. Schechtman and Y. Benari: History of the Revisionist Party (op.cit.); David Niv: Maarachot HaIrgun HaTzvai Haleumi, (op.cit.)

28. Reprinted in "The Writings of Ze'ev Jabotinsky", op.cit. Vol. V, pp.303-306.

and a return to "Herzlian Zionism". In the 10 years after this, the Revisionist movement was engaged in various political struggles in the Yishuv and the Zionist movement, and was faced with the need to define its attitude in reference to a wide range of issues. With the growing power of the Labour Movement (Mapai) in the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation, the Revisionists had absorbed within their ranks many of the opponents of the Labour trend and its enterprises in the Yishuv. An analysis of the cleavages in the Yishuv reveals how the relationship between these two movements, - Labour and Revisionism - turned into open hostility if not enmity in the early thirties. Jabotinsky himself, maintained cordial, and in some cases even friendly relationships, with some leaders of Mapai (especially those who had served in the Jewish battalions), but as far as relationships between movements is concerned (as well as public relations between leaders), there was a total deterioration, which is clearly reflected in the speeches and writings of the leaders of the two camps,<sup>29</sup> as well as in physical clashes. In his general beliefs, Jabotinsky seemed to be a romantic liberal, but as far as Zionism was concerned, it seems that his foremost idea was that concentration on efforts to achieve the Jewish State was above everything else<sup>30</sup>. The catchword

29. E.g. D. Ben-Gurion: Tnuat HaPoalim VeHaRevezionismus (Heb. The Workers' Movement and the Revisionism) Tel-Aviv, the League for Eretz-Israel Ha-Ovedet, 1933; V. Jabotinsky: "Yes to Break" (1932) in the Writings of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 43-53, as well as other papers in the same volume, collected under the heading "HaSmol" (Heb. "The Left" pp. 13-105). On the other hand, in a private letter to Ben-Gurion dated 2nd April, 1935 (!), Jabotinsky wrote: "My Friend Ben-Gurion .... I am tired of this perpetual bitterness ... I am sure that there is a type of Zionist who is indifferent to the social colour of "The State". I am such a Zionist. Had I realised that there was no other road to statehood except that of Socialism, or even if by this the creation of the State would become possible one generation earlier, I am ready. Moreover, a Religious Orthodox State .... (if there is no other way) - I agree. I agree even to the worst of all - an "Yiddishist" State. I shall leave, however, a testament to my children to make a revolution. I will only write on the envelope - "to be opened five years after the establishment of the Jewish State". (Writings of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, op.cit. Vol. I, pp. 21-22).

30. His letter to Ben-Gurion, quoted in the former note is typical in this respect. On the other hand, after being accused as a Fascist by a prominent General Zionist leader (by Mapai leaders he was called a fascist for several years earlier), he wrote "I too hate the idea that "the state is everything"... I believe only in parliamentarism ... I believe in freedom of speech and organisation, and whenever there is a conflict between individual convictions and forced discipline, I usually support the individual ... BUT THE ASPIRATION FOR THE JEWISH STATE SHOULD BE PUT ABOVE PRIVATE OR CLASS INTERESTS (capital letters mine - O.S.) quoted from the article "Eglat Klei Hazemer" (Heb. "The Band of Also-rans") The Writings of Ze'ev Jabotinsky op.cit. Vol.V. pp. 267-276.

which he introduced, and which became one of the key concepts of Betar in particular was "Had-nes" (Heb: "One Banner". For Jabotinsky it was the translation into Hebrew of the concept of Monism: One-flag as opposed to the two flags of Socialist-Zionism).

The Revisionist movement, as the Zionist movement and especially its Labour section, formed diaspora groups which underwent special training as a preparatory phase to their immigration to Palestine<sup>30a</sup>. There were however several innovatory elements in the Betar movement, namely :

(a) The idea that after coming to Palestine the graduate had to devote two years to "national service". This was something of a deviation from the orientations of the pioneer (HaHalutz) movements in the diaspora, affiliated to the Labour movement. These movements educated (or "socialised") their members to become pioneers in Palestine, i.e. mainly by forming kibbutzim and turning pioneerism into a way of life. With Betar the emphasis was on a shorter period, but it seems that the idea behind it was something parallel to military or national service. In fact, the concept used in this connection was "recruitment", and every member of Betar had to put himself under the "command" of the Betar leadership for his first two years in Palestine. In Jabotinsky's words: "your first two years in Eretz-Israel do not belong to you. They belong to the Jewish State."<sup>31</sup>

(b) Betar also differed from other pioneering movements in the essence of its education. While most of the other movements developed an ideal image of a pioneer, as one who devotes his life to building in the country a community in which national as well as social values come into realisation, the ideal image of the Betar member seems to be somewhat different. As Jabotinsky himself put it in the Betar Anthem:

"Betar/From pit of dust and decay/with blood and sweat/a race will be formed/  
proud, noble and fierce/"

For these expected characteristics, and perhaps as a common denominator, to all the characteristics of the ideal member of Betar, Jabotinsky added that of "Hadar" (something like "Grandeur" in French). "A time should eventually arrive, when a Jew, desiring to express his highest appreciation of human honesty, courtesy and esteem, will not say, as now, "He is a real gentleman", but "he is a real Betari"<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>30a</sup>. The whole phenomenon of training and formation of groups of prospective pioneers for Palestine has its origins in the Labour movement. The Hebrew term for this general movement of pioneers was "HeHalutz" (Heb. The Pioneer). See M. Basok (ed.) Sefer HeHalutz (op.cit.)

<sup>31</sup>. V. Jabotinsky, "The Idea of Betar", op.cit.

<sup>32</sup>. V. Jabotinsky "The Idea of Betar", op.cit. In some cases I use the English version of Schechtman (op.cit.).

(c) Finally, the whole style or "culture" of Betar differed from that of other movements. It is quite common in some youth movements that there exists a hierarchy with an order of ranks and titles, etc. as well as some kind of uniforms. Within the world of Zionist youth movements, however, this practice was not very common (there were some exceptions, of course, e.g. in HaShomer HaTzair), but only in Betar was such a hierarchy conceived as something much more than just a youth-movement hierarchy. In fact Betar developed as a substitute to a military organisation. Military education, and even symbols of militarism, formed an integral part of its "culture". Its opponents in the Zionist movement used to compare it (before the Second World War) to various semi-military Nazi and Fascist youth organisations (unfortunately for Betar, they chose brown as the colour of their uniform, before this colour was adopted by the Nazis).

As a world youth movement, the story of Betar is beyond the scope of this study. Its relevance in this context lies however in three spheres, namely: (a) its symbolic meaning as the embodiment of Jabotinsky's ideology; in other words - Betar may be considered not just as a youth group within the framework of one of the Zionist parties, but as the "product" of the ideology of this party; (b) within the Revisionist movement in general, and the Yishuv in particular, Betar held a special position. It became the prestigious group in the Revisionist movement, being composed of the "children of Jabotinsky"<sup>33</sup> and not members of his peer-group, who followed his leadership, but had their own careers in the Zionist movement before Revisionism came into existence. Differences and even antagonisms between the two generations form an integral part of the history of the Revisionist movement; (c) the Revisionists, as a political party, formed the extreme nationalist wing in Zionism. Later, when they left the Zionist Organisation, they conducted their own "foreign policy" and took part in various political activities within world Jewry<sup>34</sup>. On the other hand, it was mainly the Betarim who formed "facts in the field". The "field" in this case was,

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33. His own concept. See his letter to his wife, quoted by Schechtman: The Jabotinsky Story (op.cit.) Vol.2, p.417.

34. These two topics will not be dealt with here. There is a great deal of information in Schechtman's biography of Jabotinsky, (op.cit.) as well as B. Lubotzki: HaTzohar Ubetar (op.cit.) and B. Akzin: "The Foreign Policy of Jabotinsky" (op.cit.). Among other activities within World Jewry, Jabotinsky tried in the late 'thirties to form a kind of a front of national-Jewish organisations outside the Zionist organisation, especially with the world organisation of Agudat-Israel (whose concept of Jewish nationalism, not to mention religion, was very far from that of Jabotinsky).

naturally, Palestine. The "facts" which they formed resembled neither those of the Labour movement, nor those of the Farmers and other Ezerachim groups in the Yishuv. Nevertheless it was the graduates of Betar who, in their own way, saved the Revisionist movement from becoming just another small Zionist party, "imported" mainly from the diaspora. What is especially meant here is I.Tz.L., which may be considered as a "native" of the Yishuv, and the high command and backbone of which was composed mainly of Betar graduates.

In fact, Betar - like various youth movements of the Labour movement (e.g. HaShomer-Hatzair, Gordonia), General Zionists (HaNoar-Hatzioni) and some minor groups in Religious-Zionism which were later absorbed in the Labour Religious Movement in the Yishuv - was not a product of the Yishuv, but of the Zionist movement in the diaspora. However, and again like these movements, once it was "imported" and "transplanted" into the Yishuv, it became an integral part of it, with its own particular course of development. Even in this respect, Betar in the Yishuv differed somewhat from the other youth and pioneering movements. For other movements, once "transplanted" into Palestine saw their world centre and the seat of their leadership in the Yishuv. Betar, on the other hand, had a "charismatic centre"<sup>35</sup> in the person of Jabotinsky, living in exile, as Head of Betar. In fact, no other party, movement or group in the Yishuv had such authoritative leadership personified in one man as the Revisionist movement. One can only speculate what course the development of Betar and the Revisionist movement in general would have taken, had Jabotinsky been allowed to return to Palestine after 1929. It seems logical to assume that history would not have been very different. The Yishuv, important as it was, was not the centre of Jabotinsky's activity. This is a direct logical conclusion of his conception of Zionism and its tactics, as explained briefly earlier. Here lies the great difference between official Zionism, led from the mid-thirties by Weizmann and Labour, and Jabotinsky. For them, the concentration on daily "constructive" activities would lead to the situation in which the Jewish state would emerge. Jabotinsky did not believe that under the prevalent conditions, there was much chance of achieving this, and wanted first of all the conditions to be changed. His aim was a Jewish state, but as far as activity among the Jewish people was concerned, the diaspora and not the Yishuv was the centre at that time.

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35. This concept is an attempt to apply to this context an idea borrowed from Shils. See: E.A. Shils: "Charisma, Order and Status", American Sociological Review, Vol. 30 (1965), pp. 199-213.

In the early thirties Betar had its share of immigrants coming from pioneering movements in the diaspora. The growing friction in the Zionist movement and the Yishuv, also led to an open conflict between Betar and the Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency, which allocated the immigration permits ("certificates") granted by the Palestinian government. Betar complained that it did not receive the quota of permits to which it was entitled. Without discussing this particular issue in this context, the point still remains that Betar and the Revisionist movement in general were not oriented to "society building" or "constructive activities", as it was called, and even if the number of immigrants coming from their ranks had been somewhat larger, it would not have changed, so it seems, general trends in the growth of the Yishuv. As far as the Yishuv is concerned, and this is the important factor in the discussion, the direct "contribution" of Betar is mainly in the military sphere, namely the I.Tz.L.<sup>36</sup>. One may conclude, therefore, that it was through Betar that the tradition of Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Party was transmitted to the party-system of the State of Israel. However, one should remember that besides Betar, there existed a Revisionist party in the Yishuv too, which originated within the Yishuv itself, and absorbed during the years various "Herzlian" Zionists of the older generation in the Zionist movement, as well as people who were members of other movements and parties (including the Labour movement) and for one reason or another had become dissatisfied with their parties, and found their way into the Revisionist movement in the Yishuv.

Before turning to a brief discussion of the rudimentary phases and growth of the Revisionist Party in the Yishuv, let us mention the pattern of absorption of the Betarim in Palestine. They were expected to serve something like a "national service". It is clear that under the conditions of the Yishuv at that time, and especially in the case of the Revisionist movement, this did not mean that they were expected to put themselves under the direction of any national authority. In fact, (as mentioned in Chapter 2, Section 1) the development of the Yishuv emerged out of voluntary actions of groups formed by the free-will of their members. Centralised authority of whatever type or level, developed later, and did not establish itself in the same way vis-a-vis all the various components of the Yishuv. As far as

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36. "Indirect" contributions are many, of course. Nowadays there are many graduates of Betar in various spheres of activity in Israel. Some of the leading journalists, for instance, came to Israel as Betar members. Even the present Speaker of the Knesset - Reuven Barkat - a former secretary general of Mapai (!) came from the ranks of Betar.



groups of pioneers coming from other movements were concerned, they were absorbed within their "mother-movements" in the Yishuv (e.g. HaKibbutz HaMeuchad) and developed mechanisms for mutual co-ordination, as well as patterns of relationships with centralised authorities within the Histadrut and the Zionist movement. Betar seemed in this respect to be more of a "lone wolf". They formed several units ("Plugot") in several Moshavot<sup>37</sup>, and in their day-to-day life did not differ very much from groups of newly arrived pioneers affiliated to other movements. They engaged in strenuous manual labour, and at least some of them can boast nowadays, like many of the veterans of the Labour movement about their "pioneering past". There were however two striking differences between the Plugot of Betar and the members of future kibbutzim living temporarily in communes in the Moshavot: (a) the Plugot was a place for temporary "national service", and usually did not form a group of people who intended to settle and live together in permanent settlements of their own; (b) although the Betarim were living and working in the Moshavot, it seems that this was not the primary function or aim referred to by the concept of "national service". For members of kibbutzim the temporary residence and work in the Moshavot was a transitory phase, until land and financial resources were made available for their permanent settlement. For members of Betar, the Plugot formed a unit which would be mobilised to perform the real national services, once it was called on to do so.

Compared with the popularity of Betar among some Jewish communities in the diaspora, and the effort as well as propaganda which accompanied the whole enterprise of Betar, the situation concerning Plugot-Betar in Palestine seems far from impressive. In 1935, for instance, there were less than ten groups, with a total population of 160 members<sup>38</sup>. Some of their Plugot, however, were situated in relatively remote areas of Palestine, which were somewhat neglected by the official bodies of the Zionist Organisation, such

37. See, for instance: Ch. Ben-Yeruhim: Sefer Betar (op.cit.) Chapters 14, 32, 49; David Niv: Maarachot HaIrgun HaTzvai HaLeumi (op.cit.) Vol. I, pp. 227-235.

38. Yossef Boim: "Shimson BeRosh-Pina" (Heb. Shimshon in Rosh-Pina) in the volume, "Shimshon Yunitzman", Tel-Aviv, The World Executive of the Union of Herut HaTzohar, 1962. Dr. Yunitzman trained as a physician, joined the Plugot in Rosh-Pina as an ordinary pioneer. He was one of the leaders of the Betar movement and in his last years, a member of the Knesset for Herut. He was interviewed by me several weeks before his sudden death. In contrast to other Revisionists, he tried to keep good personal relations with leaders of Mapai, and in the late thirties and early forties acted as the Revisionist informal liaison officer with the Hagana.

as the Upper Galilee. Later (in 1937, during the period of disturbances in Palestine) they established the so-called "Pluga HaKotel" (the Pluga of the Western Wall) in the old city of Jerusalem, and this politically oriented act does not require any further clarification<sup>39</sup>.

#### 4. The Revisionist Party in the Yishuv and its International Movement

The historians of the Revisionist movement trace the rudiments of an "Activist" (so-called) movement in the Yishuv as far back as 1922<sup>40</sup>. An organised party, with branches and leadership came into existence in 1925. The leading figures were the Weinshall brothers (the physician Dr. A. Weinshall and the lawyer J. Weinshall). In the election to the Second Assembly of Representatives the Revisionists secured nearly 2,500 votes (out of a total of nearly 37,000;) and had 15 delegates out of 221. In the elections to the Third Assembly (1931) they had an increased representation of 16 representatives out of 71, and became the second largest party after Mapai (31 representatives)<sup>41</sup>.

Returns in the Yishuv elections to the Zionist congresses were as follows:

1) The first Zionist Congress in which the Revisionist Party participated as a party was the 14th Congress (1925). In the elections to this congress, the Revisionists did not have their independent lists of candidates, and the "parliamentary party" was composed of some General Zionists who joined Jabotinsky (among them the "Yemenite" representative from Palestine, Gluska, who was not a Revisionist at all). According to the minutes of that congress, Jabotinsky was one of the 6 "General Zionist" delegates from Palestine (one could be elected for a country even if he did not live there, and Jabotinsky did not live in Palestine at that time). On the other hand, his biographer claims that "Jabotinsky was indeed the sole Revisionist elected in his party capacity"<sup>42</sup>.

39. D. Niv: Maarachot HaIrgun HaTzvai HaLeumi, op.cit. Vol.II, pp. 32-34.

40. D.B. Schechtman and Y. Benari: History of the Revisionist Movement, op.cit. pp. 79-81.

41. This election took place in separate curiae, according to ethnic origin of the voters. This was the condition of the various associations of "oriental" Jews for their participation in the election (see Chapter 7, Section 7). In this way a certain number of representatives was secured a priori by each ethnic group. Various lists however contested each curia, and the above figures are the total representation coming from all the curiae. It is quite interesting that while Mapai had only 4 of its representatives elected in the Sephardi curia, the Revisionists had 5 (nearly  $\frac{1}{3}$  of their total representation). The Sephardi curia had altogether 15 representatives. The Farmers, who were refused a curia of their own, boycotted the elections.

Footnote 42 on following page.

2) In the following four Zionist congresses in which the Revisionist Party took part, they gradually increased their representation, as the following figures<sup>43</sup> show:

15th Congress (1927) - 2 delegates out of 27 (1,753 votes out of 23,599)  
 16th Congress (1929) - 3 delegates out of 29 (2,687 votes out of 25,736)  
 17th Congress (1931) - 7 delegates out of 39 (5,024 votes out of 29,856)  
 18th Congress (1933) - 5 delegates out of 50 (6,888 votes out of 59,564)

It has been mentioned that the Revisionists reached the summit of their power in the 17th Congress. This is reflected in the elections in the Yishuv too, and as with the elections to the Assembly of Representatives, they were also the second largest party in the election to the congress. However, they lagged behind Mapai in two respects. On the one hand Mapai scored nearly four times as many votes (18,513) and had 24 delegates from the Yishuv. On the other hand, Mapai's representation from the Yishuv was already more than one third of its total representation in the congress (75 delegates), while the Revisionist representation from the Yishuv was less than 15% of its total representation (52 delegates). The fact that among other things, Mapai was the only large party in the Zionist movement which was able to mobilise support from all the "constituencies" of the Zionist Organisation and its basis of power in the Yishuv, was growing as the Yishuv itself was growing, is one of the keys to the understanding of Mapai's position both in the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation.

From another angle, this explains the feelings of frustration which emerged among several of the other parties. The notion that the Yishuv and the Zionist movement were becoming dominated by "one party" (viz Mapai), became a very frequent argument among the parties and groups of the "right wing", and caused them to feel politically impotent as far as chances for gaining control over the organs of the Zionist Organisation and the Yishuv were concerned. For various groups of Ezrachim the outlet seemed to be in safeguarding their positions in their local-government strongholds, while the Revisionists, with their entirely different political orientation, followed their own course which led them to secede from the Zionist Organisation, and engage in independent political and military activity.

42. Joseph B. Schechtman: The Jabotinsky Story: Fighter and Prophet, op.cit., p.40. I could not find in other sources at my disposal an explanation of this contradiction.

43. The figures were collected from the reports of returns of elections included in the minutes of the various congresses.

The issue of the relationship between the Revisionist Party and the Zionist Organisation, while the Revisionists were still within that organisation, has many aspects and cannot be dealt with here in detail. The differences of opinion, and the "activist" orientations of the Revisionists in the internal sphere too, led to internal tensions in the Zionist Organisation, which very soon became an arena for conflict between the Revisionists on the one hand and the Labour movement on the other. From the 17th Zionist Congress, at <sup>2</sup>last, Jabotinsky became disillusioned with the Zionist Organisation, and called for secession. There was however a strong opposition to such a radical step (led by the "second-in-command" in the Revisionist Party - M. Grossman), and for a time the majority was against him. Using, however, some tactical moves, which only a leader of the "charismatic" type could afford<sup>44</sup>, he managed in the end to achieve an overwhelming support for leaving the Zionist Organisation. Jabotinsky's motives were no doubt based on his entirely different approach to Zionist politics, but it seems that events and developments in the Yishuv and the Zionist movement speeded it up, as far as other members of the party were concerned. Among these events were:

- 1) The above mentioned deterioration of the relationship with the Labour movement, which led, among other things, to open clashes and the use of violence;
- 2) The murder of Dr. Chaim Arlosoroff in June, 1933, for which the Revisionists, or at least some of their extremists were held responsible. The events which followed this murder not only aggravated existing controversies, but led to a hitherto unknown degree of mutual hatred;
- 3) Problems of discipline within the Zionist Organisation, viz that the various political parties would not engage in separate and independent political activities and undermine the authority of the Executive of the Jewish Agency;
- 4) The problem concerning the allocation of immigration permits ("certificates") to Palestine.
- 5) The problem of the allocation of work in Palestine. These latter two problems arose as a result of a situation in which allocations were made on an organisational basis, and certain groups were dissatisfied with the arrangement.

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44. See the details in J.B. Schechtman: The Jabotinsky Story (op.cit.) Vol.2, pp. 158-183; 275-290. It is very interesting to compare Jabotinsky's tactics within his party in the early 'thirties with those of Ben-Gurion in Mapai in the early 'sixties. In this respect Jabotinsky succeeded while Ben-Gurion failed.

Some of these issues which came into focus in the Yishuv itself (although their repercussions affected the whole Zionist movement and its internal politics), will be dealt with in the concluding chapter. The "Foreign Policy" of the Revisionists, especially after their secession, is outside the scope of this study. It should be mentioned, however, that it also had a certain impact upon developments in the Yishuv e.g. Jabotinsky's "Policy of Alliances" with some central European governments (especially Poland) led to a co-operation between the Polish Army and I.Tz.L., especially in supplying training facilities to members of I.Tz.L.<sup>45</sup>.

The history of the Revisionist movement and its basic trends, requires a framework for discussion much broader than that of the Yishuv itself. The centre of the Revisionist activities only gradually moved to Palestine from the year 1937 onwards, as a result of three events. The first of these was the emergence of the I.Tz.L. (1937); the second event was the death of Jabotinsky (1940); and the third event, and perhaps the most decisive, was the outbreak and especially the outcome of the Second World War. The tragic impact of the holocaust on the Jewish people in general does not require any elucidation. Politically speaking, however, Labour already had a basis in the Yishuv, while the main basis of power of the Revisionists was among the masses who were exterminated.

However, the decade and a half from the time when the Revisionist Party was formed in the Yishuv until the outbreak of World War II, is not without importance from the point of view of both party-building in the Yishuv (including the various bodies, formed during that period, some of which are still in existence today) and later developments in the State of Israel.

The founders of the Revisionist Party in the Yishuv were, like the original supporters of Jabotinsky in the diaspora, mainly Zionists from Russia, and were not happy with the "new deal" ("Klein Zionismus") which Weizmann introduced to the Zionist movement<sup>46</sup>. The Bolshevik Revolution cut off Russian Jewry from the rest of the Jewish world, and no Zionist activity was permitted in Russia. During the Revolution and immediately

45. See details in J.B. Schechtman: The Jabotinsky Story (op.cit.), Vol.2, pp. 334-363. About I.Tz.L. co-operation with the Poles and activities in Poland, see D.Niv: Maarachot HaIrgun HaTzvai HaLeumi (op.cit.), Vol.2, pp. 163-196. See also E.Lankin: Sipuro Shel Mefaked Altalena (op.cit.) pp.46-50 (Lankin took part in a training course for Commanders of I.Tz.L. in Poland).

46. It is quite interesting that for many years the Russian language was a semi-official language, especially among the veteran Revisionists. The weekly organ of the "Tsohar", published in the twenties in Berlin and later in Paris, was in Russian and was called "Rassviet". Many of Jabotinsky's articles were therefore originally written in Russian, even in the thirties.

afterwards, most of the acclaimed leaders of Russian Zionists managed to leave Russia. Some of them settled in Palestine and others in various countries in Western Europe. (During the twenties illegal and semi-legal Zionist groups, mainly oriented to the Labour movement, survived in Russia, and some of their members were allowed to emigrate. Most of them came to Palestine and joined the Labour parties<sup>46a</sup>). Not all Russian Zionist leaders, in "exile" after the Revolution, opposed Weizmann. He had his supporters among them and there were others who became ambivalent towards him (Ussishkin was the outstanding figure among these). One has to remember that Jabotinsky, although a Russian Jew himself, was too young to be counted among the leaders of Russian Zionism in its "heroic age", and it was only during the First World War and immediately afterwards that he rose to prominence in the Zionist Organisation. Nevertheless he succeeded in attracting to his party some of the "heroic figures" of Russian Zionism, from the first Zionist congresses, although these people were mainly "ornaments", symbolising adherence to the "real traditions" of the Zionist movement. People like Vladimir Tyomkin, Israel Rosov, Solomon Gepstein, Aryeh Babakov, Ephraim Washitz, and others may be mentioned in this category. Most of them were not among the top leaders of Russian Zionists (with the possible exception of Tyomkin), but nevertheless demonstrated a certain continuity of the Russian Zionist tradition of the Herzlian age to the Revisionist Party. Most of these people afterwards lived in Palestine, but played no prominent role either in the Yishuv Revisionist Party, or in the world Tzohar. In the world movement the leadership was composed of Jabotinsky and some of his aides (in particular Grossman, Schechtman, Klinov - who later became a "Weizmanist" and joined Mapai - as well as younger people like Akzin and Hakel and the first new recruits from Betar - e.g. B. Lubotzki).

No figures are available of the membership of the Revisionist Party in the Yishuv, but from the number of votes in the various elections (which obviously included "supporters" besides members), one can assume that it rose from several hundreds in the first years to a few thousands in the thirties. The first nucleus of Russian "activist" "Herzlian" Zionists in

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46a. See D. Pines: HeHalutz BeKur HaMa Hapecha (Heb. The Halutz movement during the Revolution), Tel-Aviv, Davar, (1938) as well as the autobiography of Z. Arran, Tel-Aviv, Am-Oved, 1971.

the Yishuv were reinforced by several groups, namely: 1) New immigrants from Russia who had certain pre-immigration affinities to the Labour movement in the Yishuv (especially "HaPoel-HaTzair" party), but became disillusioned with what seemed to them to be the class and socialist orientations of that party. These people formed a group called "HaAmlanim"<sup>47</sup>. Dr. Altman, the future leader of the Revisionist party in the Yishuv was one of these.

2) People who had joined Revisionism before immigration to Palestine, and later became active in the Revisionist Party in Palestine (e.g. Dr. W. Von-Weizel).

3) Some members of the Labour movement who gradually parted from their movement, some of them, because they did not like the socialist vocabulary which came into use even in the non-doctrinaire elements of the Labour movement, and others, because they were attracted by the nationalist terminology as such. Some of these persons, in particular, should be noted in this context as the "anti Socialists" - the poet U.Z. Greenberg<sup>47a</sup>, the writer Y.H. Yeivin and the journalist Dr. A. Achimeir. These three people, all of them intellectuals (the number of intellectuals and professionals in the Revisionist movement is worthy of note) were to play an important role in the history of the party. Of a different type was E. Ben-Horin, a member of a kibbutz, whose future activities in the Revisionist Party led him to a somewhat different sphere. All four joined Jabotinsky when the daily "Doar-HaYom" became the organ of the Revisionist Party, and were members of its editorial board.

4) Under the influence of Revisionism, young men in the Yishuv joined the "activist" movement in the late twenties and early thirties. Some of them were graduates of Betar, either in Palestine or in the diaspora, and they formed what became known as "HaNoar HaLeumi" (Heb. The Nationalist Youth). They had a relatively strong cell among the students of the Hebrew University, and were active in various "direct action" activities such as demonstrations, parades, clashes, etc.

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47. J.B. Schechtman and I. Benari: ibid, pp. 193ff. In a note (p.194), they give the following description: "The term Amlanim is a translation of the Russian word "Trudoviki". The split in the ranks of Tzeirei-Tzion at the 1922 Conference resulted in the emergence of two political formations: "Tzeirei-Tzion Socialistim" and "Tzeirei-Tzion Trudoviki" - Labourites." Tzeirei-Tzion was a movement of young Zionists in Eastern Europe which was considered as a sister-party of HaPoel-HaTzair in Palestine.

47a His strong feelings against the mainstream of Zionism in the thirties and his fiery nationalism are passionately expressed in his poems<sup>see</sup> Sefer HaKitrug Ve HaEmuna (Heb. Accusation and Faith), Tel-Aviv, Sdan, 1937.

From the early thirties the graduates of the Betar movement from the diaspora began to fill the ranks of the Revisionist movement, and gradually the veteran leadership of the early years became less secure in its position. The younger generation, composed of the Betarim and the local "nationalist-youth", with the spiritual leadership of Greenberg, Yeivin and Achimeir, became the exponents of Jewish extremism. As far as the Mandatory Government was concerned, the manifestations of this extremism were at this stage more demonstrative than a real threat to the authority of the Government. In the internal Yishuv arena, however, this extremism and the counter reaction of the Labour movement (which had its own "militia" called "HaPoel" - "the Worker") led to some of the worst cases of internal hostility in the Yishuv.

Achimeir and his friends founded a secret organisation (the existence of which seems to have not been known at the time even to the official leaders of the Revisionist movement) by the name of "Brit Biryonim" (Heb. "Covenant of the Biryonim" - traditionally, the "Biryonim" were the most fanatic fighters against the Romans and against Jewish collaborators in the last years of the Second Temple. In daily use "biryon" in Hebrew later became identified with "bandit" or "hooligan", but Achimeir and his colleagues wanted to stress the patriotic sense of the term).

The activities of the "Biryonim", and especially their ideology, became known only during the trial conducted by the Palestinian Mandatory authorities, which followed the murder of Arlosoroff. Achimeir was accused of being the "brain" behind the murder<sup>48</sup>. Of the three defendants, Achimeir and another defendant (Rosenblat) were acquitted, while the third defendant (Stavski) was sentenced to death, but was acquitted by the court of appeal. However, Achimeir was charged again as a founder and a leader of an illegal organisation and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

Immediately after Arlosoroff's murder, the Yishuv and the Zionist movement were divided between those who blamed the Revisionists for the murder, and those who rejected the accusations against them as a movement as well as against the individuals who were brought to trial. However, the whole problem was not confined to the legal sphere, but became a political and moral issue. Arlosoroff was murdered several weeks before the elections to the 18th Zionist Congress. Generally speaking, the Revisionists were defeated in this election, which took place under the shadow of the murder (it was before the trial),

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48. Arlosoroff has been mentioned several times in this study. See in particular Chapter 2, n.66 and Chapter 8, n.14. See also the references to his writings in the Bibliography. Reports of the proceedings of the trial can be found in the Hebrew daily papers of that period (1933/34). Achimeir's version was published posthumously as the second volume of his Writings (HaMishpat, Heb. The Trial, Tel-Aviv, 1968).



and Labour gained an unprecedented victory. In this congress, the 18th, Labour had 138 delegates (44%, compared to 29% in the 17th Congress), while the Revisionists were returned with 45 delegates (14%, compared to 21% in the 17th Congress. To these 14% one can add another 2% received by the newly established "Jewish State Party", headed by Grossman). In the Yishuv, the results were even more disastrous for the Revisionists in comparison with the results two years earlier. This time Labour won more than  $\frac{2}{3}$  of all the votes in the Yishuv (40,584 out of 59,564), and 34 out of the 50 delegates. The Revisionists received 6,888 votes and 5 delegates. While the number of voters in the Yishuv had been doubled since the 17th Congress, the number of votes gained by the Revisionists increased only by 37.5%, and their representation decreased from 18% to 10% of the Yishuv's representation at the congress.

Although the three accused revisionists were acquitted in the Arlosoroff murder trial, a certain stigma remained on the Revisionist movement for a long time. The Revisionists themselves felt that they were victims of an unjustified and even Machiavellian libel. As far as the Party in Palestine was concerned, the result of the whole affair on the one hand, and on the other hand the discoveries about the existence of a secret cell in the party, of which the leaders of the party seemed to know nothing, led to demoralisation and an almost complete disintegration of the party in the Yishuv. With the secession of the Revisionists from the Zionist Organisation, the party in the Yishuv was reorganised under a new leader. He was a man chosen by Jabotinsky, who gave him a mandate to rebuild the party and form, and even man, its Executive bodies. The man commissioned by Jabotinsky for this task was Dr. A. Altman, who has just returned to Palestine after several years of absence. Within a short time, however, hostilities broke out in Palestine, the I.Tz.L. was formed as a Revisionist military organisation, and the authority of the "civilian" leadership in the party was curtailed. On the other hand, the Revisionists as a party did not participate farther in the working of "Knesset-Israel", nor had they any voice in the Jewish Agency. The "New Zionist Organisation" could not compete with the "old" one for status in Palestine in general (i.e. vis-a-vis the Government), or in the Yishuv in particular. Quite paradoxically, it followed the example of Labour and developed its own "sub-community" in the Yishuv. This "domain", which besides the I.Tz.L. included some "civil" structures, became for a while the focus for its party-political activity. Up to the establishment of the State, the leading issue in the relationship between the Revisionists and the "Organised Yishuv", was the problem of the general defence policy of the Yishuv, and the various attempts on the part of the "National Institutions"

and the "Hagana" to bring the I.Tz.L. under at least a certain degree of control, if its ultimate liquidation was impracticable.

##### 5. Groups and formations within the Revisionists in the Yishuv

In various "fronts" within the Yishuv, the Revisionists co-operated with various groups of Ezechim and "right wing" elements in the Zionist movement. A quite complicated network of cross-cutting coalitions was formed, and this prevented ultimate splits in the Yishuv, and in the last resort enabled Mapai, which controlled the "National Institutions" in the last fifteen years before the establishment of the State, to maintain its position as the leading power in the Yishuv.

It will be recalled that the original point of departure, which led to the creation of the Revisionist movement, was its rejection of the "Klein Zionismus", the ordinary day-to-day activities in the building of a new society. However, as a part of the Yishuv, the Revisionists themselves were faced with various "prosaic" problems, which led them in many cases to follow a course of action similar to that of their opponents. As a result, a quite diversified social structure came into existence within the framework of what was named (by its members) the "Nationalist Camp", or "The Nationalist Movement". These structures could by no means compete in size with the Histadrut, nor did they develop and expand in as many spheres of action. Moreover, in addition, they also lacked the organisational efficiency, institutionalised patterns of leadership and mechanisms of social control, which characterised the Histadrut. The result was that internal conflicts and "latent" disintegration were much more common in the "Nationalist Camp" than in the Histadrut. Even the internal conflict which led to a split in Mapai in the 'forties did not have the same effect on Mapai, and on the Labour movement in general, as the various internal conflicts and splits, and the lack of a unified leadership within the Revisionist movement in the Yishuv.

The Revisionists did not direct their activities to the sphere of land settlement (this was considered as "Klein Zionismus"). They were, however, represented in the ranks of the workers. The contradictions between the Revisionist ideas and the official Zionist policy in the twenties, it is true, already included the germs of a potential conflict between Revisionism and

the Labour movement in the Yishuv<sup>49</sup>. The Revisionist movement, however, did not start its course with a proclaimed anti-Labour policy. The first leaders of the Revisionists in the Yishuv (e.g. Dr. A. Weinshall) were members of the Histadrut, and even took part in the elections to the Third Conference of the Histadrut (1927). The first Betar immigrants who arrived in Palestine (The "Menora" - "Lamp" - group) followed the pattern of other groups of pioneers, who were affiliated to the Labour parties of that time, in forming a commune in one of the Moshavot, and they became members of the Histadrut.<sup>50</sup>

For several years, members of the "Menora" group were the backbone of what later became the "Revisionist Labour Bloc" ("Gush HaAvoda HaRevisionisti")<sup>51</sup>. This bloc, however, constituted the first step towards the secession of the Revisionists from the Histadrut, and the formation of an independent organisation of Revisionist workers. The independent organisation, which was founded in the year 1930 (the same year in which Mapai was formed) developed four years later into "The Federation of Nationalist Workers" (Heb. Histadrut HaOvdim HaLeumiim - H.O.L.)<sup>52</sup>. Although nine lists took part in the first elections to this new organisation (the total number of voters was about 4,000), the internal differentiation into "parties" did not have much meaning. 70% of the votes were given to the Revisionist list. In fact, H.O.L. became one of the major centres of power within the Revisionist Party in the Yishuv, and an instrument through which the Revisionist party built a social and economic basis for its activities in the Yishuv.

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49. The basic idea was that all the issues under the heading of "Class Conflict" should be "frozen" until a Jewish state was established. See for instance V. Jabotinsky: "What do the Revisionist Zionists Want?" and "The Idea of Betar" (op.cit.).

50. Ch. Ben-Yerusham: Sefer Betar (op.cit.) pp. 125ff.; I. Ophir: Sefer HaOved HaLeumi (Toldat Tnuat HaAvoda HaLeumit BeEretz Israel) (Heb. The Book of the Nationalist Worker - History of the Nationalist Labour Movement in Eretz-Israel), Tel-Aviv, Histadrut HaOvdim HaLeumit, 1959, pp. 44ff.

51. I. Ophir, ibid, Chapter V.

52. I. Ophir's book (op.cit.) tells the story of this organisation; as in most other cases of historiography in Israel, (e.g. the histories of the Histadrut and the Labour movement), this book too was not written by an uncommitted academic historian, but by a member of the Organisation.

One of the first organisations created within the H.O.L. was its "Sick Fund". Rudiments of this "Sick Fund" (i.e. health insurance and medical service) go back to a year or two before the formation of the H.O.L. Once H.O.L. came into existence, however, a push was given to the development of this sick fund too. Generally speaking, H.O.L. had within its framework various institutions similar to those of the "Histadrut of the Left" (as they referred to it) such as funds for social security, trade unions, employment bureaux (labour exchanges) etc. It was much weaker than the Histadrut, of course, both in size and scope of activities, and lacked many of the types of institutions which were included in the Histadrut. The Histadrut, for instance, had its own housing enterprises, while H.O.L. founded a housing company after the establishment of the State. Nevertheless, the H.O.L. became the economic component of the "Nationalist Movement". With the development of I.Tz.L., many of the institutions of H.O.L. served as a legal cover for the illegal organisation, more or less in the same way as institutions of the Histadrut served as legal cover for the Hagana.

It should be noticed that H.O.L. was not the only labour organisation besides the Histadrut. During the thirties and early forties there was a labour organisation under the auspices of the General Zionists B, and HaPoel-HaMizrachi, the labour wing of the Religious-Zionist movement, was organised in Palestine from the start as a "Histadrut", i.e. an organisation which combined political with social and economic activities. The complex of relationships between the various labour organisations, as well as their internal structures and activities, contributed to the development of what is called by some writers "Neo-Feudalism" in the Yishuv. This "Neo-Feudalism" (whether this is an adequate concept in this context or not) was reflected in the political structure of the Yishuv in general, and in its political culture and issues in particular, and will be discussed later in the relevant contexts.<sup>53</sup> However, one point distinguishes H.O.L. from all other labour organisations, namely its "splendid isolation". In fact, one can speak of three major labour organisations in the Yishuv. The largest and most important, not only as a labour organisation, but as a leading organisation in the Yishuv in general, was the Histadrut. The other two were "HaPoel-HaMizrachi" and H.O.L. Gradually HaPoel-HaMizrachi started co-operating

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53. The use of the concept "Feudalism", whether new or not new, does <sup>not</sup> seem to fit this case. Feudalism, after all, was based on land ownership and tenure, and its social, legal and political implications. The concept of "Verzuiling" is more in place here, although it also does not fit the Yishuv's conditions exactly. See the discussion in Chapter 8, section 9 (in particular, n.47).

with the Histadrut in various spheres e.g. the health insurance and medical care system ("Kupat Holim"), the "purely" trade union activity, etc. In the early forties a first step towards the unification of the labour exchange system took place, but the H.O.L. refused to join the so-called "general labour exchange", and maintained its own bureaux until the establishment of the State, (several years after the establishment of the state, the whole system of labour exchanges was nationalised and to some extent depoliticised and now forms a unit within the Ministry of Labour).

The creation and development of H.O.L. brought a new facet to the Revisionist Party in the Yishuv, namely the practical or "constructive" one. Since constructive activity as such was not central to the Revisionist ideology, the activities of H.O.L. could only be considered as secondary to the major aims of Revisionism. There was, however, one "political" justification for the existence of H.O.L., besides the practical ones, namely that it enabled the Revisionist movement to confront its adversaries in the Yishuv, and in particular Mapai and the Histadrut, on "fronts" which would otherwise have been monopolised by the Labour movement, and to protect its members from becoming dependent upon various institutions outside the "nationalist camp".

Within the Revisionist Party in the Yishuv at large, various groups came into existence. Sometimes it seems difficult to distinguish between them, either because they were short-lived, limited to a certain local branch only, or sometimes interwoven with one another, or even cutting across one another. As already demonstrated, Revisionism originated from the opposition to Weizmann's policies in the Zionist Organisation. Jabotinsky's extreme nationalism led him to the conception that every issue in the Zionist Organisation and in the Yishuv should be subordinated to the ultimate goal during the transitory period. This approach brought him into conflict with some of the dynamic powers in the Yishuv, especially the Labour movement, which had their own concepts as to how the new Jewish society would grow and what its future image would be. For them, Jabotinsky's conceptions meant the curtailing of the power of their own frameworks, and in the last resort, the abandonment of their endeavours to develop the Yishuv, or at least their own sector within it, according to their own ideologies. These contradictions became much more acute with the introduction of explicit anti-socialist and anti-labour ideologies into the Revisionist movement by Achimeir and his colleagues<sup>54</sup>. Achimeir's

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54. Achimeir had a personal column in Doar-HaYom entitled "From the diary of a Fascist" (this was in the late twenties, when Fascism was still considered merely as a right-wing, anti-Labour movement. Achimeir's personal column in the Revisionist Press in later years had the heading "Anti-Ma Notes" (Ma stands for Mapai).

motivation, for instance, for joining the Revisionist Party was mainly his severe ideological opposition to developments in the Labour movement, rather than Jabotinsky's slogans such as "A Jewish state on the two banks of the Jordah"<sup>55</sup>.

Although one can therefore distinguish two ideological sources of the Revisionist movement, the developments which took place nevertheless lead in the same direction, namely a combination of "anti-socialist" extremism and nationalistic extremism. This development brought it more and more into an open conflict with official Zionism and the organised Yishuv, which since the early thirties had come more and more under the leadership of the Labour Movement. Consequently, it sometimes became difficult to distinguish between the external and internal fronts (i.e. Britain and/or the Arabs on the one hand and the "Organised Yishuv" on the other). Generally speaking, "moderates" and "extremists" among the Revisionists consistently pursued their particular lines with regard to both the Yishuv and the British. According to the official organ of the Zionist Organisation ("HaOlam") there were three groups among the Revisionists in the Yishuv in the early thirties, namely<sup>56</sup>:

1. The moderates (Rossoff, Gepstein, Babakof, Weinstein);
2. The Extremists (known also as "Maximalists - the Weinshall brothers, Von-Weizel);
3. The ultra-extremists (Achimeir. The existence of the "Biryonim" was not yet known.

The so-called moderates were in fact veteran general Zionists who supported Jabotinsky, and as mentioned earlier in this chapter did not have much influence in the Revisionist movement in general, and the party in the Yishuv in particular. Generally speaking, they did not support "irresponsible" activities, but at the same time opposed compromises with those who were considered by them as the representatives of "Klein Zionismus".

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55. Dr. Achimeir died in the early sixties. I interviewed him several months before his death and this presentation of his motivations for joining the Revisionist Party is directly based on his observations.

56. HaOlam, 24th February, 1931.

The second group, which became identified with the apparatus of the Revisionist Party in Palestine, lost its authority in the party as a result of the various events in the early and mid-thirties, which they could subject to their control and, in the same context, as a result of the emergence of a younger generation which included many Betari<sup>m</sup> from abroad, as well as people who were under the influence of Achimeir and his friends. In many cases, these two groups were identical, namely the Betarim became Achimeir's men.

As a defendant in the Arlosoroff murder trial (subsequently acquitted) and later a convicted prisoner (as leader of the Biryonim), Achimeir became a "martyr" of Revisionism, this "martyrdom" was over-shadowed afterwards only by that of the members of I.Tz.L. and Lehi who were executed by the British. Nevertheless, Jabotinsky himself, although paying public tribute to Achimeir's martyrdom, was somewhat disturbed by the fanatic style used by Achimeir and his group (for a while they published a weekly called "Hazit-HaAm" - The people's front - in which everyone who opposed them, and especially Weizmann and the Labour leaders - Ben-Gurion, Arlosoroff, etc. were referred to as traitors or even worse). In fact, after his release from prison, Achimeir never regained his position in the Revisionist movement in Palestine. The informal political leadership was entrusted to what may be called "technocrats"<sup>57</sup>, while several years later the I.Tz.L. emerged as a factor in its own right.

In between the two groups - the official party, known since 1937 as HaTzach (The New Zionist Organisation), and the I.Tz.L., there were two other frameworks - that of H.O.L. and the leadership of Betar. The complex relationship between these four formations, including the split in I.Tz.L. in 1939, form the last phase in the history of the Revisionist Party in the Yishuv.

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<sup>57</sup> - I was told by various informants who at that time held key positions in the Revisionist Party in the Yishuv, that by delegating them to Palestine, Jabotinsky wished not only to rebuild the Party, but also to keep it out of Achimeir's influence, which he considered as dangerous to the Party.

## 6. The Rise of I.Tz.L. and the Decline of the Party

The early history of I.Tz.L. goes back to 1931, when a split took place in the Hagana. As a result of this split an organisation popularly known as Irgun B (Irgun is the Hebrew word for Organisation) was formed under the control of various non-labour elements in the Yishuv. In the year 1937 Irgun B (which was also known as "the Nationalist Hagana" - "HaHagana HaLeumit" in Hebrew, "Hagana" means defence) reunited with the Hagana, without the consent of the Revisionists. The Revisionists called upon their members and supporters not to join the reunited Hagana, but to form their own Revisionist Organisation to be known as I.Tz.L.<sup>57a</sup> Within two years, two dominant figures emerged in the I.Tz.L. - David Raziel and Avraham Stern.

Raziel, like most of the original commanders of the I.Tz.L. was a graduate of the Betar movement. He was loyal to Jabotinsky although he did not consider the leadership of the local Revisionist Party as the one to which he owed allegiance. He also did not consider his organisation as being subordinate to the local Betar authorities in the Yishuv, but tried to secure the autonomy of the organisation, within the Revisionist movement at large. In this respect he accepted the authority of Jabotinsky, and so the President of the "New Zionist Organisation" and "Head of Betar" was also Head of the I.Tz.L. Since Jabotinsky was not allowed to enter Palestine, contacts with him were made either by visits abroad or by mail and telegraph, with the use of certain codes. Members of Betar in Palestine were usually members of I.Tz.L. too, and there was a network of liaison officers between hierarchies in the I.Tz.L. and hierarchies in Betar (which also had a semi-military structure). Personal relationships between Betar and I.Tz.L. personnel (in many cases they were all members of both organisations, but their position in the hierarchy of the one was not parallel to their position in the hierarchy of the other) also played an important role in the relationships between the two organisations.

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57a. The name was not new. When Irgun B was originally founded it adopted this title. See Sefer Toldot HaHagana (op.cit.), Vol. 2, Part 1, pp. 426-432; 574-585.



During the 1936-39 disturbances in Palestine, the official policy of the "Organised Yishuv" was that of "restraint" ("Havlaga"). This policy was motivated by various political as well as ideological considerations and its essence was to avoid counter terror activities against Arabs in general. The I.Tz.L. did not consider itself bound by the policies of the "Organised Yishuv" and a series of counter terror actions were carried out by its members with the approval of Jabotinsky. The internal history of the I.Tz.L. in that period (changes in its command until the appointment of Raziell etc.) as well as its various activities (the counter terror against the Arabs and the anti-British terror following the publication of the White Paper on Palestine on 17th May, 1939, until the outbreak of the World War) are not within the context of this study. However, these activities had their repercussions in the first instance upon the relationship between the I.Tz.L. (and the Revisionists in general) and the "Organised Yishuv", and in the second instance upon relationships within the I.Tz.L. itself. The outbreak of the war gradually brought a truce between the Yishuv and the British authorities, after the tension that followed the publication of the White Paper and the arrests of the High Command of I.Tz.L. and Betar as well as some commanders of the Hagana. Contacts between leaders of the Labour movement and Jabotinsky on the one hand, and attempts at internal reconciliation in the Yishuv and renewal of some co-operation with the British on the other, led to a crisis in the ranks of I.Tz.L. Raziell supported a line of reconciliation with the "Organised Yishuv" in accordance with the policies of the Revisionist party (the "civilian wing") while his second in command, Stern, objected to these trends.<sup>58</sup>

Stern, a young intellectual and an extreme nationalist, did not trust, not only the local functionaries of the Revisionist Party, but even Jabotinsky. Stern himself was not a Revisionist or a "disciple of Jabotinsky" and had his own nationalist ideology. For him the British remained the primary obstacle to Jewish independence even after the outbreak of the war, and he wanted the activities against them to be resumed and all contacts with the Revisionist Party to be cut off, so that the military organisation

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58. For a self-portrait of "Lehi" see the various publications of I.Eldad (Sheib), the ideologist of the group after the death of Stern, mentioned in the Bibliography. See also the collection of writings of Lehi (Tel-Aviv, 1959).

would be totally independent. Raziell, on the other hand, considered himself loyal to Revisionism, and in particular to Jabotinsky, although he too tried to retain for the Irgun a certain independence from the political control of the local party leaders.

The division in the Irgun had an impact on the whole Revisionist movement. Some of the extremists of the early thirties, as well as some of the leaders of H.O.L. supported Stern and for some months the division and the split which followed, led to internal hostilities and even bloodshed among the Revisionists. The majority continued to support I.Tz.L. but a small group of extremists, followed Stern in forming a splinter organisation called in the beginning "HaIrgun HaTzvai HaLeumi BeIsrael" ("The National<sup>ist</sup> Military Organisation in Israel". I.Tz.L.'s official name was "The Nationalist Military Organisation in Eretz-Israel). Later they became known as Lehi ("Lochamei Herut Israel" - Fighters for the freedom of Israel). Their history is not within the context of this study, but it is worthwhile to mention that although they were much more extremist than I.Tz.L. (at the beginning they even thought that there was a place for a united front with the axis powers against Britain; later they pursued a policy of personal terror against the British), in the internal arena of I.Tz.L. more than Lehi was the power which caused "problems" for the "Organised Yishuv". Lehi was a small group of fanatics which could be brought under control.

I.Tz.L. survived the crisis which followed the split and later the death of Raziell, was revived under Begin and attracted not only Revisionists and graduates of Betar, but many youngsters who were outside the reach of the "Organised Yishuv" with its institutions, youth movements, etc. In this respect one can find a similarity between I.Tz.L. in the mid-forties and the Herut Party in the mid-fifties. Both had a large support coming especially from the underprivileged elements of the population, while the "Organised Yishuv" in the forties, as its successors in the fifties (i.e. Mapai and its partners) were the potential targets of an unstructured protest movement. This protest movement, which was absorbed by Herut in the fifties<sup>59</sup>, seems to resemble I.Tz.L. in the forties, in the sense that

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59. This is clear beyond any doubt from an analysis of voting statistics, according to residential areas. See the official figures published after every general election by the Inspector General of Elections. See also: Hanoah Smith: HaKol Al HaBechinot BeIsrael (Heb. Everything about elections in Israel), Tel Aviv, Adi, 1969; M. Lissak: Social Mobility in Israel Society, Jerusalem, Israel Universities Press, 1969, Chapter IV.

many of its recruits were of oriental origin and came from lower class residential areas<sup>60</sup>.

Begin himself was one of the leaders of Betar in Poland before the war. The high command of I.Tz.L. was composed mainly of "disciples of Jabotinsky". The rank and file of I.Tz.L., however, especially in its later stages, was already a new creation. I.Tz.L.'s traditions went back to the call for a revision in the Zionist Movement in the twenties, but its present and future were connected with situations emerging out of the structure of the Yishuv. This meant that on the one hand it absorbed people who had no Revisionist or Betar background at all, while some people with such a background did not join it or gradually left it. Furthermore, when Herut became a political party - not all members of I.Tz.L. joined it. Already in the fifties, one could find in the ranks of Mapai some former "Biryonim" as well as former members of Lehi.

When I.Tz.L. renewed its activities against the British, in 1944, it was already an entirely independent political power. It was its leadership, and not that of the official Revisionists, which made decisions, conducted negotiations with representatives of the "Organised Yishuv" and even met members of the U.N. Special Commission on Palestine after the war (1947). It was within the I.Tz.L. in its last stage, therefore, that a new party elite came into existence, and this elite has since then represented the Revisionist tradition in Israel.

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60. No exact statistics are of course available to prove it. It is interesting, however, to compare two lists presented in S. Katz: Yom Haesh (op.cit.), namely that of the high command of I.Tz.L. in 1947 (pictures opposite p. 368) and that of the fighters executed by the British (after p. 200). The first list is composed of 9 persons, of which at least 8 are of European origin (Begin, Landau, Faglin, etc.), while the second list is composed of 12 names of which 6 seem to be of non-European origin. If this was the only evidence, I would have hesitated very much in presenting it. In the absence of any reliable study in this field, one can only use undocumented information, which has not yet been challenged.

CHAPTER 7Religious and Ethnic Political Formations1. Introduction

Chapter 4 dealt with the origins of the present alignment of the Labour Party and Mapam, i.e. the main political crystallisations and processes within the Labour movement in the Yishuv and the Zionist movement. Chapters 5 and 6 dealt with the origins of the present bloc of Herut and the Liberals (Gahal), i.e. the main political crystallisations and processes within the General Zionists and the Revisionist Party before the state era, as well as the various unorganised political groups of the middle classes in the Yishuv. From a quantitative point of view, these political formations represent by far the major part of the powers which took part in the political game, according to various relevant indicators (percentage of representation in the Zionist congresses, the Assemblies of Representatives, the Histadrut, the municipalities and other units of local government in the Yishuv). Moreover, the description of the various structures and developments within each of these frameworks, will reveal the major patterns of political action and organisation which characterised politics in the formative pre-State period. However, in order to complete the presentation, two important units of political life, omitted in these later chapters, will now be discussed. These are the religious and ethnic parties, both of which at times played an important part in the various political conflicts in the Zionist Organisation and/or the Yishuv, and the political emergence of which was an outcome of cleavages within these frameworks and even within the Jewish people as a whole. Moreover, religious and "ethnic" issues are among the central ones in present Israeli political life.

The relative brevity of our discussion of these parties deserves an explanation. In the case of the religious parties - the formation that became the dominant one among them (HaPoel-HaMizrachi) developed a structure which resembled that of Mapai and the Histadrut, while the structure of the former Mizrachi, more or less resembled the middle class General-Zionist parties. Agudat-Israel is indeed a unique case, but receives brief attention as a minor party. Nevertheless, the general remarks concerning the religious parties which follow, will give a certain idea of some of the specific traits of these parties and trace their origins and growth.

The case of the ethnic parties is very different. Political organisation on an ethnic basis was a special characteristic of the Jewish population of non-European origin, known generally as "Oriental Jews" ("Edot HaMizrach" in Hebrew). Most of these Jews, who formed about 20% of the population of the Yishuv during the Mandatory period, were not integrated in the ideological, social and cultural framework of the developing society. In many respects they occupied lowly positions in the economic and occupational hierarchies of the Yishuv and in its ecological set-up.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast to the religious parties, which developed into stable and internally differentiated structures, and were "inherited" by the party-system of Israel, the (Oriental) ethnic organisations which took part in the political game in the Yishuv, disappeared altogether from the map of the parties. This fact seems to be somewhat paradoxical when one recalls that the percentage of the so-called "Edot HaMizrach" rose after the state was proclaimed, and is now about 50% of the total Jewish population. Needless to say, what may be called "the ethnic problem" with its various social and cultural components and manifestations, is one of the major problems facing contemporary Israeli society<sup>2</sup>, but is not within the context of this study<sup>3</sup>. However, the ethnic politics of the State of Israel differ entirely from those of the Yishuv, and are not represented by the same ethnic organisations which were active in the Yishuv's polity.

1. For a general idea of various problems connected with the place of "Edot HaMizrach" in the Yishuv society, see the following works of S.N. Eisenstadt: "The Sociological Structure of the Jewish Community in Palestine", Jewish Social Studies, January, 1948; "Oriental Jews in Palestine", Jewish Social Studies, July 1950 and Israeli Society (op.cit.) pp. 50-52; See also A.N. Poliak: HaYishuv HaIvry BeMotzai HaMilchama (Heb. The Yishuv at the end of the War), Merhaviva, Sifriat Poalim, 1945.
2. For a general analysis see: Judah Matras: Social Change in Israel (op.cit.) Moshe Lissak, Social Mobilitz in Israel Society, Jerusalem, Israel Universities Press, 1969; Alex Weingrad: Israel: Group Relations in a New Society, London, Pall Mall Press, 1965; for analysis of special cases see S.N. Eisenstadt: Israeli Society (op.cit.) pp. 308-309 (the Wadi Salib case) and the papers by Eisenstadt, Ben-David, Katz and Zloczover and Bar-Yosef in Part II ("Cultural and Social Encounters") in the reader S.N. Eisenstadt et al (eds.): Integration and Development in Israel, London Pall Mall, 1969, See also: Mizog Galuyot (in Hebrew - The Integration of Immigrants from Different Countries of Origin in Israel. A symposium held at the Hebrew University, October, 1966), Jerusalem, The Magnes Press, 1969.
3. For a short introduction to this issue see Dan Gillan: "Israel: The Ethnic Class-War", New Statesman No. 2107 (6 August, 1971).

## 2. The Religious Parties: a general outline

The religious parties have already been mentioned twice in the first chapters. In the first instance they were mentioned as components of the present Israeli party system, and on that occasion certain developments in these parties since the establishment of Israel were mentioned<sup>4</sup>. The small group of ultra-extremists ("Neturei Karta"), which altogether rejects the idea of the State of Israel was also mentioned in that context<sup>5</sup>. In the second instance reference was made to the orthodox religious ideology as a traditional alternative (among others) to the Zionist ideology<sup>6</sup>, to religious Zionism<sup>7</sup>, and in another context to the religious - traditional orientations which were dominant in the "Old Yishuv"<sup>8</sup>. The aim of this section is to bring all these into a common framework, according to the major political divisions in Jewish orthodoxy in general, reflected in the politics of the Yishuv (and later in the State of Israel) in particular. The distinction, already mentioned in various contexts, between religious Zionism and extreme orthodoxy (originally anti-Zionist) will serve as a point of departure.

The political and cultural tradition of modern extreme orthodoxy in the Jewish world is represented in the Israeli Party system by the two Agudat-Israel parties. The origins of Agudat-Israel, like those of the Zionist movement, are to be sought in the changing conditions within Jewry and in the evolution of a new relationship between the Jews and the emerging civil society of Europe.

Resistance to new trends existed in Jewish communities for a long time, and in this respect they did not differ from other traditional communities undergoing a process of change<sup>9</sup>. It has already been mentioned<sup>10</sup> that a distinction should be made between Eastern Europe and Western Europe, and that owing to the particular conditions in Eastern Europe, the majority of the Jews living there, in their own more or less segregated communities, were able to maintain their attachment to Jewish tradition.

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4. See p. 17 and pp. 25ff.

5. p.28.

6. p.27.

7. pp. 43-44.

8. pp. 49-51.

9. Jacob Katz: Tradition and Crisis: Jewish Society at the End of the Middle Ages, New York, The Free Press, 1961.

10. Chapter 2, Section 2.

It is therefore no source of wonder that the origins of Jewish socialism, the Bund<sup>11</sup>, Zionist socialism, etc., (to be distinguished from Jews in general socialist movements, not only such as Marx, but even those who identified with the Jewish people, such as Moses Hess, and may retrospectively be considered as Zionists<sup>12</sup>) are to be found in Eastern Europe, while an organised movement of "counter-secularisation" was founded in the West (Germany). Agudat-Israel was founded in 1912, but its origins go back to the foundation of the so-called independent separatist orthodox Jewish communities, in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. The independence of these Jewish communities was vis-a-vis Jewish communities in various localities, which had become influenced by waves of "modernism". The first of these independent communities was founded by Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808-1888) in Frankfurt-on-the-Main<sup>13</sup>, and other such communities were later founded elsewhere especially in Hungary<sup>14</sup>.

Agudat-Israel (Heb. The Association of Israel) may be considered as the embodiment, within an international framework, of this idea of "independent community", in this case vis-a-vis the secularising Jewish people at-large, and the Zionist movement in particular.<sup>15</sup> It represented the absorption of Eastern European traditional orthodoxy within a Western European established framework. After World War I, a third component was added, viz the Old Yishuv in Palestine.

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11. F. Gross and B.J. Vlavianos: Struggle for Tomorrow (op.cit.) pp. 135-196.

12. Moses Hess: Rome and Jerusalem (English translation), New York, Black, 1918. See also: F. Zlocisti: Moses Hess, der Vorkaempfer des Sozialismus und Zionismus, 1812-1875, Berlin, Welt-Verlag 1921; B. Halpern: The Idea of the Jewish State (op.cit.) pp. 13-14; 61-63.

13. Emile Marmurstein: Heaven at Bay, London, Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 61-63; B. Halpern: The Idea of the Jewish State (op.cit.) p. 85.

14. E. Marmurstein: ibid pp. 64 ff; B. Halpern: ibid, p.85.

15. For a general short description of the origins of Agudat-Israel, its structure and ideology see I. Lewin: "Agudism" in F. Gross and B.J. Vlavianos, Struggle for Tomorrow, (op.cit.) pp. 200-206.

### 3. Agudat-Israel and the Old Yishuv

Representatives of the Old-Yishuv participated in the early organisation of the Jewish community in Palestine, i.e. during the first years of the Mandate. In this respect, they responded to the initiative taken by the leaders of the various groups of the New-Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation who established a provisional council of Palestinian Jews even before the occupation of the whole of Palestine by the British. This response later became manifest both at the "macro" level (namely participation in the election to the first Assembly of Representatives - April 1920) and at the "micro" level (e.g. the organisation of the Jewish community in Jerusalem - the centre of the Old Yishuv)- immediately after the British occupation, 1918). Generally speaking, these rudiments of co-operation were short-lived.

Agudat-Israel as such was not yet active in the Yishuv, and in the elections to the First Assembly of Representatives the Old Yishuv, orthodoxy was represented by the so-called "Orthodox Party", (this list secured 51 seats, and an additional list, called "Progressive Orthodox" secured 2, making altogether 53 out of 314 representatives; the Religious Zionist Party, HaMizrachi secured only 9). The four largest parties in this Assembly were Achdut-HaAvoda (70), "The Sephardi Federation" (54), "The Orthodox Party" (53) and HaPoel-HaTzair (41). About 60% of the representatives of the "Orthodox Party" came from Jerusalem (31) and another 30% (15) from Jaffa<sup>16</sup>. A careful check of the names reveals that not all of them were identified with the extreme religious and anti (or at least non-) Zionist ideology of the Old Yishuv. In fact, some of these people later became active in HaMizrachi<sup>17</sup>.

It should be mentioned in this context that in the early days, immediately after the British occupation, nobody knew exactly what would be the future structure of the Palestinian state in general and the Jewish community in particular. The politically oriented groups, especially the Labour parties, the middle class Zionists and the representatives of the Zionist organisation immediately took the initiative in instituting a

16. For the names and places of residence of the representatives, see M. Attias (ed.): Sefer HaTcudot, Jerusalem, 1963, pp.430-433.

17. E.g. Rabbi Tzwebner, who lived long enough to represent HaMizrachi in the Knesset in the early State years (he later Hebraized his name to Shaag. His son was killed as a member of the commando unit of the Hagana - the legendary Thirty-five - all killed in one battle in early 1948).



framework for the Yishuv. Most of the lists which contested the first election (and even the second in 1925) were formed by individuals and groups on the spur of the moment and without any previous political tradition. In this respect it is quite remarkable that there were no drastic splits among the religious groups at this election, although this situation later changed. The Religious Zionist (HaMizrachi) Party was still a very young party in the Yishuv (see the following pages) and many people who considered themselves as orthodox, had not yet found their way into this party. The so-called "Orthodox Party" was, therefore, not a stable and organised party, but a formation which came into existence before the elections and also succeeded in attracting a considerable support outside the Old Yishuv.

However, the "Orthodox Party" did not remain for long within the organisation of the Yishuv. The direct issue was that of granting suffrage to women. One could say that this first cleavage was concerned with "procedural" matters regarding elections, and did not yet touch basic issues of religion and society in general. The problem of suffrage rights for women has its own history in various countries (only recently the majority in some cantons in Switzerland still insisted upon denying this right to women), and this issue is not merely "technical", but has a symbolic meaning from various points of view. In the case of the Yishuv, however, this issue seems to be the first one which faced the organisation of the Yishuv, viz how to elect the representatives who would later make "binding" decision concerning various problems, and this "procedural" problem had already touched the essence of the differences between the traditional Old Yishuv and the new emerging society.

In the first election the extreme orthodox did participate, but in their communities, women were excluded from the right to vote, and every vote was counted as a double vote. This was, of course, an ad hoc arrangement in order to secure participation of as many groups in the Yishuv as possible, but it could not be formally "institutionalised". On the one hand, it would have distorted the whole system of representation. On the other, there was strong objection on the part of the "progressive" elements in the Yishuv, who were not ready to give legitimation to an inferior political position on the basis of sex (i.e. to abandon the idea of equality between sexes). The Mizrachi was in a delicate situation here, and tried at various stages to propose various compromise solutions, e.g. that women would be

entitled to vote, but not to be elected<sup>18</sup>, and that a referendum should be held in the Yishuv on this issue<sup>19</sup>. Since extreme orthodoxy was ready to accept only one solution, viz the total withdrawal (active as well as passive) of women from political life, it was obvious that any voting, referendum, etc., which would not have satisfied them, would not therefore change anything. The result was that in the elections to the Second Assembly of Representatives (1925) the "Orthodox Party" did not participate. In fact, such a party no longer existed; it was replaced by an independent Jewish community in Jerusalem, which became affiliated to the World organisation of Agudat-Israel, and was recognised as its branch in Palestine for about two decades.

The origins of the independent Jewish community in Jerusalem are connected with the differences between the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi Jews in the Old Yishuv, and the reluctance of the Ashkenazi elements to form a common communal framework with their Sephardi kinsmen<sup>20</sup>. As a result, a so-called "Ashkenazi Town Council" (Heb. "Vaad HaIyr HaAshkenazi") was formed as early as 1918. Within a year or two this council, and the community behind it developed into the "Orthodox Community" which was the organisational framework of the anti-Zionist orthodox elements in the Old Yishuv, and those who joined them later. As mentioned earlier, contacts were soon formed between them and the World Union of Agudat Israel, and during the whole Mandatory period they were the only organised Jewish community which totally opposed the Zionist movement and "Knesset-Israel". Other future splinter groups, from the communists at one extreme to the Revisionists at the other, while rejecting and even fighting the official policies of the Zionist Organisation and the Yishuv, never formed a community of their own, as did extreme orthodoxy.

It should be noted that all religious parties, in fact all the parties which the State inherited from the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation, have their origins in European, namely Ashkenazi Jewry. The reason for this fact will be dealt with later in this chapter (see Section 7).

18. M. Attias: Knesset Israel Be Eretz Israel (op.cit.) p. 15

19. Ibid, p. 28-29. It is interesting to note that attitudes towards women among the less extremely orthodox differed from one group to another. Even HaPoel-HaMizrachi, the Zionist Religious Labour Party presented a separate list of women in the election to the Fourth Assembly of Representatives (1944!). Their delegate in 1944, Mrs. Sanhedrai, is now a Deputy Speaker of the Knesset on behalf of Mafdal; National-Religious Party.

20. See the detailed study on this subject - Menahem Friedman: "HaMaavak Al Hakhila HaYehudit BeIrushalaim Le'ahar HaKibbush HaBriti" (Heb. The Struggle over the Jewish Community in Jerusalem after the British Occupation) Ha'Uma, No. 29, pp.68-81, Jerusalem, 1970.

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In the case of the religious parties, this fact may look paradoxical at first sight, since among Oriental<sup>21</sup> Jews religion has remained an integral part of their way of life. The explanation is that the emergence of religious parties, both Zionist and non-Zionist, was a reaction to the process of secularisation which took place in Europe and was not experienced by Jews in the Orient. The religious parties in the Yishuv, and in particular the religious extremists, had a "European" profile. Moreover, differences in religious ritual and practices between Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews sometimes caused an even greater gap between these groups, and this fact had its political repercussions. "Ashkenazi Town Council" in Jerusalem, out of which the separatist community emerged, began not as an anti-Zionist organisation, but as a result of an ethnic cleavage which existed in the Old Yishuv.

As has been mentioned earlier<sup>21a</sup>, it was Agudat-Israel which insisted that the Mandatory Government should make membership of "Knesset-Israel" voluntary. They were, however, only partially successful, viz people were considered members as long as they did not take the positive step of removing their names.<sup>22</sup> Agudat-Israel attempted, but without success, to achieve for its own communal organisation the same status that was granted to "Knesset-Israel", but they were recognised by the Mandatory authorities only as a separate religious community, as were many other religious communities in Palestine<sup>23</sup>.

The leading figure in Agudat-Israel in Palestine during the twenties was Rabbi Joseph Chaim Sonnenfeld (1848-1932), an ultra-extremist as far as anti-Zionism was concerned<sup>24</sup>. In the internal Yishuv front he repeatedly

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21. One should distinguish between "Oriental Jews" and "Sephardim", although in daily use these concepts are sometimes interchangeable. The so-called "Oriental Jews" are composed of various groups which have one thing in common, viz their origin is not in central and Eastern Europe. The "Sephardim", strictly speaking, are the descendants of the Jews who lived in Spain prior to the 1492 expulsion. One can find therefore "Sephardi" Jewish communities also in Western Europe (including Britain). In the context of the Yishuv, however, "Sephardi" Jews were considered "Oriental" rather than European (Ashkenazim).

21a pp. 56-57

22. Leaving "Knesset-Israel" did not involve a complicated procedure. There is, however, a difference between "being a member unless you leave" and "taking positive steps to become a member". A similar issue arose in Britain at the beginning of this century, with the formation of the Labour Party and the problem of membership of the individual trade unionist.

23. M. Burstein: ibid, pp. 159-160; 164 ff; 170-171; E. Marmarstein: ibid pp. 81 ff.

24. In a letter which goes back to 1898 he wrote "...For us in the Holy Land it is a sure sign that Dr. Herzl comes not from the Lord but from 'the side of pollution', for we say, anyone who pleads a defence of Israel is exalted in the world by the Holy One, Blessed be He, while this evil man pleads in condemnation and multiple accusation...". The writer referred to some of Herzl's diplomatic failures. The whole letter is quoted in E. Marmarstein: Heaven at Bay, (op.cit.) pp. 79-80.

challenged the authority of the "infidel Zionists" and one of the main targets of his attacks was the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi, Avraham HaCohen Kook (1865-1935)<sup>25</sup>. On the external front he and his aides submitted many memoranda and presented deputations to the Mandatory Government and the League of Nations, challenging the authority of Knesset-Israel and the Zionist Organisation in Palestine. One famous act of theirs was the dispatch of a deputation to King Hussein (the founder of the Hashemite Dynasty), headed by Rabbi Sonnenfeld, in order to assure the Arab King of their anti-Zionism.

As a political leader, Rabbi Sonnenfeld was assisted by several people, most of whom were rabbis also. Nevertheless, there was a distinction between political leadership and religious-spiritual leadership (viz Rabbi Duschinski). Among the political activists there was one who "deserted" from the Zionist camp - Dr. Jacob De Hann, an advocate, journalist<sup>26</sup> and poet from the Netherlands. De Hann was a very talented man, and with his European background and education, he rendered great services to the traditional "old-fashioned" separatist community. Among the New Yishuv De Hann was considered as a traitor, and the Hagana decided to murder him (1924). This was the first (and may be the only) political murder in the Yishuv<sup>27</sup>, and the whole truth remained unknown for many years (the name of the man who volunteered to murder him was revealed only after his death in 1960). Nevertheless, this murder caused certain unrest in the New Yishuv, and many of those who knew part of the truth

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25. It is quite interesting that Rabbi Kook, who is considered now as one of the leading religious authorities in Twentieth Century Judaism, was for a short time a member of Agudat-Israel. Later on he became a symbol of the religious appeal (in the non-political and non-sectorial sense of the word) to the "whole of Israel", as well as of integration (even on the institutional level) between religious observance, Zionist society and state-building.

26. He was the correspondent of various newspapers in the West, including the Daily Express. When Lord Northcliffe, who was not a sympathiser of Zionism, visited Palestine in 1922, De Hann, who was already an anti-Zionist too, met him and caused a lot of embarrassment to the "Organised Yishuv". The delegation to King Hussein was also organised by him.

27. With the exception of the mysterious Arlosoroff murder (1933) in which a leading figure in the Yishuv and in Zionism was murdered (this is, however an unsolved case up to the present day; there is no proof, whatsoever that it was a political murder and/or that the murderers were Jews), there was, to the best of my knowledge, no case of political murder in the Yishuv. There were, however, later several cases of murder ("executions") by underground organisations, as well as one or two accidental killings. No public figure, active in politics, was the victim in any case.

(it seems that the whole truth was known only to a very few) condemned it<sup>28</sup>.

The position of the traditional-orthodox elements in the Old Yishuv vis-a-vis the New Yishuv brought to a head the basic issue: "Orthodoxy versus Secularisation". The reason was, that in Palestine an alternative method of Jewish revival was not only presented in theory, but was also reflected in the perpetual growth of the modern Jewish community. This explains the militancy of Agudat-Israel in Palestine<sup>29</sup>.

The structure and activities of the World Union of Agudat-Israel are beyond the scope of this study, since this organisation was not oriented towards activities in Palestine. Nevertheless, even in this case, processes outside Palestine had their impact upon the Aguda in Palestine in later years, since the Aguda there (namely the extreme orthodoxy of the Old Yishuv) obtained "reinforcements" from the diaspora. These new immigrants brought with them the orthodox traditions of different environments, and did not share the same experiences as the extreme orthodox of the Old Yishuv.

Moreover, the World Union of the Aguda itself was not totally stagnant in the ideological sphere. Agudat-Israel, with all its rejection of Zionism, could not ignore the fact that a process of Jewish immigration (or "return") to the Holy Land had commenced, and a new society was being created. As against the more conservative and totally anti-Zionist ideology (that of Jacob Rosenheim) a more "modern" and "Palestine-oriented" ideology (that of Dr. Isaac Breuer, grandson of Rabbi Hirsch from Frankfurt) vied for recognition<sup>30</sup>. This "Palestine-oriented" ideology was still based upon non-acceptance and even condemnation of Zionism, but accepted the idea that there was a place for the building of a Jewish society in Palestine, on the condition that it would be entirely based on the Jewish religion. In other words, in contrast to Mizrahi, which fought for the promotion of the Jewish religion within the secular framework (the Zionist movement and "Knesset-Israel") and accepted the

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28. See Sefer Toldot HaHagana (op.cit.) Vol. 2, Part 1, pp. 251-252; Haviv Cnaan: "35 years after the murder of Dr. Jacob De Hann", HaAretz daily-newspaper 23rd and 24th February, 1960. The Israeli broadcasting service broadcast a programme on this murder on the 20th November, 1970. Several people were interviewed but there still seems to be a mystery as to the identity of those who decided the murder. See the review by H. Boshes, HaAretz, 23/11/70.

29. Compare the militancy of the Biryonim, the extreme Revisionists - Chapter 6, Section 4.

30. B. Halpern: The Idea of the Jewish State (op.cit.), pp 88-89.

idea that there was a place for day to day co-operation between observant and non-observant Jews, the "Palestine-oriented" Agudists still maintained their idea of separatism. Nevertheless, this ideology viewed from a historical perspective, has contributed to the narrowing of the gap between the Aguda and the "Organised-Yishuv".

As a world organisation, Agudat-Israel had three central forums - a world congress ("The Great Assembly" - Heb. HaKnessia HaGdola), a world executive, and a body which is more typical of an ecclesiastical organisation than of a social and political one, namely the "Council of the Leading Rabbinical Authorities" (Heb. "Moetzet-Gdolei-HaTorah"). This council is in fact still the supreme authority in Agudat-Israel. It is not composed of "ordinary" politicians or party functionaries, and has the final word on all major issues facing the Aguda. It does not usually interfere in day-to-day matters, but in problems of principle<sup>30a</sup>.

The peculiar organisation structure of Agudat-Israel and the repercussions of this on its functioning later, as a party in the State of Israel, make an interesting subject in themselves, but will have to be omitted from this discussion. It should be mentioned however that when Agudat-Israel joined the "Organised-Yishuv", on the eve of the establishment of the state, its Palestinian branch with its unique structure, became a political party and was integrated as such in the party-system. It still differs in many respects from other Israeli parties forming a category of its own. Nevertheless, it faced many problems similar to those which were faced by other units (parties) in the system. On the other hand, there is still an independent "orthodox community" in Jerusalem, but it is now the stronghold of "Neturei-Karta".

Changes in the approach of Agudat-Israel to Zionism and the "Organised Yishuv", started, therefore, in the thirties and became more intensive in the forties, especially after World War II (the holocaust) and the growing conflict between the Yishuv (and the Zionist movement) and the British Government as to the future of Palestine. These changes were accompanied on the one hand by a growing co-ordination and even co-operation between Agudat-Israel and the "National Institutions", and on the other by internal developments within Agudat-Israel in the Yishuv itself.

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30a. It was the ruling of the Israeli members of "Moetzet Gdolei HaTora", that led to the resignation of Agudat-Israel from the coalition government in Israel in 1952 and its remaining in opposition since then.

The composition of the top political leadership of Agudat-Israel in Palestine during the last years of the Mandate may serve as an indication of internal changes. In this period it was led by three people<sup>31</sup> Rabbi Moshe Blau (d. 1947), Rabbi <sup>Dr.</sup>Y. Brewer (1883-1946) and Rabbi Y.M. Levin (1894-1971)<sup>32</sup>. While Moshe Blau came from the traditional Old Yishuv (his brother, Amram Blau, who is still alive, is considered the leader of Neturei-Karta), Dr. Brewer came from the West European (original) stream of the Aguda and Rabbi Levin was the son-in-law of the Rabbi of Ger, one of the spiritual leaders of East European Hassidic Movement, who settled with his "court" in Jerusalem in the late thirties<sup>33</sup>.

The Aguda in Palestine therefore became much more heterogenous in the late thirties and early forties than in earlier periods. On the other hand, the weakening of the power of the elements of the Old Yishuv within it, and the growth of the "daughter movement" of Pa'i (Heb. initials of "Poalei Agudat-Israel" - A.I. Workers) brought it closer to the organised Yishuv.

Pa'i will not be discussed here in detail. It was founded in 1922, and its activities in Palestine began in 1925. In contrast to Agudat-Israel in Palestine, it did not have its origins in the Old Yishuv. Originally, Pa'i was the Labour wing of Agudat-Israel and did not challenge the authority of the mother movement and its organs (e.g. the "Council of the leading Rabbinical Authorities")<sup>34</sup>. Gradually, however, it developed

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31. E. Marmorstein: op.cit. pp. 85-86.

32. Rabbi Y.M. Levin represented Aguda in the Government from the establishment of the State until the party moved into opposition in 1952. He was a member of the Knesset and the leader of Aguda until his death. As eldest member present, he presided over the first meeting of the 7th Knesset, and used this occasion to make a declaration concerning the status of religion in Israel.

33. The Hassidic movement itself could be the subject of many studies in the spheres of theology, history, sociology, etc. The phenomena of leading rabbis, "courts", dynasties, communities of followers, etc. cannot even be discussed here. The Ger "court" in Poland was one of the central ones in Eastern Europe for many years. For a very short discussion, relevant to this study, see Marmorstein: ibid, pp. 83-84.

34. However, many years later the gap between the Aguda and Pa'i became broader, and in the year 1960, Pa'i joined the coalition government against the verdict of the "Council of the Leading Rabbinical Authorities". Its leader, B. Mintz, became Minister of Posts and declared that Pa'i no longer recognised the authority of that Council. Instead Pa'i instituted its own council of Rabbis.

into a separate formation, oriented towards various "constructive" activities in Palestine. It founded its own trade union (now integrated into that of the Histadrut), contractual and development societies, bank, etc. Pa'i became engaged (although on a small scale) in land settlement (even before the establishment of the State its members founded several Kibbutzim).

All these activities brought it closer to the Labour movement (via the Histadrut) and the Zionist Organisation, since the "Keren-HaKayemèt" (the National Fund) owned land and "Keren HaYesod" (The Foundation Fund) provided the funds for settlement. Generally speaking, one may conclude that the whole trend in Agudat-Israel after the late thirties was towards narrowing the gap with the New-Yishuv and the Zionist movement. In this respect, it seems that Pa'i went one step further, and although its ideological origins were in the Aguda, it nevertheless may be considered as an additional component of the New Yishuv rather than a reinforcement of the old one.

Politically, the attitudes of Agudat-Israel towards Jewish national aspirations in Palestine and the development of the Yishuv, were in the process of changing during the forties, as mentioned above. Since its foundation, Agudat-Israel had considered the Holy Land as a place for Jewish settlement only as long as it accorded with the spirit of orthodox Judaism (i.e. without any secular-political aspirations)<sup>35</sup>.

In the thirties a somewhat stronger emphasis was given to activities in Palestine. Nevertheless, in 1937 it opposed the partition plan recommended by the Peel Commission because "the Jewish State, which will be established in this way, will be governed and directed by leaders of the Histadrut, and by virtue of this will be destined ipso facto to ruin and destruction"<sup>36</sup>. On the other hand; in a political resolution dated June, 1944<sup>37</sup>, Agudat-Israel in Palestine "demands, as do all other parts of the Jewish people, the total abolition of the White Paper, which aims to stop Jewish immigration and hinder the development of a National Home for the Jewish people in the Land of Israel".

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35. The aims of Agudat-Israel, esp. Clause 5 (decisions of the first "Great Assembly, 1923. Ch. Merchavia: "Am Umoledet"(op.cit.) p. 390.

36. See the full text of this decision in Ch. Merchavia: ibid, p. 391.

37. Ch. Merchavia, ibid, pp. 391-92.



The final political "rapprochement" took place within the last years of the British Mandate. This is manifest in various proclamations signed both by the "National Institutions" and by Agudat-Israel, in the participation of representatives of Agudat-Israel in official Yishuv deputations to the British High Commissioner and in the evidence submitted by the representatives of Agudat Israel (Breuer and Blau) to the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry (1946)<sup>38</sup>. Politically the way was paved for a virtual co-operation between Agudat-Israel and the "Organised Yishuv".

After the resolution of the United Nations concerning the partition of Palestine and the creation of a Jewish State, an agreement was reached between the Jewish Agency and Agudat-Israel about the place of religion in the State (this is the basis of the famous "status-quo", namely that no basic change would take place in the State as compared with the situation in the Yishuv before the proclamation of independence<sup>39</sup>) and representatives of Agudat Israel and Pa'i joined the Committees of the "Thirteen" and the "Thirty-seven" (i.e. what became the Provisional Government and Provisional Parliament of Israel)<sup>40</sup>.

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38. E.g. "We wish to demonstrate the unity of our people in their demand to open the gates of the Holy Land. This demand is not merely one of Zionism, but of the whole Jewish People ... and of objective justice and law". Quoted from a report of the World Union of Agudat-Israel, Jerusalem, 1954.

39. This agreement was formulated in a letter from the Executive of the Jewish Agency to Agudat-Israel (29th April, 1947), signed by Ben-Gurion (Chairman, Mapai) and the representatives of HaMizrachi (Rabbi Fishman-Maimon) and the General Zionists (Y. Gruenbaum) on the Executive. For the full text see E. Marmorstein: *ibid.* pp. 86-89. It should be noted however that in fact this "status-quo" agreement became the basis for the coalition governments in Israel between Mapai (Labour) and Mafdal (National-Religious Party). Most of the crises in this coalition have been on religious issues, which had to be handled by the State. Up to now the "status-quo" formula has been used as a yardstick for dealing with such problems. See also: Shulamit Aloni: Hallesder (Heb. The Arrangement), Tel-Aviv, Otpaz, 1970.

40. See Chapter 3, Section 1; see also Ze'ev Sharef: Shlosa Yamim (Three Days, op.cit.), p. 39.

#### 4. The Zionist Religious Parties

The story of the Zionist religious parties (which now form one united party - Mafdal: National-Religious Party) will be told much more briefly. Politically, Mafdal is much stronger in Israel than Aguda, both from the point of view of the number of its voters, as well as from the point of view of the properties within its periphery (economic enterprises, rural settlements, indirect control of the religious elementary schools within the State-educational system<sup>41</sup>, control of various financial and other allocations in the sphere of religion<sup>42</sup>, etc.

On the other hand, its origins and growth were much more "ordinary" than those of the Aguda. It started, as was mentioned above<sup>43</sup>, as a faction in the Zionist movement as early as 1901. Historically, Religious-Zionism can claim that some of the forerunners of Zionism (Rabbis Kalisher and Alkalay<sup>44</sup>) personified the unity of religious orthodoxy and Zionist nationalist aspirations. There was a considerable religious element in Hovevei-Tzion too.

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41. The Yishuv (viz. "Knesset-Israel") had its autonomous educational system, which was composed of three "streams" - the General, the Religious and the Labour. Following the establishment of the State, the "streams" were abolished (after several controversies between Mapai and their religious partners in the coalition government, and in particular inside the Histadrut itself). Instead a unified national system of education has been introduced, with a religious sub-system as an integral part. The religious "subsystem" is less independent compared with the situation in the Yishuv, but is still under a certain control of Mafdal, a member of which usually holds the post of Deputy Minister of Education. Agudat-Israel still maintains its own educational system. See for further details the books by J.S. Bentwich and A.F. Kleinberger (op.cit.).

42. Through the funds of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which is usually manned by a Mafdal minister. This power position enables the Mafdal to control many appointments in the religious sphere in Israel.

43. Chapter 2, Section 2.

44. Another forerunner of Zionism was the socialist Moshe Hess (1812-1875) mentioned above (p. 187), whose position in the tradition of the Zionist Labour movement is equivalent to that of Rabbis Kalisher and Alkalay in the Zionist Religious movement.

The drive for the organisation of HaMizrachi, however, can be attributed to the activities of the Democratic Faction<sup>45</sup>, which inter alia, called for cultural activities in the Zionist Organisation, in addition to political ones. The religious elements in the Zionist Organisation were concerned that these activities would give a secular character to Zionism, and therefore founded the Mizrachi as a "defence mechanism". In the year 1911 the "practical" trend in the Zionist Organisation became dominant (Professor Warburg, a "Practical Zionist" was elected president of the Zionist Organisation, replacing Herzl's successor, David Wolffsohn), and this somewhat alarmed the Mizrachi. Some of its members left the Zionist Organisation altogether and joined the Aguda, which was founded a year later, while for the majority an era of organisation and a more "militant" activity in the Zionist Organisation had commenced.

#### 5. HaMizrachi in Palestine

The beginnings of HaMizrachi in Palestine go back to 1908, when a "Mizrachi office" was established in Jaffa by Rabbi Fishman, who came temporarily to Palestine. This office concentrated mainly on promoting religious elementary education. The drive for the organisation of HaMizrachi as a party in the Yishuv came immediately after the British occupation, when the various leaders of the New Yishuv (i.e. heads of the Zionist "Palestine Office", leaders of the Labour parties which already existed and various ethnic and communal dignitaries) undertook preparations for the organisation of the Yishuv.

The first conference of HaMizrachi in Palestine took place in September 1918<sup>46</sup>. Within a year the Mizrachi in Palestine was reinforced by two of its leading personalities - Rabbi Kook, who later became Chief (Ashkenazi) Rabbi of Palestine and Rabbi Fishman (who Hebraized his name many years later to Maimon). Rabbi Fishman and another leader who

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45. See in Chapter 2, Section 2 (and the reference in N.17).

46. See M. Ostrovski: "Toldot HaMizrachi BeEretz-Israel" (Heb: History of HaMizrachi in Eretz-Israel), Jerusalem, Rubin Mass, 1943, esp. pp. 9-20. Rabbi Ostrovski (who later Hebraized his surname to Hameiri) was later, for many years, the representative of HaMizrachi in the executive of HaVaad-HaLeumi. His book is a mixture of "objective" history, documents and personal memoirs. According to him, it was his initiative which led to the organisation of the party in Palestine.

immigrated to Palestine several years later - Rabbi Meir Berlin (who also Hebraized his name many years later to Bar-Illan<sup>47</sup>) emerged as the leaders of the Mizrachi Party, in the Yishuv as well as the Zionist Organisation in general. They maintained this position for about a generation. Rabbi Berlin was the chief representative of HaMizrachi in the Zionist executive during the twenties, while Fishman was the representative of HaMizrachi from 1935 until the establishment of the State, and then became the First Minister of Religious Affairs<sup>48</sup> in the Israeli Government.<sup>48</sup>

In Zionist congresses HaMizrachi fought mainly for the adoption, within the Zionist Organisation, of certain religious rules, e.g. the observance of the Sabbath in all agricultural settlements founded with the help of Zionist funds and settled on land belonging to the Jewish National fund<sup>50</sup>. For a while they were considered as "right wing" militants in matters of Zionist policy<sup>49</sup>. In addition, they played the "usual" political game especially after the Zionist Organisation became much more politically fragmented. They manoeuvred, in order to strengthen their power positions, (for a short time - 1933-1935 - they did not join the executive and collaborated with the Revisionists and right-wing General Zionists in the Opposition), fought to secure a larger share in the quota of immigration-permits to Palestine<sup>51</sup>, etc.

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47. The Bar-Illan University in Israel, which was founded by the Mafdal in the late fifties, is named after him.

48. Rabbi Berlin (1880-1949) died several months after the proclamation of independence, while Rabbi Fishman (1876-1960) lived on for another ten years, although he withdrew from active political life in the early fifties. His son-in-law, Dr. Yitzchak Rafael, was one of the leaders of HaPoel-HaMizrachi and served as a Deputy Minister. Although he lost several months ago a contest in his party for membership of the Government, he may sooner or later emerge as the leader of the Mafdal.

49. See N. Katzburg's study on this subject, Niv HaMidrashia, Spring, 1970, pp. 212-235.

50. i.e. Observance of the Sabbath, or more precisely, avoidance of any work during the Sabbath in Moshavim and Kibbutzim, the settlers of which were not observant Jews at all. In one of the congresses - the 18th - in 1933- they refused to attend the meetings until such a resolution was readopted.

51. Some of these and other issues will be discussed in more detail in the concluding chapter (No.8). It was due to the manoeuvres of Ben-Gurion, that Mizrachi rejoined the Zionist Executive. Ben-Gurion's aim was to avoid co-operation between HaMizrachi and the Revisionists (who had just left the Zionist Organisation), although technically Mizrachi's support was not required for forming a coalition. The "price" paid by Mapai was that its representation in the executive became smaller. The "victim" was a veteran leader of the Labour movement, B. Locker. (see Ch. 8, n.51.).

Generally speaking, the following two quotations from articles written by Rabbi Berlin respectively present the aims of HaMizrachi and its idea of its relationship with the Zionist Organisation in general:

- 1) ".... The mere fact that a religious budget was approved in Congresses and the Zionist Council, and no-one dares now to oppose it, has already a positive element in it. It includes a total achievement of the aim of HaMizrachi; HaMizrachi officially introduced the religious principle to Zionist activity, in a legal and public way, with a common recognition by all wings of the Zionist Organisation"<sup>52</sup>;
- 2) "As a party, HaMizrachi is within the Zionist Organisation, but as a movement, it is autonomously active. As a party, HaMizrachi recognises the authority of the Zionist and Yishuv organs and accepts the rule of the majority. If, however, the foundations of its movement are challenged, HaMizrachi has no other alternative, but its own basic attitude derived from Jewish religion and tradition, and will object to any coercion whatsoever"<sup>53</sup>.

As mentioned above, HaMizrachi was for many years a target for the attacks of the Aguda circles in Palestine. The reason for this is obvious - HaMizrachi posed a threat to the Aguda by demonstrating that there was a possibility of integrating religion with modern national aspirations and collaborating with secular elements in the process of society-building. The ideology of HaMizrachi rejected the idea of separation. On the other hand, HaMizrachi did not develop a "sub-community" to the same extent as that of the Labour movement<sup>54</sup>. Something in this direction was done by HaPoel-HaMizrachi, which started as the Labour wing of HaMizrachi. Before discussing HaPoel-HaMizrachi, which had already emerged in the thirties as the major component in the religious-Zionist camp<sup>55</sup>, attention should be paid to the main direct contribution of HaMizrachi to the process of society-building (viz the growth of the Yishuv). The periphery of HaMizrachi was, generally speaking, in the middle classes, and the party itself, as other

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52. M. Bar-Ilán: Ktavim (Heb: Writings), Jerusalem, Mosad HaRav Kook, 1950, Vol. 1, p.28 (published originally in 1927).

53. Ibid, p. 48 (written originally in 1942).

54. See the discussions on the Histadrut in Ch. 2, Section 7, the parties of the Labour movement in Ch. 4 and the concluding chapter. (1927).

55. E.g. In the election to the 15th Zionist Congress in Palestine, HaMizrachi secured 1,519 votes (2 delegates) and HaPoel-HaMizrachi 1,772 votes (2 delegates). Ten years later (the 20th Congress) the returns were: HaMizrachi 3,825 votes (4 delegates) and HaPoel-HaMizrachi 12,448 votes (14 delegates). A third list of HaMizrachi-Women received only 748 votes (no delegate). In the congresses both HaMizrachi and HaPoel-HaMizrachi formed one "Parliamentary" party, mainly with the veteran leaders of HaMizrachi in its front bench. The internal balance has changed since 1948.

Zionist parties became active in the economic sphere, e.g. by establishing its own bank<sup>56</sup>.

The most important contribution of HaMizrachi to the growth of the Yishuv, however, and in the long run to Israeli society (and its political structure) were the institution of the Chief Rabbinate, not merely as a religious body, but also as a national one, and the development of the system of religious education. Both subjects deserve discussion in their own right, but the scope of this study does not permit us to deal with it<sup>57</sup>. It should be noted, however, that the Mizrachi had its own elementary schools (as did the Histadrut). These schools were under its direct control, forming one 'trend' within the system of Jewish autonomous education.<sup>58</sup>

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56. The examination of the activities of the various other parties, as well as those of the Histadrut, reveals that the creation of financial establishments, besides the central financial organs of the Zionist Organisation, was an integral part of the activities of political parties and groups in the Yishuv. Years later, when Agudat-Israel joined the "family" of parties, it also founded its own bank.

57. As to education, see above, n.41, as well as n. 58 below. The Chief Rabbinate was an innovation, and originally the political interests of the Yishuv in general, and not only religious considerations as such, played a role in its formation and recognition by the Mandatory Government, as an integral part of "Knesset Israel". Agudat-Israel never recognised it as a religious authority. Its later history, and relation to present day religious cleavages in Israel is beyond the scope of this study. As to its origins, and functioning during the Mandatory period, see M. Burstein: Self-Government of the Jews in Palestine (op.cit.), pp. 173-181; M. Attias: Knesset-Israel BeEretz-Israel (op.cit.) pp. 87-96; M. Ostrovski: Irgun HaYishuv HaYehudi BeEretz-Israel (op.cit.), pp. 45-63. For material concerning later developments, especially since the establishment of the State, see the books by E. Marmorstein, S.C. Leslie and S. Aloni, as well as S.N. Eisenstadt: Israeli Society (op.cit.), pp. 309-320; E. Goldman: Religious Issues in Israel's Political Life, Jerusalem, The World Zionist Organisation, 1964.

58. Joseph S. Bentwich: Education in Israel, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, Chapter 3 (Education under the Mandate), esp. pp. 24 ff.

## 6. HaPoel-HaMizrachi

For many years HaPoel-HaMizrachi was both a political party and a socio-economic formation of the Religious-Zionist-Labour movement. In its second capacity, its structure in many respects resembled that of the General Federation of Labour (The Histadrut). In the year 1956 the merger with HaMizrachi took place and the Mizrachi party was abolished, but HaPoel-HaMizrachi still exists in its second capacity. It has rural settlements (kibbutzim and moshavim) affiliated to it, various financial, economic and welfare enterprises, etc.

As a Workers' Union, HaPoel-HaMizrachi has been collaborating with the Histadrut since the thirties. It started with an agreement on problems of labour and its allocation between members of the two organisations (in the twenties there were some severe conflicts in this respect, which even led to the use of force). Later HaPoel-HaMizrachi joined the Sick Fund (Health Insurance system) of the Histadrut and its Trade Unions. Members of HaPoel-HaMizrachi are not, however, members of the Histadrut (this may nowadays seem paradoxical, since even members of Herut and the Liberal parties, i.e. parties which for many years were extremely opposed to the Histadrut, joined it several years ago. It seems, however, that the "establishment" of HaPoel-HaMizrachi has much to lose if they join the Histadrut).

HaPoel-HaMizrachi developed therefore its own "empire" which resembled that of the Histadrut. A similar development took place in the Revisionist Party, as has already been demonstrated, with the formation of the H.O.L. (see Ch.6, Section 5). There were, however, some basic differences between these Labour organisations in functions, structure and the type of relationship between each of them, and the relevant political party or parties. This fact had to be mentioned, but cannot be discussed here.

Nowadays, HaPoel-HaMizrachi dominates the Mafdal, although various crystallisations within the party no longer reflect the former division between HaPoel-HaMizrachi and HaMizrachi. With the passing away of the two leading figures in the Zionist Religious camp for many years (both in the Yishuv and the World Zionist Organisation) - Rabbis Berlin and Fishman (Maiman), the leader of HaPoel-HaMizrachi, Moshe Shapiro, emerged as the head of the Zionist Religious movement and became the undisputed leader of the Mafdal until his death in 1970. Since its establishment, the Mafdal representatives in the government (usually three ministers) have all been members of HaPoel-HaMizrachi.

The origins of HaPoel-HaMizrachi go back to the early twenties. Various groups of new immigrants, who were members or supporters of HaMizrachi formed, mainly during the year 1921 local organisations of HaMizrachi workers in various towns and Moshavot, under the auspices and with the encouragement of the leaders of HaMizrachi. The name HaPoel-HaMizrachi was adapted in most cases (Heb. Hamizrachi worker) and later in that year the foundations were laid for an overall organisation of HaPoel-HaMizrachi in the Yishuv. Similar developments in the formation of Mizrachi youth and "Labour-oriented" movements in various countries in the diaspora took place under various names, and some years later all these "Labour-oriented" Mizrachi organisations formed a world movement which was named "Torah VeAvoda" (i.e. religion and labour).

It has been mentioned that since the thirties, HaPoel-HaMizrachi started collaborating with the Histadrut in various spheres. This development was a stage in a process which started with a dilemma (in the early twenties) i.e. whether or not members of HaPoel-HaMizrachi could at the same time be members of the Histadrut (and consequently form a party within it). The World Council of HaMizrachi (1924) decided against this and formally established its own Federation of Labour. This decision, which laid the foundation for the future structural developments of HaPoel-HaMizrachi as a separate labour organisation (described above) caused a split in HaPoel-HaMizrachi in Palestine, since in the Yishuv the majority (in the Fourth Conference, November 1924) was in favour of joining the Histadrut. For a while there were two formations - the Left HaPoel-HaMizrachi and the Right HaPoel-HaMizrachi. However, the Right HaPoel-HaMizrachi, which began as a minority, became the foundation stone of HaPoel-HaMizrachi in the Yishuv. The Left HaPoel-HaMizrachi gradually ceased to be a political factor and its members rejoined HaPoel-HaMizrachi several years later<sup>59</sup>.

As already mentioned, the late twenties witnessed conflicts and rivalry between the Histadrut and HaPoel-HaMizrachi in the Labour market. In the Zionist Organisation at that period HaPoel-HaMizrachi usually supported the semi-opposition policies of HaMizrachi. However, with the beginning

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59. Many years later, in the forties, Mapai encouraged the establishment of a religious party in the Histadrut. This party, which exists up to date, usually only contests Histadrut elections, and even then scores only a few thousand of votes. On the national level, its position is negligible and no particular reference will be made to it. The party is called HaOved HaDati (The Religious Worker).



of rural settlement of HaPoel-HaMizrachi members and the formation of religious Moshavim and Kibbutzim and other general developments in the Yishuv, it was recognised that in spite of differences in attitudes to religion, there was much in common between religious and non-religious Labour. As a result, the two movements (i.e. their Labour organisations and political parties) gradually began to co-operate with each other. This co-operation counterbalanced tendencies in HaMizrachi in the mid-thirties to co-operate with the Revisionists and the "New Zionist Organisation".

Since the thirties, HaPoel-HaMizrachi has grown in size and in scope of activities (unlike the Histadrut, however, which had its own system of elementary education, the Zionist religious -educational system was run by HaMizrachi party itself). Generally speaking, however, its growth led to internal differentiation and conflicting interests in HaPoel-HaMizrachi. Various factions and cliques were formed, which became semi-institutionalised within its organisation. No detailed analysis of this phenomena can be made here. In general terms - this internal fragmentation exists up to date and, although some factions have been abolished, new ones have come into existence and a clear continuity of certain factions cannot always be traced owing to changes in personnel, formation of new alignments, etc.

To sum up: Seven Mizrahi lists took part in the election to the Second Assembly of Representatives (December 1925). One Mizrahi list (Mafdal) took part in the election to the Seventh Knesset (1970). The story of the Zionist Religious movement in Israeli society is that of political unification on the one hand accompanied by growth and internal differentiation on the other. This is the trend which seems to be central in tracing the patterns of growth of Israel's political parties in general.

## 7. Ethnic Organisations

The Second Knesset (elected in 1951) was the last Knesset in which ethnic lists were represented. Altogether there were two ethnic parliamentary parties in that Knesset. It is interesting to note that in the election, they did not call themselves "parties" but the "Sephardi List" and the "Yemenite Federation". The Sephardi List secured 2 seats (12,000 votes, i.e. 1.75% of the total vote) and the Yemenites - 1 seat (nearly 8,000 votes, i.e. 1.20% of the total vote).

In the First Knesset (elected in 1949) the Sephardi List secured 4 seats (15,287 votes, 3.5% of the total vote) and the "Yemenites" 1 seat (4,400 votes, about 1% of the total vote). Various ethnic lists contested in elections which followed, including in some cases, the above mentioned two, but none of them succeeded in securing the minimal vote required for representation (1%). In this respect, the election to the Fourth Knesset (1959) is of special interest, since it took place several months after the "Wadi Salib" riots, which were the most severe intergroup outburst of hostilities<sup>60</sup> until the recent emergence of the Israeli "Black Panthers". Five or six ethnic lists were presented, but none of them reached the minimal requirement of 1% of the vote. (Altogether, they did not even receive 2.5% of the total vote). One has to remember that the waves of immigration had increased the percentage of "Oriental Jews" in Israel<sup>61</sup>, and the fact that there exists such a thing as an "ethnic vote" cannot be ignored. On the contrary, this vote decides the fate of many seats in the Knesset. What seems to be a paradox in this context is that the growth in the size of the ethnic (viz "Oriental") vote was accompanied by the disappearance of ethnic lists from the national level of politics<sup>62</sup>. The explanation of this phenomenon, as well as the evaluation of the whole problem of ethnicism and politics in Israel in the future, interesting as they are, are not within the scope of this study<sup>63</sup>.

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60. See the discussion in S.N. Eisenstadt: Israeli Society (op.cit.), pp. 308 - 309.
61. In 1948, the composition of the Jewish population of Israel was as follows 35.4% were born in Palestine; 8.1% were born in other countries in Asia; 1.7% in Africa and 54.8% in Europe or America. The figures for 1968 are as follows: 44.0% were born in Israel (many of whom, to parents who had been born in Africa or Asia); 12.8% were born in other countries in Asia; 14.4% were born in Africa and 28.8% in Europe or America, Statistical Abstracts of Israel 1969 (published by the Central Bureau of Statistics Jerusalem), p.44.
62. There are however ethnic lists which gain representation at the local level. These are usually local lists which do not form branches of nationwide organisations. They are formed mainly in towns which are populated by considerable numbers of immigrants from particular countries. See: Shevach Weiss: "Yitzug HaEdot HaLo-Ashkenaziot BaShilton HaMekomi" (Heb. The representation of the non-Ashkenazi ethnic groups in local government), Molad 14-15 (1970), pp. 167-172.
63. See the books on this subject by A. Weingrad and M. Lissak (op.cit. n.2), and also the minutes (published as a book - Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1969) of the symposium held at the Hebrew University on "The Integration of Immigrants from different countries of Origin in Israel" (in Hebrew Mizug Galuyot), esp. pp. 51-93.

Generally speaking, there is a place for a distinction between the position of the Oriental Jews in the Yishuv and in the State of Israel. The title "Oriental Jews" is by itself misleading, not only as far as the present situation is concerned, but also when reference is made to the Yishuv period (see above, n.21). There were various organisations of non-European Jews in the Yishuv, and these organisations represented not only people from different countries of origin, but also different cultural traditions in the broader sense of the word, i.e. folklore, mother-tongue, religious practices, etc. However, generalisation is unavoidable here - and what seems to have been common to the Oriental Jews in the Yishuv is:

- 1) Many of them had their roots in the Old Yishuv, and many of those who came after 1880 did not come into a "social vacuum", but joined social frameworks, the roots of which go back to earlier periods;
- 2) the growth of the Jewish "Oriental communities" did not form a priori a part of the Zionist enterprise in Palestine. Gradually, with the growth of the Yishuv and its development towards a more "Western" character - one can distinguish a growing polarization between the affluent and established Oriental families, and the increasing numbers of the underprivileged Oriental population. This led to a situation in which the underprivileged groups began to look for "non-traditional" channels of protest<sup>64</sup>. Nevertheless, this "escapism" was not a remedy, and to some extent only aggravated the problem.

The whole subject cannot be properly developed here, but again, generally speaking, the masses of oriental immigrants which arrived in Israel after 1948, were absorbed by the State and the whole process of their integration into the Israeli society was carried out in entirely different conditions, compared to those which characterised the Oriental communities in the Yishuv. The political result of this situation was that while under the Yishuv conditions, various Oriental formations through the mobilisation of their own resources (human, financial, communal, organisational, etc.) were able to become viable units in the political arena, under the State conditions they ceased to be the frame of reference for the immigrants.

It has been mentioned in an earlier part of this chapter that the dilemma of secularisation versus orthodoxy did not present itself in Jewish Oriental communities in the same way as it did in Europe. Oriental Jewish communities, generally speaking, were still "traditional", viz on the one hand

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64. One of these channels mentioned in the end of the previous chapter, was joining the dissident underground organisations.

religion was an integral component of the way of life, on the other hand it did not give rise to an extreme "counter-secularisation" movement. This fact made co-operation between various "Oriental" groups in Palestine and the dynamic elements of the New Yishuv, somewhat easier, as compared with the type of relationship which developed between the New Yishuv and extreme orthodoxy.

As far as the Zionist Organisation is concerned, there were no ethnically-based political formations in the Zionist congresses, nearly all the delegates of which came from non-Oriental Jewish communities (viz Europe, America and the Yishuv). In the Yishuv itself, ethnic lists sometimes contested the elections to the Zionists congresses, and the one or two representatives which they secured usually joined one of the major blocs in the congress.

The situation was different in the organisation of the Yishuv ("Knesset-Israel"). In the election to the First Assembly of Representatives six Oriental ethnic lists participated, viz those of "The Buchara Community" (5 representatives), "The Georgian Community" (1 representative), "The Sephardi Federation" (56 representatives) and three Yemenite lists ("The Yemenites" - 12; The Federation of Youngsters from the Orient - 2; The Federation of Israeli Youngsters - 4). Altogether there were 80 representatives of Oriental lists, i.e. somewhat more than 25%.

In the Second Assembly (1926), the representation of the Oriental ethnic lists was much smaller. Altogether 40 "Oriental" representatives were returned - less than 20%. The main loser was the Sephardi Federation, which was returned with 19 representatives (10%, as compared with nearly 17% in the First election). The Sephardi attributed their failure to the lack of organisational capabilities and political awareness in their ranks, and before the election to the Third Assembly made it a condition for their participation that a special ballot ("curia") should be instituted for them, with a fixed representation. The National Council reluctantly accepted this condition<sup>65</sup>, and in the election to the Third Assembly (1931), there were two separate "curiae" - one for the Sephardi population and the other for the Yemenites. In the Sephardi curia several lists participated, viz that of the Sephardi Federation and several lists affiliated to general Yishuv parties. In fact the "purely" ethnic list (i.e. the Sephardi Federation) secured only about

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65. A similar demand on behalf of the private sector farmers was rejected, as mentioned in Chapter 5.

one third of the votes in its curia and was represented by 6 (out of 71) delegates to the Assembly. However, its representatives co-operated with the Labour (Mapai) and Mizrahi parties and for the next thirteen years it was officially part of the "Organised Yishuv". In the elections to the Fourth Assembly (1944), there were no separate ethnic "curiae". The ethnic factor was represented by two "Yemenite" lists, as well as a list composed mainly of immigrants from Germany<sup>66</sup>. In this case, the Sephardi Federation joined several right-wing groups in boycotting the election. Three years later, however, when the Jewish Agency and the National Council (Vaad-Leumi) started with the preparations for the establishment of Israel, a Sephardi representative<sup>67</sup>, as well as one Agudat-Israel representative, was co-opted to the Committee of the Thirteen (the future Provisional Government of Israel).

To sum up: The Oriental "ethnic parties" were not political parties proper, but rather "Landsmannschaften" which took part as such in the party-politics of the Yishuv. Their members, and especially their elites, were not integrated in the various functional or political formations formed in the New Yishuv. They, therefore, lacked any other channel by which they could participate in the political life of the Yishuv. The social basis of these formations was "by definition" limited and "ascriptive", and the whole logic behind the ethnic politics in the Yishuv was based upon the wish of these groups to secure their place in the new society rather than to influence its development. On the other hand, various individuals (although in small numbers) were absorbed in "general" parties<sup>68</sup>. A by-product of this absorption was the laying of foundations for ethnic pressure groups within parties, which became typical of political parties after the establishment of Israel. In this respect, ethnic cells have a dual function - on the one hand they are channels for mobilization of immigrants, while on the other they are units in internal struggles for power and representation within the party structures.

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66. The "Aliya-Hadasha", discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.

67. The representative was B.S. Shitrit, who had been a judge during the Mandatory period, and therefore was not active in the internal party politics of the Yishuv. He headed, however, the Sephardi list in the election to the First Knesset (1949) and served as a minister in the government. Later he joined Mapai and served as one of its representatives in all governments almost until his death in the mid-sixties.

68. The best example in this respect, seems to be I. Yeshayah, a "Yemenite" who came to Palestine in the twenties and joined Mapai. He has been a member of the Knesset since 1950, served as its Deputy Speaker and held a ministerial post for a short period. Recently he was elected as Secretary General of the Labour Party.

PART IIIGeneral ConclusionsCHAPTER 8The Emerging Polity: Cleavages, "Verzuiling" and  
a Predominant Party1. The Emerging Polity: A Theoretical Presentation

Following Lipset and Rokkan, this study is based on the assumption that the political party is an "agent of conflict and instrument of integration"<sup>1</sup>, and therefore the major problem to be studied is "conflicts and their translation into party systems"<sup>2</sup>. Lipset and Rokkan distinguish four basic cleavages which led, in the first instance, to the formation of the various European party-systems<sup>3</sup>. Two of these cleavages had their roots in what the authors call the National Revolution, while the other two were products of the Industrial Revolution. The differences in the various European party systems are variously explained by the different social and historical conditions under which these Revolutions took place. In addition, there are cases in which cleavages occur at later stages of political and historical development ("Cleavages in fully mobilised polities")<sup>4</sup> and give rise to protest, and sometimes "anti-system" movements.

To what extent may the "Lipset-Rokkan model" be used as a tool for the study and the explanation of Israel's party system? At first glance, the impression is that this model was constructed in order to deal with entirely different situations, viz (a) those of the "fully mobilised polities" from a historical-developmental perspective; (b) "developing polities", which present remarkable similarities to the "fully mobilised" ones in

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1. Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structure, Party Systems and Voter Alignment" in Lipset and Rokkan: Party Systems and Voter Alignment (op.cit.), p.3.

2. ibid, p.5.

3. ibid, pp. 13 ff. The sub-title of the book, however, is "Cross National Perspectives". This aim is demonstrated both by the analysis and examples presented in the editors' chapter and also by the inclusion in this volume of studies dealing with "developing countries".

4. ibid, pp. 23 ff.

early stages<sup>5</sup>. In addition, the authors use the Parsonian concept of society as a social system as their point of departure for the construction of their model. According to this concept, society is composed of 4 sub-systems, which present a response to the 4 functional requisites of the social system. These 4 sub-systems ("A-G-I-L"), as well as the famous pairs of the "pattern variables" also serve as a basis for the "Lipset-Rokkan Model"<sup>6</sup>.

The case studied here does not easily submit itself to an analysis, based on assumptions which may prove valid in many other situations. Lipset discusses political cleavages in "developed" and "emerging" polities<sup>7</sup>, and it seems that the use of the concept "polity" and not "society" is of great importance for our discussion. The concentration on the discussion of the polity and its properties is based, by definition, on the assumption that a society of a certain form ("developed" or "developing") exists, and the polity is a component part of it. Developments in the polity result from a more general process of social change. This general process also gives birth to various new types of social cleavages, which are dealt with by the polity. The polity has to "learn to live" with these cleavages, and this is done through the institutionalisation of a pattern of party-politics. In modern states (as well as in developing states, although this category raises some problems which are not going to be discussed here), the party system is usually the main "structural system" through which the various cleavages are managed. Finally, a stabilised polity uses various mechanisms in order to bring its internal conflicts under control. Among these are the so-called "cross-cutting cleavages"<sup>8</sup> on the one hand, and the "politics of accommodation" or the newly introduced concept (by Lijphart) of "consociationalism" on the other<sup>9</sup>.

5. *ibid*, pp. 13-14. See also S.M. Lipset: "Political Cleavages in Developed and Emerging Polities" in Allard and Y. Littunen (eds): Cleavages, Ideologies and Party Systems (op.cit.); S.M. Lipset: The First New Nation, New York, Basic Books, 1963 (in this book, a "developed" polity is analysed by using conceptual tools borrowed from the studies of the "Developing" countries of the post-World War II era).

6. *ibid*, pp. 6-13. For references to the relevant works of Parsons, see notes 12, 13, 14, 15 in Lipset's and Rokkan's chapter.

7. S.M. Lipset: "Political Cleavages in "Developed" and "Emerging" Polities" in E. Allard and Y. Littunen: Cleavages, Ideologies and Party Systems, Helsinki, The Academic Bookstore, 1964, pp. 21-35.

8. See S.M. Lipset: Political Man, London, Heinemann, 1960, pp. 31, 88-89 and the somewhat technical discussion in D.W. Rae and M. Taylor: The Analysis of Political Cleavages, New-Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1970, Chapter 4, pp. 85-113.

9. On accommodation, in the Dutch context, see the detailed analysis in A. Lijphart: The Politics of Accommodation, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1968, esp. from Ch. 6 + 7 (p. 103) onwards. On Consociationalism, see his paper "Consociational Democracy", World Politics, Vol. 21, No. 2 (1969), pp. 207-225.

It seems that many of these concepts, and perhaps even all of them, are relevant in one way or another to the analysis of the case with which this study has dealt. However, one cannot take any concrete society as a point of departure for this analysis. Israeli society itself developed as one aspect of a general process of transformation in world Jewry. This process of transformation gave rise to various cleavages, some of which have been absorbed in the Jewish Nationalist movement and in the Yishuv. The Yishuv itself can be considered as a transitional stage in this process of transformation. It was not, however, merely a "stage" in the process, but represents a historical phase in which a society gradually came into existence. Various cleavages which characterised this society, were not merely products of social conditions the origins of which were in this emerging society, but were "pre-situational" in their nature. The emerging society absorbed these cleavages, which were mainly ideological and to some extent also ethnical-cultural. However, these cleavages were not transformed directly into a party-system, but instead became reflected in the first instance in the social patterns which emerged within the Yishuv, and of which the Yishuv was to be composed. In this process, referred to in the first chapter as "creating a society from the beginning", cleavages were transformed, therefore, into potentially conflicting social structures. Technically speaking, one can distinguish between two aspects of the transformation of cleavages. The first aspect is the one just mentioned, viz where conflicting, or at least different, ideologies and cultures lead to the creation and/or development of an internally differentiated society. The second aspect is connected with the emergence of conflicts within this new society, as a result of conflicting interests, the roots of which existed already in concrete social units and situations within the new society. In fact, as is self-evident, these two aspects can be considered as two parts of the same, and were constantly feeding upon each other.

Nevertheless, this distinction is not merely a technical one. If <sup>it</sup> is viewed within an analytical framework, its significance in the whole process which led to the institutionalisation of a party-system, becomes clear. The key concept here will be (following Lipset) "emerging polity". In the present context, the emergence of a polity forms a part of the general process of the creation and development of a new society, and of what was referred to, in Chapter 2, as "institutional growth" or "institutional expansion".



By definition, one can distinguish "micro" politics in the Yishuv in its very early stages of development, viz the spheres of local party-politics in the moshavot, or even in communities of the "Old Yishuv". These "micro" politics, underdeveloped as they were, even when the local and "parochial" level is being discussed, nevertheless formed "houses of power". During the period of the Second Aliya, attempts at the formation of "national" as well as regional organisations took place, especially among the labour elements, but also among the farmers. Some years earlier, there was even an abortive attempt (1903) to establish a common framework for the whole Yishuv. The first "national" parties in the Yishuv (HaPoel-HaTzair and Poalei-Tzion) were formed as early as 1905, although the use of the concept "party" in this case was somewhat premature. These parties did not fight any elections until the formation of the Yishuv organisation (not yet "Knesset-Israel") and the Histadrut in the year 1920. They formed rather combinations of ideological-political sects and frameworks for groups of workers. However, in other respects, such as internal organisation (loose as it was), selection of leadership, ideological activity and rudiments of policy formation, these two parties were the forerunners of the whole system which later developed. It is no wonder, therefore, that two of the early leaders of these parties later served as Secretaries-General of the Histadrut, while in the State of Israel one of them (Ben-Gurion) became the first Prime Minister and the other (Sprintzak), the first Speaker of the Knesset. The fact that the first two national political formations (although not yet parties in the exact sense) emerged in the "camp" of Labour, and that the former Mapai and the present Labour Party emerged out of these formations, is by no means a coincidence.

These two parties instituted a pattern of activity which later became characteristic of nearly all the political formations in the Yishuv, viz engagement in activities of a non-political nature. These activities - in the rudimentary stage - ranged from establishing cheap restaurants for workers, and graduated to organising labour groups for various rudimentary rural development functions, instituting semi-co-operative societies etc. Members of Poalei-Tzion founded an organisation of "Guards" (HaShomer - The Guard). These and other activities (which often led to competition between the two parties, justify their classification as germs of "Parties of Social-Integration", to use Neumann's taxonomy<sup>10</sup> (Ch.3).

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10. S. Neumann: "Towards a Comparative Study of Political Parties", in S. Neumann (ed.): Modern Political Parties, The University of Chicago Press, 1956, esp. pp. 403-405.

The material presented above dealt with the initial stage of the Yishuv's polity. However an entirely independent Yishuv polity did not emerge. The Yishuv became totally autonomous only on the eve of its political independence, viz immediately prior to the establishment of Israel. The organisation of the Yishuv, "Knesset-Israel", was not engaged directly in the developmental aspect of the Yishuv. It was rather a communal organisation, with a special political and legal status, due to the fact that the Yishuv was recognised by the League of Nations and the Mandatory Government, as the germ of the "Jewish National Home". As far as the growth of the Yishuv was concerned, the Zionist Organisation, with its political and financial resources, became involved in the affairs of the Yishuv. Various organisations in the Yishuv were not as such, formally, incorporated into the Zionist Organisation. Both "Knesset-Israel" and the Histadrut had non-Zionist members too (e.g. communists). De facto, however, they were Zionist Organisations. The Revisionists, on the other hand, left the Zionist Organisation, and formed their own "New Zionist Organisation". The whole structure of the Palestinian Mandatory State was an unusual one. It is not appropriate here to present material to prove that no real national polity developed within this context, although several futile initiatives were taken by the Mandatory Government to establish one (e.g. the attempt to institute a legislative-Council with some limited powers). From the point of view of the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation, therefore, let us consider the "Palestinian Triangle", discussed in Chapter 2, as a framework for "foreign policy". The fact that it was not a "foreign policy" in the ordinary sense of the term, since the ultimate executive power and other attributes of sovereignty were in the hands of the Mandatory Government, does not change the basic idea that from the point of view of the Yishuv, both the Arabs and the British were "external powers".

It is legitimate, therefore, to conclude that the polity out of which the State of Israel (as a political system) emerged, was a combination of the various Yishuv frameworks of party-politics with those of the Zionist Organisation as a supernational organisation (i.e. local Zionist politics in a country like Britain, for instance, were within the "boundaries" of this polity only so far as they had an impact upon the policies of the Zionist Organisation as a whole, or were related directly to groups and situations within the Yishuv).

A considerable amount of space has been devoted to this attempt to trace the origins and define the "boundaries" of the polity which was later transformed into the State of Israel (the position and problems of the Zionist Organisation after the establishment of Israel, are out of context, and will not be discussed in this study). In an earlier stage of this study, it was stated that the distinction between cleavages leading to the formation of Zionism (the Ideology, the Movement, and the Organisation), including those which were absorbed within it as well as those which were absorbed within the emerging structure of the Yishuv, was not merely a technical one. With a definition of the polity under discussion now before us -- the central question can now be presented and answered. Viz where was the "centre of gravity" of this polity, what was its nature and in what way was it related to the phenomena and processes discussed in former chapters? By discussing these problems, it is hoped that a broad spectrum ranging from the Labour parties to the General-Zionists, ethnic and "Burgerlich" formations, Revisionist and Religious parties, will be brought into a common framework, namely the one that gave birth to the institutionalised Israeli party system.

An attempt will be made to avoid repetitions, when using the material presented in earlier chapters, as basic data. The analysis will be carried out in three stages:

- 1) The cleavage approach of Lipset and Rokkan will be used as a tool for analysing the mainly "pre-situational" cleavages, i.e. the cleavages which had emerged in relevant frameworks prior to the formation of the pre-state polity, but nevertheless were reflected in this polity;
- 2) A discussion of the political culture and major conflicts within this emerging (pre-State) polity will reveal internal differences and sub-cultures within the polity, and their reflection upon the structures of various types of political formations in the Yishuv;
- 3) Finally the problem of authority-formation will be discussed. This will be connected with problems of coalitions, policy formation and various allocations on the one hand, and the basic problem of legitimation of the whole political order on the other.

All these topics are very broad, but since the basic information has already been presented, they will be dealt with here only as frameworks for my conclusions.

The basic assumption upon which the following discussion will be based, was mentioned in Chapter 2, with the use of the phrase "voluntarism and power combined". This idea can now be presented in a somewhat elaborated form. The institutionalisation of a party system in Israel, was a part of the transition from Yishuv to Statehood. This transition can be viewed as one in which a new society, created mainly of volunteers and pioneers, and with a polity based upon "authority without sovereignty"<sup>11</sup>, was transformed into an independent and sovereign one. This transformation included, among other things, the creation of formal framework and units (administrative, fiscal, legal, military and other systems).

Although the following paragraph may be a part of the final conclusion, it seems worthwhile to present it here, since it will broaden the perspective of the discussion in the following sections. Earlier in this section, a question as to the location of the "centre of gravity" of the emerging polity was posed. Let us present at least a partial (i.e. not fully elaborated) reply at this stage. First of all, by defining the polity as an emerging one, the dynamic aspect was introduced, at least implicitly; secondly, the problem is not a technical-geographical one, viz where was the "capital", although ultimately the location of the capital or the geographical centre should be congruent with the real centre (in fact, the London headquarters of the Jewish Agency lost their position following the final break with Britain, and the transferring of the "Palestine Problem" to the United Nations. Its place was taken by the newly established headquarters in New-York). Finally, one can generalise that while the "practical" centre of gravity (i.e. "society building": rural settlement, absorption of immigrants, etc.) from the twenties was in Palestine, the political centre (personified by Weizmann) was in London. There was a political department in the Zionist headquarters in Jerusalem too, headed until 1931 by Colonel Kisch (1884-1943),<sup>12</sup> a British Jew who had no political background in the Zionist Organisation

11. This phrase, in this context, has been borrowed from D. Horowitz and M. Lissak: Authority without Sovereignty: The Evolution of the National Centre of the Jewish Community in Palestine, Jerusalem, The Hebrew University, 1970 (mimeograph).

12. See: P.H. Kisch: Palestine Diary, London, Gallancz, 1938; M. Medzini: Eser Shnot Mediniut Tzionit Eretz-Israelit (Heb. Ten Years of Palestinian Zionist Policy), Jerusalem, 1927; after giving up his office (1931), Col. Kisch continued to live in Palestine, but was not active in the Yishuv/Zionist party politics. In World War II, he rejoined the British Army, was promoted to the rank of Brigadier and was killed in action, as Chief Engineer of the Eighth Army.

(nor, as is self-evident, in the Yishuv). Kisch was personally chosen by Dr. Weizmann (and as such elected in the 13th Zionist Congress, 1923, to the Zionist Executive). It seems that Weizmann's reasons for choosing Kisch were that, due to his background and military achievements, Kisch would be able to communicate well to the British the Yishuv-Zionist view and, on the other hand, would be accepted by the administrators in Palestine as an equal rather than as a "native", or a "fanatical Zionist"<sup>13</sup>.

The political "centre of gravity" started to move to the Yishuv when a Zionist leader from the Yishuv succeeded Kisch (1931). This man was the brilliant young Dr. Arlosoroff<sup>14</sup>, a member of Mapai. Arlosoroff himself, and Mapai in general, had been supporters of Weizmann in internal Zionist controversies. Arlosoroff was murdered, as mentioned already, (Chapter 2, n. 66; Chapter 6, pp. 172-3) in 1933, and in the congress<sup>of</sup> that year a strong representation of Mapai was elected to the Executive (the Jerusalem office), including Ben-Gurion (future first prime-minister), Sharett (future first foreign minister and for a short period also prime-minister) and E. Kaplan (future first finance minister). Later developments will be discussed below, but one should bear in mind the fact that the gradual transfer of the political centre to the Yishuv, and the manning of the executive by political leaders who emerged in the Yishuv, coincided with the rise of Labour (Mapai) to its leading position in the Yishuv/Zionist polity.

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13. Ch. Weizmann: Trial and Error (op.cit.), pp. 367-368.

14. Had Arlosoroff lived longer, he might have become Prime Minister of Israel (although nobody can really speculate how his relationship with Ben-Gurion would have developed). Arlosoroff was an intellectual. His rise in the Labour movement, which was later described as "meteoric", did not accord with the "usual" criteria for leadership-selection, which characterised Mapai even several decades later:

- 1) He was not one of the group of the early pioneers;
- 2) He was never an agricultural labourer, nor a member in a kibbutz;
- 3) He was an intellectual who had completed formal higher education;
- 4) Before the merger of Achdut-HaAvoda and HaPoel-HaTzair (which took place only a short time before his election to the Zionist Executive), he was a member of the latter, viz the minor partner;
- 5) He did not come from Eastern Europe;
- 6) He was younger than all other leaders in the Labour movement at that time (had he lived now, he would have been 72 years old, still younger than the present Israeli Prime-Minister).

See: Ch. Arlosoroff: Yoman Yerushalayim (Heb. Jerusalem Diary) Tel-Aviv, Mapai, 1953.

## 2. The Background Cleavages: An Application of the Model

This discussion so far has ignored the historical sequence of events. This has been done in order to present a general idea as to the framework, viz the polity, which will form the core of our discussion. It has been mentioned, however, that in order to gain a clear insight into processes which took place within this polity, one has also to deal with processes which took place outside it, and even before its formation. This will be done mainly in the <sup>following</sup> sections. By applying some concepts borrowed from the "Lipset-Rokkan model", and already presented in the first pages of this chapter, the basis of some of the cleavages in the emerging polity will be revealed. The "Lipset-Rokkan" concept of a "fully mobilised society" will be used in this case with reference to the emerging polity itself, and the various conflicts which developed from within it (e.g. the conflict between the Revisionists and the coalition of official Zionism and Labour) will be touched upon separately.

The point of departure of the present discussion will be World Jewry at large, the majority of which was concentrated in the second half of the nineteenth century in central and Eastern Europe. One cannot treat it as a society, but as a network of dispersed communities, not always living under the same social and political conditions, but nevertheless facing (some of them earlier and some of them later) similar problems as to their own identity and its impact upon their own social structure and relationship with the general society (i.e. the developing civil society). Developments within this general society, or rather societies, had in this respect a "latent function" in the sense that they also posed dilemmas for the Jews. These dilemmas led initially to the first type of revolution, viz the national one.

## 3. The "National Revolution"

As is self-evident, the concepts and definitions used by Lipset and Rokkan have to be adapted to the specific conditions of the Jewish people. Hence, the conflict between the "central nation-building culture" and the increasing resistance to it of "ethnically, linguistically or religiously distinct subject populations in the provinces and peripheries"

is in fact the cleavage which resulted inter alia in the formation of the Zionist Organisation on the one hand, and the "New Yishuv" (as an embodiment of the "central nation-building culture") on the other. The various ideologies which called, in one way or another, for the absorption of the Jews in the emerging civil societies (i.e. religious-traditionalism is not included among these) were, therefore, the Jewish equivalent of the powers which resisted the "central nation-building culture" in other, "ordinary", societies.

The second conflict in the sphere of the National Revolution is, according to Lipset and Rokkan, the "conflict between the centralising and mobilising nation-state and the historically corporate privileges of the Church". Before presenting the equivalent conflict among the Jews, there is a need to elaborate somewhat the discussion of the first conflict, since there are some similar problems which will be reflected in the other conflicts too. The argument which will be presented here is that once the Yishuv had been formed (viz the New Yishuv, especially in later phases of its development during the Mandatory period), the pre-situational conflicts were reflected in the developing "polity" of the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation. The conditions in this case too were different, compared with those of "ordinary" societies on the one hand, and the Jewish people at large on the other. In the context of the Yishuv, therefore, the "Ezrachim" seem to be the main group which to some extent resisted the "central nation building" culture, which was represented by the framework under the control of the "National Institutions".

In order to avoid any misunderstanding, it should be added at once that this resistance did not mean that the "Ezrachim" did not play an important role in the development of the Yishuv. The opposite is true, especially as far as the Yishuv's economy is concerned<sup>15</sup>. In this respect one can claim, not unjustly, that by their economic activities, firstly, by the foundation of the Moshavot (which was much more than just economic activity) and later by the urban growth which followed private enterprise, the contribution in general of the "Ezrachim" and the "Private sector" to the growth of the Yishuv, was far from negligible.

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15. See Ch. Barkay: "HaSector HaTziburi, Sector HaHistadrut VeHaSector HaPrati BaMeshek HaIsraeli" (Heb. The Public Histadrut and Private Sectors in Israel's Economy), in the 6th Report of the Falk Institute, Jerusalem, 1964. Barkay demonstrates, however, (also in English) that socialist ideology plays a more prominent part in the structure of Israel's economy than in those of various western welfare states.

Nevertheless, when matters are analysed politically, the marginal position, if not the explicit resistance of some of these groups to what became the dominant political culture of nation-building cannot be denied. An alternative political culture, sometimes with a nativistic emphasis, and in other cases with an economic and localist ("peripheral" in the Lipset-Rokkan taxonomy) emphasis, took its place. This conflict was reinforced by a class conflict, which falls into a different category in the Model, and will therefore be discussed later. Since the "boundaries" between the "Ezrachim" and the General-Zionists (especially G-Z B) were not always clear, it should be emphasised that this analysis refers to the groups which were defined as Ezrachim proper (those who were named by S.Z. Abramov as the "Bourbons"<sup>16</sup>) and not necessarily to the General Zionists at large.

The second conflict of which the "National Revolution" was composed may be defined, for the purpose of this study, as a conflict between the trend towards the creation of a modern nation state based on modern civil society, and the trend to preserve religious-traditionalism among the Jews. The concept used by Lipset and Rokkan in this context, viz the "established corporate privileges of the Church" is irrelevant in our case, and the fact that religion plays a role both in the Lipset-Rokkan approach and in this presentation, should not lead to a distorted idea. One should distinguish in this context between religion as a system of beliefs and The Church as an establishment. While Lipset and Rokkan are dealing with The Church, the interests of which (viz its "historically established corporate privileges") clashed with those of the centralising, standardising and mobilising Nation State", the clash in the Jewish sphere was different. Since such an establishment as The Church did not exist among the Jews, the level on which the conflict took place was entirely different, as has been revealed in the discussion of Agudat-Israel (Ch. 7, Sec. 2,3). One should pay attention to the fact that the emergence of Zionism has in fact caused a split among Jewish orthodoxy. The clash between extreme religious orthodoxy and Zionism goes back to the very early stages of the development of the Zionist Organisation. On the organisational level, however, religious-Zionists (HaMizrachi) preceded the religious anti-Zionists (Agudat-Israel).

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16. See the quotation from his article in Chapter 5, (p. 139).



This conflict of "traditionalism" vs. the idea of nationalism was also absorbed in the Yishuv. Its manifestation was in the first stages of the conflict between the two Jewish communities - the Old Yishuv and the New one. In a later stage it was transformed into the conflict between Agudat-Israel and the "Organised Yishuv".

The "National Revolution", therefore, with reference to the Yishuv, took place mainly under "pre-situational" conditions. With the development of the New Yishuv, especially during the Mandatory period, the weight of the Old Yishuv decreased very rapidly, both in respect of its percentage of the population and in respect to its political power. The discussion of Agudat-Israel has demonstrated how the conflict was resolved, with Agudat-Israel even joining the Provisional Government and later the first Coalition Government of Israel<sup>17</sup>. In the taxonomy of Lipset and Rokkan, this case demonstrates a good example of how an original cleavage is transformed and absorbed later in the party-system.

The same conclusion also applies to the "Ezrachim", although in this case matters seem to be somewhat more complicated. While the Aguda was outside the ranks of the "Organised Yishuv" for the whole period, up to the establishment of the State, and may be considered as a separate community, the "Ezrachim" formed an integral part of the Yishuv, contributed to its development and had their power positions within it. Nevertheless, in many cases they preferred not to take part in various activities of the Yishuv, as an integral part of the "Organised Yishuv"<sup>18</sup>, but to form

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17. See the entry "Agudat-Israel" in Encyclopaedia Hebraica (Vol. 1 pp. 371-374). The entry was written by K. Kahana, leader of Pa'i and later to become a Deputy Minister of Education. The following is a quotation from this entry: "Agudat-Israel did not join the Jewish Agency. Its condition for joining was that education and culture would be excluded from the Agency's activities.... Agudat-Israel fought for many years for the right of its members to immigrate to Palestine. In 1933 it succeeded in receiving from the Jewish Agency 6% of the permits' quota. In 1946 the quota was raised to 10%." (See Below, sec. 9).

18. This was the case especially from the time that Mapai became the central power in the "National Institutions". See for instance, Arlosoroff's references to the "separatist" activities of Rokach, then Deputy Mayor of Tel-Aviv (Ch. Arlosoroff: Jerusalem Diary - Heb. op.cit. - pp. 87, 91, 153, 177, 184-5 etc.). In an interview with Rokach many years later (1959, several months before his death), Rokach, now Deputy Speaker of the Knesset and a former Minister of the Interior, told me that he had considered the Jewish frameworks of local government rather than the "National Institutions" the embryo of Jewish independence. See also the quotation from P. Bernstein in Ch. 5.

their own power centre or centres. One is also entitled to view their resentment of Mapai's position of authority in the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation in the context of "class conflict". The result was that the Ezrachim were absorbed in a unified party system of the Yishuv, by coming to terms with the "right wing" elements of the "General Zionists'" party, and forming the General-Zionists' Party of the early State years (now known as the Liberals - the partner of Herut in the Gahal bloc). One can appreciate without difficulty the connection between the type of conflict in this case, and conflicts which by their nature belong to the second category of cleavages in the Lipset-Rokkan model.

The aim of this presentation has been to demonstrate, that while the "National Revolution" aspect of the conflict (which was the basic one as far as the creation of the "polity" is concerned) was solved with the absorption of the "Ezrachim" within the unified party-system, the class aspect, which will be discussed later, was in fact transformed into the party-system.

As a final remark in the context of the "National Revolution", the position of the Oriental Jews should be mentioned. It was demonstrated that Oriental Jews in the Yishuv did not a priori resent the idea of co-operation with other groups in the formation of a polity, both at the Yishuv's national level and at local levels (e.g. the Jewish community in Jerusalem). One of their achievements in this respect was the institution of two Chief Rabbis in the Yishuv, one Askenazi and the other a Sephardi (this arrangement still exists in the State of Israel). The various federations of Oriental Jews usually took part in the elections to the Assembly of Representatives of "Knesset-Israel", and the Sephardi Federation was represented for most of the period in the Vaad-HaLeumi. The situation is not the same in the case of the Zionist Organisation. In this respect the "National Revolution" was lagging in world Oriental Jewish communities and they were hardly represented in Zionist Congresses during the whole period up to the establishment of Israel (and even later). There was no Oriental Jew in the Zionist Executive, and hardly any in the Zionist Council (the Actions Committee - even this, was sporadic). One can add that even in recent years, the situation has not drastically changed. Consider<sup>ing</sup> ~~the~~ "Palestinian" Oriental communities, which were hardly "infiltrated" by Zionist-Yishuv parties, as part of Oriental Jewry in general, their marginal ("parochial") position in the emerging Yishuv/Zionist polity is evident. However, one has to keep in mind that this

marginality was a result of a passive attitude, which can be explained by general social conditions characterising this Jewry and the general society within which it was living, rather than an active resistance to the "central nation building culture". Having been confronted with the focus and symbols of this culture in the emerging Yishuv, the Oriental communities indeed found themselves in a certain social vacuum.

Generally speaking, therefore, one can define the "National Revolution" in the Jewish people as the process which resulted in the formation of the New-Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation. With the development of these two frameworks, and with the Yishuv's emergence as the concrete manifestation of national aspirations at the social-system level, the Lipset and Rokkan concept of a "fully mobilised Polity"<sup>19</sup> can be applied. This will be done at a later stage, and will be combined with the analysis of conflicts and struggles within the polity of the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation.

#### 4. The "Industrial Revolution"

With reference to the dispersed Jewish people, the concept of "Industrial Revolution" seems to be irrelevant. However, as members of the societies within which they were living (marginal as they were), Jews in the various countries of the European diaspora were affected by the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution, like the National one, served as a point of departure not only for various cleavages, but was also a source for the emergence of new ideologies. These ideologies, for their part, became the driving power in the formation of social movements<sup>20</sup>.

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19. Lipset and Rokkan, op.cit., p.23.

20. It seems to me that this issue, viz the emergence of the various initial cleavages of ideologies and social movements, has not received by Lipset and Rokkan the full treatment it deserved in this context. Although the issue has not been neglected altogether, and there seems to be an implicit reference to it, it has not been discussed as a subject in its own right. The central theme for Lipset and Rokkan is "the transformation of cleavage structure to party-systems". See on the other hand: R. Heberle: Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology, New-York, Apple-Century-Crofts, 1951 (there is also a short paper by Heberle - "Observations on the Sociology of Social Movements" A.S.R. Vol. 14 (1948) pp. 346-357; H. Blumer: "Social Movements" (published originally in 1951) in B. McLaughlin (ed.): Studies in Social Movements, New York, The Free Press, 1969, pp. 8-29. References to Smelser's theoretical approach have already been made in the first three chapters.

This applies also in general terms to nationalist movements. As far as our case is concerned, the Jewish nationalist movement may be considered to a certain extent as a late manifestation of a general trend in European history, but also requires an analysis of immanent processes within the Jewish communities themselves. The position of the two conflicts which come under the title of the Industrial Revolution are totally different from one another, when applied to the Jewish-Zionist-Yishuv case. In this respect, no doubt due to the fact that the walls of the Ghetto had already been crumbling and the internal structure of the Jewish communities was facing crisis, Jews became exposed to the influence of emerging ideologies, and were included in the social "catchment areas" of emerging social movements. The conflict between the landed interests and the rising class of industrial entrepreneurs is in fact part of the cleavage which led to the formation of the Civil Society. In this respect, it had its impact upon the position of the Jewish communities, in general, and Jews as individuals, but it was not of course an internal conflict in the Jewish communities themselves. Out of the other conflict, however, (that between "owners and employers on the one side and tenants, labourers, and workers on the other side") emerged the various labour and socialist movements. It is not within the scope of this study to examine whether and to what extent this conflict emerged out of internal conditions in the various Jewish communities (i.e. if such a phenomenon as a "class conflict" in the modern sense of the concept took place and/or emerged out of immanent conditions). The important fact in this context is that socialist and labour ideologies were absorbed by Jewish groups, as demonstrated in Chapter 2. These ideas or ideologies, which were not homogeneous by any means, and not always internally coherent, fed diaspora-oriented Jewish movements and organisations, as well as the Zionist ones. Socialist-Zionism (a broad concept, which includes several variations) entered into a process of transformation with the establishment of the first Labour groups (or parties, as they were named from the beginning). While maintaining its Zionist components (in the sense of orientation towards Zionism as a movement and as an organisation), the Yishuv itself became its focus, and gradually its centre. Here is a case, therefore, in which the results of the two revolutions, as they were reflected in the life of the Jews, were integrated into one movement, (which was not

homogeneous in its ideology or social composition)<sup>21</sup>. This movement succeeded in later stages in transforming itself into the most powerful section in the new society, as well as into the most powerful party in the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation. These developments are emphasised here because this is a case in which ideologies and conflicts which had emerged out of the Industrial Revolution, were absorbed into a framework, the origins of which had been in the National Revolution. Moreover, the Social component becomes identified with the National one. This identification is to become represented symbolically by two central concepts in the operational aspect of the Labour movement in Zionism, viz Halutziut (Heb. pioneering) and Hagshama (Heb. Fulfilment, in the sense that an individual fulfils what is required by his movement and nation).

Conflicts which form in fact part of the "class struggle" "supplied", therefore, the Jewish Nationalist movement both with a "Model" for the new society and with "operational definitions" as to how this "model" should be realised. Since this development took place at an early phase in the history of the new society (the Yishuv). The idea of direct "class struggle" was to a large extent diverted into a conflict between desirable conceptions or "guiding images" according to which the new society was to be moulded. Some of the controversies in the first Zionist congresses after the First World War dealt with the problem whether the Zionist Organisation would concern itself with the establishment of Kibbutzim and Moshavim (on national land and with the help of national funds). The positive resolution in the early twenties on this matter had its impact on the whole future development of the Yishuv.

In this way the "class struggle" in the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation was turned into a broader one, viz it became a central issue in what may be called the operational definition of Zionism and its translation into concrete activities in the process of society-building.

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<sup>21</sup> See the references in Chapters 2 and 4 to the various ideologies, movements and parties, out of which the Labour establishment in the Yishuv developed. The writings of the ideologists, from Borochoy, Syrkin and Gordon up to Katzenelson, have been mentioned in the footnotes (see also the Bibliography). The same applies to the writings and addresses of leaders such as Ben-Gurion, Sprintzak and Arlosoroff, as well as to the various histories. See also the unpublished PhD. thesis of I. Kolatt (1964).

## 5. United Labour vs. Fragmented Bourgeoisie

The concept of class conflict has been presented here in a somewhat different sense compared with that of Lipset and Rokkan<sup>22</sup>. Instead of concentrating merely on concrete conflicts between employers and workers, one can define this conflict as one between potential employers and potential workers. Ideology, and in particular Labour ideology, turned it into a concrete conflict. Two stages can be distinguished in this process. The first stage is characterised by the decisions of individuals to become labourers and "force" their potential employers to employ them (for the employers there was always another alternative, viz to employ Arabs as unskilled and semi-skilled labourers. Economically as well as from the point of view of "labour-relations", this was much cheaper for them). The second stage was characterised by the struggle of the workers within the Zionist Organisation to develop the Yishuv in such a way that their ideas would be realised and reflected in the structure of the emerging society.

Although the contribution of the "bourgeoisie" to the "building of the country" (this was the concept used in the Zionist jargon for development and "institutional expansion" - "Binyan HaAretz" in Hebrew -) was considerable, Labour had at least three advantages as compared with the bourgeoisie<sup>23</sup>.

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22. In fact this concept (although Lipset and Rokkan seem to be careful to avoid an explicit discussion of Class conflict, even if this is the meaning of their definition) has other "legitimate parents". First of all, Marx of course, and Max Weber too; Weber's influence especially can be seen here (See "Class, Status and Party", op.cit.)
23. This concept is used here as a general category, in accordance with the general division upon which the model is based. Needless to say, "cross cutting" cleavages took place as demonstrated later. In former chapters (especially Chapter 5), the "Ezrachim" have been referred to as the "Burgerlich" groups. However, in the present context, other non-Labour and middle-class elements (e.g. General Zionists) are included.

- 1) It succeeded in turning its system of values and symbols into the dominant one in the Yishuv and the Zionist movement. In this respect the purely "class" component was over-shadowed by the national aspect of the Labour enterprise<sup>24</sup>.
- 2) Due to the combination of pioneering goal-oriented ideology and its social pattern, based on the idea of strong identification with the collective framework, the Labour movement could mobilise its membership in a very effective way. This mobilisatory power is presented here as emanating from what may be termed conditions at the "grass roots", and not particularly as a function of formal organisation<sup>25</sup>. Such structures as Kibbutzim, youth movements and to a lesser (but still considerable) degree - various Labour formations in town and Moshavot, served as a potential source of manpower, required for various functions on behalf of "The Movement".
- 3) Last, but not least, the comprehensive structure which was created by the Labour movement, as it gradually became, diversified, emerged in the last resort from one common origin. The "founding fathers" succeeded in establishing themselves as a central elite, which not only retained its power throughout the whole period, but was able to control and direct the process of growth, absorb newcomers into the various units of the developing enterprise, impose its authority upon secondary and peripheral elites and as a result, strengthen its position vis-a-vis other elites in the Yishuv<sup>26</sup>.

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24. The partnership between Weizmann and Mapai had no doubt its "raison d'etre" but nevertheless it could not have lasted so long, had there been no basic agreement as to what the realisation of Zionism meant. See, for instance Weizmann's Trial and Error (op.cit.) pp. 339-340; 373; esp. p.448. While Weizmann was considered a "progressive-liberal", Ussishkin was, in his own words a "right-wing" man (see the quotation in Editors of HaAretz: Miflagot BeIsrael etc. Tel-Aviv, 1951, p. 17.). Nevertheless, he was known to be in specially amicable relations with the left-wing socialists of HaShomer-HaTzair. Ussishkin was head of the Jewish National Fund, and sometimes opposed Weizmann's "foreign policy", considering it to be too moderate. However, HaShomer-HaTzair's Kibbutzim were for him a symbol of the fulfilment of Zionism. (See also p. 130, n. 52<sup>a</sup>).

25. Although efficient organisation and the power emanating from it in some cases played a vital role. E.g. in Mapai's Haifa branch, discussed in Chapter 4.

26. Although not mentioned explicitly, the ideas and concepts of Karl Deutsch have served as a background for this presentation. The full title of his famous book "The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control" (New York, The Free Press, 1965) contains the key concepts which are relevant in this context. One should keep in mind, however, that the subject of this discussion is, after all, an originally voluntaristic movement.

These "strategic" advantages of Labour over the bourgeoisie are especially striking when one recalls - if the passage of time is taken into account - that the Labour enterprise started at a relatively late date. It was not until the early twenties that one could speak of such an enterprise. The early settlers and their descendents had in this respect a priority over Labour. Nearly forty years elapsed between the laying of the foundation of the New Yishuv and the establishment of the Histadrut (by representatives of about 4,500 persons, as mentioned in Chapter 2), while only another 28 years separate the establishment of the Histadrut from that of the State. However, even in the election to the First Assembly of Representatives (1920), about 8 months before the Histadrut was established, the two Labour parties of that time (Achdut-HaAvoda and HaPoel-HaTzair) together scored about one third of the votes, while the groups which can be defined as farmers and urban middle-classes (excluding from the count the ethnic and religious lists), scored less than one sixth of the vote, which was divided among nine lists. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the number of votes scored by the two Labour lists was larger than the total membership of the Histadrut, which was founded eight months later (and included in addition new immigrants of the Third Aliya).

The basic characteristics of both "camps" - Labour and "bourgeoisie" - became evident (and this is without doubt a striking fact) in the very early stages of the development of the new polity - a unified "camp" of Labour vis-a-vis a fragmented "camp" of "bourgeoisie". With the development of the Yishuv in general, and the enterprise of Labour in particular, this difference became more and more meaningful.

As should be remembered, the term "General Zionists" was originally attributed to members of the Zionist Organisation who were not affiliated either to the Labour or to the religious factions in the Zionist Organisation. Being a non-Labour member of a nationalist movement in the diaspora was not the same thing as being confronted with day-to-day problems emerging out of concrete social and political situations in the Yishuv. The element of "class conflict" was originally introduced into the Zionist Organisation from "outside" as a result of the growth of Labour and Socialist movements in general. The whole issue of class-conflict was, therefore, scarcely an internal problem within the Zionist Organisation, until it became directly involved in the process of society-



building in Palestine<sup>27</sup>. Dr. Ruppin, who was sent to Palestine in 1908 to establish the "Palestine Office" of the Zionist Organisation, was a "General Zionist" in the original sense of the term. Never being a socialist or a member of any Labour party in Zionism and in the Yishuv, he was nevertheless considered as "the Father of Zionist Land Settlement"<sup>28</sup>. Zionist land settlement is in fact the network of Kibbutzim and Moshavim, which has become one of the central pillars, ideologically, socially and politically, of the Labour enterprise in the Yishuv.

The example of Ruppin is presented here as a point of departure for a classification of the "bourgeoisie" in the Yishuv into four general categories, viz:

- 1) Those whose activities and political orientations were either concentrated in, or at least originated within the framework of the Zionist Organisation
- 2) Those whose background was in the Zionist Organisation, or even in Jewish nationalism prior to the establishment of the Zionist Organisation, but who, as members of the Yishuv, became involved directly or indirectly in the "class conflict", and ideologically as well as politically, were identified with the "Right-Wing";
- 3) Those whose background was first and foremost in the Yishuv, (not necessarily meaning that they were born in Palestine) and their involvement in the "class conflict" was related directly to concrete situations in the Yishuv;
- 4) A residual category of groups and individuals whose background was in neither of these three frameworks, but who, nevertheless, were absorbed in the Yishuv's polity. This is a very diversified category.

Generally speaking - Hitachdut-HaTzionim HaKlaliyim (General-Zionists A) represented type (or category) 1. This applies both to General-Zionist A as a party (represented in the Yishuv and the Zionist Organisation in the late thirties and early forties by such individuals as Gruenbaum, Gluckson, Zuchowiecki and Sneh), as well as to "General Zionists" in the original sense of the term, viz individuals who could, due to their position in Zionism, afford the "luxury" of not being involved in party matters (this

27. See Ch. Arlosoroff's analysis: "Milchemet HaMaamadot BaMetzi'ut HaEretz-Israelit" (Heb. "The Class-Conflict in the Jewish Palestinian Reality") in his Selected Writings ("Mivchar Ktavim U'Pirkei Chaim"), Tel-Aviv, The Zionist Library and Am-Oved, 1958, pp. 54-63.

28. See the dedication of A. Bein's book The Return to Soil (Jerusalem, 1952) and B. Katzenelson's appraisal (in his Writings, Vol. 2, pp. 257 ff).

applies first and foremost to figures like Weizmann<sup>29</sup>, Ruppin and a few others).

The second type was represented by the first generation of the urban Ezrachim (people like Dizengoff) and to some extent by the first generation of the rural Ezrachim (i.e. the farmers in the Moshavot; although it should be mentioned, that this concept was used originally in the urban context, and only at a later stage did its use become more widespread). The typical representatives, of this category were, however, Brit HaTzionim HaKlaliyim (General-Zionists B), with such leaders as Suprasky and Bogratschov. The "father figure" in this party was Ussishkin, but he was more than just a party leader in the Yishuv and the Zionist movement. Some of the veterans of the Revisionists, may also be included within this type. Revisionism clashed with Labour at least on two fronts. On the ideological front it rejected the whole concept of Socialist-Zionism, and by promoting a nationalistic ideology, it denied the right of the Labour movement in the Yishuv to become a political power, since all energy was to be devoted to the promotion of national goals, leaving no opportunity for class-struggle. On the concrete level, an intensive power conflict emerged very quickly. However, since this conflict is, according to our definition, one which characterises a "fully mobilised polity", it will be mentioned later.

The third type is represented by the Ezrachim proper, i.e. the "owners" and "employers"<sup>30</sup> in the private sector of the Yishuv's economy. Our discussion of the Ezrachim in Chapter 5 revealed the scope for internal fragmentation among the various groups in the "Burgerlich" camp, with the result that there was no unified leadership which could claim to represent the whole "camp". This applies even to the four mayors mentioned in Chapter 5.<sup>31</sup>

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29. Weizmann had a home in Palestine too, but his permanent place of residence was in Britain.

30. In the sense of the Lipset-Rokkan exposition.

31. See Ben-Gurion's letter addressed to Sharett and Mrs. Meir, (14th March 1948), in which he reported on his contacts with leaders of the Ezrachim concerning their representation in the Provisional Government. (This letter was published for the first time in Maariv, 3rd October 1971, on the occasion of Ben-Gurion's 85th birthday).

Finally, the fourth type is a very diversified one. Generally speaking, it included individuals and groups which in the first instance, did not identify with any of the above mentioned groups. Secondly, while identifying themselves both with the Yishuv and the Zionist movement, they maintained their own style, which was not always in accordance with the characteristic style of this polity. This applies on the one hand to a party like Aliya-Hadasha, and on the other to groups like Ichud and even independent individuals who to some extent became "institutions" in their own right (the most prominent among these was Pinchas Rutenberg<sup>32</sup>).

#### 6. The Class Conflict and the Yishuv/Zionist Context: Additional Remarks

The fragmentation among the "bourgeoisie" is a direct outcome of different backgrounds, social conditions and ideological-political orientations. Although in a certain respect they felt closer to each other than to the Labour movement, in many other cases some of them formed a common front with Labour. This is indeed an illustration of how the mechanism of "cross cutting cleavages" bridged what might have otherwise developed into a total break into separate political sectors. The controversy over "Jewish Labour" is a typical example in this context. Many individuals, who, according to their "class affiliation" alone should have objected to Labour's demands, in fact supported them, since their attitudes were motivated by "Zionist" considerations, rather than by "class" considerations in the narrow sense of the word. One can find, in this respect, a similarity between the dilemma which faced the Zionist bourgeoisie and the dilemma which faced the Jewish Labour movement in earlier stages, viz whether there was a place for co-operation with the "bourgeoisie" in a common nationalist movement.

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32. P. Rutenberg (1879-1942) was a unique phenomenon. Born in Russia, he became active in the Social-Revolutionary movement. He left Russia after the 1905 Revolution, and studied engineering in Italy. During the First World War he co-operated with Jabotinsky in the formation of the Jewish Battalions. He returned to Russia in 1917 (after the first revolution) but, not being a Bolshevik, he left and came to Palestine. In Palestine he did not join any political party. His major activity was the "electrifying" of Palestine. The whole project was his idea, and the Mandatory Government gave him a concession. He founded the Palestine Electricity Company, which supplied electricity to non-Jews as well (the company was nationalised after the establishment of the State). As head of this company, Rutenberg enjoyed a unique position in Palestine in general and in the Yishuv in particular. He tried several times to act as a mediator, in particular between Mapai and the Revisionists. In times of emergency, and when attempts were made at reconciliation in the Yishuv, he was called upon to take the post (created especially for him) of President of the Vaad-HaLeumi (1929-1940).

The results, however, were different in each case. Jewish workers in the diaspora, who considered affiliation to the Zionist movement as contradictory to the idea of "class conflict", did not take part in the process of society-building, and, therefore, remained outside the framework under discussion. The employers (in this case the farmers in the Moshavot) on the other hand, formed a part of the developing society. They faced, however, a situation in which they did not have the support of other groups which, according to a strictly "class situation" definition, were closer to them than to the Labour movement.

It seems, therefore, justified to distinguish between the concept of "class conflict" in an "ordinary" society, and "class conflict" in the case discussed in this study. Here, a working class emerged not as a result of changes inside the society, but as a part of the general process of the creation of this society. However, one can demonstrate the emergence of conflicting interests among the various units of the new society from its very early stages. Many of these conflicts can be presented within a class framework. These include conflicts between workers and employers concerning the institution of trade-union principles such as conditions of work, and recognition of workers' right to be organised in a union. At a different level, but within the same framework, were conflicts concerning political rights, such as the right to vote in elections to local government bodies such as municipal councils.

The problem which faced us was not, however, to deal with these conflicts as a subject in their own right, rather to deal with conflicts as they were reflected in the process of the growth of the polity in general, and political formations or parties in particular. In this respect, the emergence of the "Ezrachim" as a distinguished political group, vis-a-vis Labour as well as vis-a-vis the General-Zionist "bourgeoisie", seems to be a direct product of the internal class differentiation in the Yishuv. Diversified as they were, including urban as well as rural elements, "capitalists" as well as lower middle class elements, they managed to represent politically the private sector in the Yishuv's economy, and to be in power in the local government bodies of the large centres of Jewish population.

The relative separation between the "class conflict" in the Zionist framework, and that in the Yishuv's framework led to the situation in which the General-Zionists did not have power in the Yishuv, while the Ezrachim became marginal to the Zionist Organisation. The material

presented in Chapter 5, demonstrated their strength as well as their weak points. In fact, the institutionalisation of a unified party system oriented to one political centre, led to the disappearance of the "Ezrachim" from the political arena. Their elite, with the label of the General Zionists' Party, led the "economic protest" in the early fifties, which resulted in the achievements of the "General Zionists" in the early state period. However, the concept "Ezrachim" in the sense of the thirties and forties has disappeared from the political vocabulary of Israel. Its disappearance is an indication of a much basic change, both in the political position of the class of which the "Ezrachim" were composed, and in the patterns of political conflict in Israel. Moreover, the whole system of social hierarchy has become much more complicated. This fact does not yet seem to be reflected in the party-system as such, but it is reflected in the issues with which the polity has to cope. This topic cannot be elaborated here. The relationship between ethnic background and social hierarchy is one of the major components of this subject.

One can distinguish several stages and aspects in the class conflict in the Yishuv.

- 1) The formation of a workers' class and its development into an organised group with the formation of the Histadrut;
- 2) The adoption by the Zionist Organisation (not yet controlled by Labour) of "collectivist" policies, e.g. that the economic development of the Yishuv would not be solely left to private enterprise, but the Zionist Organisation with its "National Capital" would take a central part in the process of society building<sup>32a</sup> (see pp. 46-7);
- 3) The conflicts between the workers and employers on the right of the former to be employed by the "private sector" ("Jewish Labour" and "Organised Labour");
- 4) The emergence of the Labour movement as the central power in Zionism and the Yishuv, becoming responsible for the whole system of allocations by central organs (viz The Jewish Agency) of various resources (funds for development, immigration permits issued by the Mandatory Government, etc.). These allocations, the principles of which were agreed upon by the various Zionist parties, became integrated into the whole system of the Yishuv's "Verzuiling".

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<sup>32a</sup> See A. Ulitzur: HaHon HaLeumi U'Binyan HaAretz (Heb. National Capital and the Development of the Yishuv), Jerusalem, Keren-HaYesod, 1939, (English version, 1940).

Labour's achievements were a result of certain conditions within the Zionist Organisation and the Yishuv, viz:

- 1) The existence of non-Labour element who did not believe that there was any chance of success in society-building without "national capital" and organised effort, i.e. being dependent entirely on private initiative and the "profit motive";
- 2) The existence of Labour and pro-Labour elements in Zionist camps which did not define themselves as Labour (viz HaMizrachi and the General Zionists). The achievement of the Histadrut in gradually coming into terms with most other workers' organisation is important in this respect;
- 3) The fact that private capital in the Yishuv was not translated into political power within the Zionist Organisation.

The formation of their own power centres in the Yishuv did indeed give a certain bargaining power to the group of "owners and employers", but in the long range, especially with the establishment of the State, many of these power centres became (ordinary) components of the administrative and economic systems. This explains the transformation of the Ezrachim into a political party, viz their union with the General Zionists and the formation of a party of "capitalists" in Israel.

It is somewhat difficult to assess exactly the ultimate political "balance" of the Yishuv's private sector. Their withdrawal from Zionist activity and their ambivalent positions in the Organised Yishuv obviously caused problems to the "National Institutions". On the other hand, one can see at least two of their disadvantages:

- 1) The lagging behind of other groups in the sphere of "party-building";
- 2) In the last years before Independence, their "parochial" orientations made it easier for Mapai to develop from a "class"-party into a "national" party (i.e. a catch-all party). This is clearly reflected in the returns of the election to the First Knesset, in which Mapai scored 45 seats and the General-Zionist only 7.

Mapai's development into a "national party" also had another side to it, viz the split (1944) and the unification of the left-wing of the Zionist Labour movement (the formation of Mapam 1948). It took nearly ten years until the Zionist Labour movement again came to terms (Governmental coalitions) and twenty years until total unions and alignments were completed.

## 7. The "Organised Yishuv" as an Emerging Polity

The aim of this section is to continue the discussion of the basic cleavages, presented above, and to demonstrate how they were absorbed within the emerging social structure of the Yishuv, and consequently became reflected in its polity. It seems desirable at this stage to present a brief conclusion of the former discussion, and to supplement it with additional material concerning developments, not yet fully dealt with.

The application of concepts borrowed from Lipset and Rokkan, required the use of a much broader social framework than the Yishuv itself, in order to understand developments inside it. The Israeli party system was "inherited" from the Yishuv, but many of its elements did not have their origin in the Yishuv itself. They were absorbed into the Yishuv, "translated" into Yishuv concepts and gradually developed according to their own logic, which became integrated into that of the emerging institutional structure of the Yishuv itself.

It is therefore relevant, at this stage, to concentrate on the Yishuv as the major frame of analysis, and this is in accordance with an earlier statement that the "centre of gravity" of the Zionism/Yishuv polity was moving from the diaspora to the Yishuv.

Taking the Zionism/Yishuv polity as our point of departure, and analysing the Yishuv accordingly, one can distinguish three elements in the Yishuv. The first of these was composed of the groups and parties which were totally integrated into the polity. These groups in fact formed what was earlier referred to as the "Organised Yishuv". The second element was composed of groups which were totally outside the "Organised Yishuv" (besides Agudat-Israel; the present discussion deals with groups in the New Yishuv, which, to say the least, had very little in common with Agudat-Israel). The third element was composed of groups which were "in between", in other words, occupied a somewhat ambivalent position.

Generally speaking, one can take the election to the Fourth Assembly of Representatives (1944) as a technical indicator for defining the groups and parties which were inside the "Organised Yishuv". The "generous" proportional system of representation enable 18 lists of

candidates to secure representation<sup>33</sup> and a total of 181 members took their seats in this Assembly. With the exception of the Communists, who sought recognition by the Yishuv, but could not be considered at this stage at least, as an integral part of its polity (viz Yishuv/Zionism), the other 17 lists represented three "camps" in the Yishuv.

The first and largest of these was the Labour "camp" (Mapai, HaTnua-LeAchdut-HaAvoda, and a common list of HaShomer-HaTzair and Poalei-Tzion Smol).

The second "camp" was composed of the Zionist Religious parties (represented this time by five lists, two of which were composed of women).

The third "camp" was composed of the Zionist - Progressive element of the "bourgeoisie" and included the following parties: General Zionist A (under the name "The Democratic Centre"), HaOved HaTzioni<sup>34</sup>, Aliya-Hadasha, and a list of W.I.Z.O. (a middle-class Zionist Organisation of Women).

A fourth, residual "camp" can also be classified. It was composed of several groups:

- 1) individuals and groups which were within the "camp" of the Ezrachim, but still preferred to take part in the formal institutions of the Organised Yishuv (two lists);
- 2) A small splinter group of the Revisionist Party (one list);
- 3) Two Yemenite lists.

This election was officially boycotted by the Revisionists, the Ezrachim, the Sephardi Federation and General-Zionists B (the latter were represented in the Zionist Executive).

In the election to the 22nd Zionist Congress, two years later (1946) all the major lists which took part in the election to the Assembly of Representatives were represented, as well as the Revisionists and the (now united) General-Zionists. However, the Revisionist Party no longer controlled the I.Tz.L., as was revealed in the election to the First Knesset, while the General-Zionists' Party did not yet include the Ezrachim.

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33. Of these, 3 lists secured only 1 representative each, 2 lists secured 2 representatives each, and another 7 lists secured between 3 and 5 each. Mapai, on the other hand, secured 65 representatives.

34. In many respects this party could be listed in the Labour "camp". It formed an integral part of the Histadrut, and was a workers' party. At the same time, it was affiliated to General-Zionists A.



The conclusion which emerges, <sup>is</sup> that the Zionist/Yishuv polity was composed of the following "camps": Labour, Religious-Zionism and the so-called "Progressive" elements of the "bourgeoisie" (viz the powers which form the Coalition Government in Israel). The small Yemenite Federation was in a marginal position, some Zionist elements of the "bourgeoisie" as well as the Sephardi Federation were in an ambivalent position, while the Revisionists (in this case not the formal party but the supporters of I.Tz.L.) were entirely outside. The Ezrachim were somewhere in between the ambivalent position of General Zionists B and the total secession of the extreme nationalists, represented mainly by I.Tz.L. One should clearly distinguish, however, between these two elements. While the position of the Ezrachim may be explained by using concepts in the context of "The National Revolution" and "the Class Conflict", that of the Extreme Nationalists was a result of conflicts within a "totally mobilised polity", which led in the first stage to the secession of the Revisionists, under Jabotinsky, from the Zionist Organisation, and later to the nationalist-military secession of his followers in the Yishuv (I.Tz.L.).

As far as political and economic issues (e.g. in the sphere of "institutional expansion" were concerned, the Ezrachim and the Revisionists represented the opposite poles of the system<sup>35</sup>. In this respect the Ezrachim had allies within the "Organised Yishuv", who rejected Revisionism, and vice versa. The mechanism of "cross-cutting cleavages" is represented here once again, in this respect as one which avoided a total crystallisation of an alternative polity. Had such a polity come into existence, (it seems the original idea of Jabotinsky, when he left the Zionist Organisation<sup>\*</sup> was to mobilise the Jewish masses in the diaspora rather than to depend on the support of the Ezrachim), it might have posed many problems for members of the Yishuv/Zionist Polity, as to their political identity and affiliation. In particular, General Zionist B and HaMizrachi would have had to face this dilemma.

The cleavage which emerged within the Zionist Organisation as a result of Jabotinsky's call for a revision of Zionist policies is indeed a cleavage within a fully mobilised society. It emerged from within the

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35. See the discussion of this subject in the article by Dan Horowitz: A Pioneering Society or an Ordinary One (Heb. Op.cit.).

Zionist Organisation, or in other words, from within the emerging polity. This cleavage has been described in detail in Chapter 6, and there is no need for repetition here. The important fact which deserves attention is that it turned into a cleavage between Revisionism and the Labour movement.

One can also find in this cleavage elements of the class conflict, in the sense that Labour was faced with an additional obstacle and had to fight on an additional front. However, here the conflicts which had arisen between Mapai (or the Histadrut) and the Revisionists about "practical" questions such as allocation of labour to their members, and the way labour quotas should be allocated in general, often led employers to prefer Revisionist workers to members of the Histadrut. In many cases, the Histadrut reacted in a firm way, demanding that its labour exchange bureau be recognised by the employers.

The whole issue was known at that time, especially (the thirties) as the problem of "organised labour". Gradually, however, at the end of the thirties and the beginning of the forties, the shortage of labour became less and less acute in the Yishuv, while on the other hand most of the workers' organisations came to terms about a certain "key" (as it was called) for the allocation of labour among their members. A "united" Labour exchange bureau" was founded later, under the auspices of the Jewish Agency, which was joined gradually by all labour organisations (H.O.L. was the last to join). The Yishuv's version of "Verzuiling" was, therefore, applied gradually to the sphere of Labour too.

Although the antagonism between Labour and the Revisionists in the early thirties led to severe conflicts in the "labour market", the basic cleavage should obviously be defined in much broader terms. This has in fact been done throughout Chapter 6 of this study. The emergence of what may be called the "Revisionist Protest" led to an attempt to form a competitive polity. One should also distinguish in this respect between the Ezrachim and the Revisionists. The Ezrachim formed a coalition of various groups of the bourgeoisie within the Yishuv only, while the Revisionists formed a world-wide movement, with a branch in the Yishuv. This branch had its own patterns of growth, which in many spheres resembled those of other groups in the Yishuv (e.g. the developments within H.O.L.). The holocaust turned this branch in the Yishuv into a centre.

The developments in the world-wide Revisionist movement, in particular after its secession from the Zionist Organisation, have been referred to as an attempt to form a rival polity. When the world-wide Revisionist movement, viz the "New Zionist Organisation" had in fact ceased to exist (with the outbreak of World War II), its branch in the Yishuv was too weak to maintain the idea that it could be an alternative polity. Instead, its main efforts were concentrated in building its underground military set-up. Political conditions in Palestine in the mid-forties contributed to the development of the I.Tz.L. as a militant organisation. Conditions in the Yishuv, on the other hand, led to a situation in which the ability of the "National Institutions" to avoid the growth of I.Tz.L. was limited.

This cleavage in a "fully mobilised polity", thus originated with the emergence of Revisionism in the Zionist Organisation. Its second stage was the attempt to form an alternative polity. In its third stage it was transformed, under the social and political conditions of the Yishuv, into the military secession of the extreme underground organisations. One can add a fourth stage - the ending of the military secession and the transformation of I.Tz.L. into a political party, following the establishment of the State of Israel. This political party (Herut) is now in a bloc with the Liberals (the party which emerged out of the union between the Ezrachim and mainly the right wing of the General Zionists). Differences in background and tradition, may still be traced in this bloc.

#### 8. The "Sectorial" structure of the Yishuv and its Political Parties in its Transition to Statehood.

The crystallisation of the polity described above, and the position of the various elements which either composed it or contradicted it, took place in the last decade before the establishment of the State. While a general idea emerges about the developments which were required in order that the polity should become totally institutionalised, the composition of the polity did not reflect exactly the various crystallisations in the Yishuv which, concerning the non-Labour camp at least, were indeed cross-cutting. Chapter 5 has revealed the fragmentations among the bourgeoisie. Fragmentation existed among the Zionist-Religious parties also. First

of all, there was the division between a bourgeois religious party and a workers' religious party. This division was reinforced by the fact that one could also distinguish in each party a "right-wing" and a "left-wing". The growing co-operation between HaPoel-HaMizrachi and the Histadrut should not, therefore, be considered accidental. Members of HaPoel-HaMizrachi Kibbutzim, in particular, considered themselves closer to the Labour movement than to the Yishuv bourgeoisie, and in some cases even the Zionist Religious bourgeoisie. In the municipality of Tel-Aviv, on the other hand, the representative of HaMizrachi was a member of the "Burgerlich" bloc, the head of which was the Mayor, I. Rokach, who emerged in the late Mandatory period as the Leader of the Ezrachim<sup>36</sup>.

Using broad terms of classification, one can, therefore, distinguish five socio-political "sectors" in the Yishuv, especially in the late Mandatory years. The following discussion excludes two marginal groups, very different from one another, viz - traditional extreme orthodoxy and the Old Yishuv on the one hand and the anti-nationalist communists on the other. The five sectors were:

- 1) Labour, with the Histadrut as its organisational manifestation and Mapai (even after the split in 1944) as its majority party;
- 2) The secular Bourgeoisie, which was considerably fragmented, with parts of it co-operating with Labour either due to national motives, or for both national and social reasons;
- 3) The Religious elements, which were not as organised as Labour, but were nevertheless much more organised than the Bourgeoisie. Here too, the dilemma of co-operating or not co-operating with Labour existed, but was not reflected in such an extreme fragmentation as among the Bourgeoisie;

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36. These examples demonstrate the emergence of a complex network of relationships in the Yishuv. The best example is perhaps that of the Hagana itself, in which the Ezrachim took part. This important issue, which was itself very complicated, cannot be elaborated here. As to the methodological aspect, it seems to me that in this context it is relevant to consider such a complex network of relationships as a reflection of cross-cutting cleavages. See below, next note. For details concerning the terms under which Ezrachim and Labour co-operated in the political level of the Hagana, see: Y. Bauer's book (op.cit.). The matter is discussed in detail in several chapters of the next volume (Part 3) of "Sefer-Toldot-HaHagana" (op.cit.), not yet published. See also n. 75 and 81<sup>1/4</sup> chapter 4, and p. 251.

- 4) The Revisionists and their periphery. This camp was also quite diversified. I.Tz.L. recruited to its ranks people who had nothing directly to do with the original ideology of the Revisionist Party, but came rather from the socially (in many cases also ethnically) marginal groups in the Yishuv. On the other hand, there was the extreme nationalist bourgeois followers of Jabotinsky. In between were the younger and more militant groups viz. the graduates of Betar, and the I.Tz.L.
- 5) The various groups composed of Jews of non-European origin. These groups had their own federations, usually run by individuals who could be classified according to a socio-economic criterion as bourgeoisie, while the "masses" also occupied a marginal position within their own "ethnic groups". The "Oriental Jews" could by no means be considered a unified "camp", culturally, socially or politically, let alone organisationally.

One cannot, therefore, present five "hermetically sealed" sectors in the Yishuv society (the one relatively "closed" in this respect was the Agudist-Old Yishuv). First of all, there were groups and individuals who were "in between" in one way or another, e.g. HaOved-HaTzioni (Bourgeoisie-Labour), or to some extent the religious Kibbutzim (Religious "camp" - Labour); secondly, the sectors themselves were far from being homogeneous, and this fact made possible social, economic, cultural and/or political co-operation with individuals and groups of another sector (e.g. members of the left-wing of the Histadrut, HaShomer HaTzair Party, co-operated with members of the "bourgeoisie" in the Ichud Organisation); thirdly, taking these sectors as distinguished from one another, a system of accommodation emerged in the Yishuv, which served as a basis for various types of coalitions. The leading political coalition, i.e. that which was established in the "National Institutions", was one of these, but was of course the most important in the hierarchy of coalitions. There were also, however, various coalitions at other levels, and these formed to some extent a network of [complex] relationships<sup>37</sup>. Finally, there were various attempts, even among groups which were on opposite sides of the fence, to reach an agreement, or at least some modus vivendi.

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37. I would like to refrain from introducing at this stage an additional framework for analysis, and therefore avoid the use of concepts borrowed from this framework here and in the remainder of the study. Nevertheless, I would like to mention that what I have in mind in this context is the "Exchange" theories, developed mainly by G. Homans and P. Blau. See the references to their works in the Bibliography. (See also above, n.36).

These were either direct face to face negotiations, or with the assistance of mediators (who sometimes were the initiators) or sometimes entirely indirect contacts. One has in mind in particular in this context the various contacts between the Hagana, the "Organised Yishuv", or the Labour Movement on the one hand, and I.Tz.L. and the Revisionist Party on the other<sup>38</sup>.

Returning to the list of "sectors", an examination will now be made of how they were absorbed, via political parties, in the new polity which emerged with the transformation of the Yishuv into statehood:

1) The Labour socio-political sector:

- (a) In 1948/9 it was composed of two parties, Mapai and Mapam, the latter including HaShomer-HaTzair and LeAchdut-HaAvoda-Poalei-Tzion. Mapai, however, had already developed to some extent as a "catch-all" party.
- (b) Out of the thirteen ministers in the Provisional Government, four were members of Mapai (the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, the Foreign Minister, the Finance Minister and the Minister of Transport and Communications); two represented Mapam (Labour and Agriculture portfolios). There was as yet no portfolio of education in the Provisional Government.
- (c) Out of the thirty-seven members of the Provisional Parliament (including the ministers), 10 were Mapai members and 5 Mapam members.
- (d) At the first general election, Mapai secured 46 seats in the Knesset (out of 120) and Mapam 19. The First Coalition Government was composed of 12 ministers. Mapai had 7 ministers. Mapam remained in opposition.

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38. See, for instance: B. Katzenelson: "Sichot Im Jabotinsky BiStav 1939" (Heb. Conversations with Jabotinsky in the Autumn of 1939) Molad, Vol. 19, No. 146-147 (1960) pp. 438-447. Dr. Y. Slutzki, who published Katzenelson's manuscript added a short introduction, in which he reported on various other contacts. Dr. Slutzki's opening remark is "The relationships between the Activist Wing of the Labour Movement and Jabotinsky have not yet been fully studied".

## 2) The Bourgeoisie

- (a) The months preceding the Proclamation of Independence witnessed a union between the General Zionists and various Ezrachim groups on the one hand (this party retained the name General Zionists) and Aliya-Hadasha, HaOved HaTzioni and some elements which were once in General Zionist A on the other (The Progressive Party). These new formations were not yet entirely reflected in the composition of the Provisional Government and Parliament. These were still composed mainly according to former Yishuv/Zionist parties.
- (b) These parties had, altogether, three ministers in the Provisional Government. One was a member of Aliya-Hadasha (and later, the Progressives) and two were General-Zionists. Of these, one had been a member of General Zionist B and later a member of the General Zionists' Party in Israel, while the second had been a member of General-Zionist A and later withdrew from political life altogether.
- (c) Out of the 37 members of the Provisional Parliament, 8 represented these groups. There were as yet no "Ezrachim" among them, and using the older party definitions, 5 were General Zionists (4 of the former A party and 1 of the former B party), 1 was a member of Aliya-Hadasha, 1 W.I.Z.O. and 1 without a clear party affiliation (the Jewish Mayor of Jerusalem).
- (d) At the first general election, three lists secured representation in the Knesset, viz the General-Zionists - 7; the Progressives - 5 and W.I.Z.O. - 1; altogether 13 seats. Only the Progressives participated in the First Coalition Government (1 minister). The W.I.Z.O. representative usually backed the government, while the General Zionists were in opposition.

## 3) The Religious Sector

- (a) Basic changes in party organisation now took place, besides the (important) fact that Agudat-Israel joined the polity. There were, therefore, four religious parties, viz. HaPoel-HaMizrachi, HaMizrachi, Agudat-Israel and Pa'i.
- (b) In the Provisional Government there were three religious ministers, one for each of the first three parties mentioned above.

- (c) In the Provisional Parliament, there were 8 religious representatives - 3 for HaMizrachi, 2 for each of the other two parties represented in the government and 1 for Pa'i.
- (d) In the election to the First Knesset, all four religious parties presented a common list ("The United Religious Front"). which secured 16 seats. As a result of a pre-election arrangement among the parties, as to the order of names of the candidates on the list, 6 were members of HaPoel-HaMizrachi; 4 were members of HaMizrachi; 3 were members of Agudat-Israel and 3 of Pa'i. The whole "front" participated in the first coalition government, with the same representatives as in the Provisional one.

#### 4) The Revisionists

- (a) Up to the establishment of the State, and for some months afterwards, the I.Tz.L. was still a military organisation. Contacts were made with its leaders, in particular by the emerging authorities (not always with total success), in order to co-ordinate military and defence activities. The same also applies to Lehi. At the party-political level, the Revisionist Party was the official political instrument.
- (b-c) The Revisionist Party had 3 representatives in the Provisional Parliament, but was not represented in the Government.
- (d) In the first election, the newly established Herut Party, viz. the I.Tz.L. as a political party, secured 14 seats in the Knesset, and a list of HaLochamim (The Fighters, viz Lehi) secured 1 seat. HaLochamim did not contest any further elections, while most of the leaders of the defeated Revisionist Party later joined Herut. Some others joined the General Zionists. Herut did not participate in any Israeli coalition government until 1967 ("The Government of National Unity").

#### 5) The Ethnic Residual Sector

- (a-b-c) In the Provisional Parliament, there was 1 Sephardi member and 1 Yeménite. The Sephardi member was also a member of the Provisional Government.
- (d) In the election to the First Knesset, the Sephardi list secured 4 seats and the Yemenites 1. The Sephardi minister continued to serve in the government.



6) New Groups in the Polity

(a-b-c) As mentioned already, Agudat-Israel joined both the *provisional* government and parliament. The Communists joined the Provisional Parliament, with one representative.

(d) In the first general election, the Communists secured 4 seats. They did not participate in the government, nor have they done so in any other Israeli government since. Three Arab lists contested these elections, and one of these secured 2 seats. One can describe this fact in particular as symbolising the transformation of the Zionist/Yishuv polity into the Israeli one.

With this presentation, the circle is completed. The point of departure in Chapter 1 was the Israeli party-system in 1971, and with the crystallisation of the system by the time of the election to the First Knesset, the Yishuv/Zionist polity and its patterns of party-politics were transformed into a new one.

Party systems usually reflect old cleavages<sup>39</sup>. Some of these cleavages may become obsolete, while others are absorbed in the contemporary party-system based on what Lipset and Rokkan refer to as "the freezing of political alternatives"<sup>40</sup>. An institutionalised party-system is able to absorb new issues within its structure, either by turning them into additional issues in the political conflict, or by permitting new political formations (viz parties) to be formed within it. These new parties subsequently join the other parties in carrying on the activities defined as party-political. A properly institutionalised party-system is therefore one which proves itself capable of forming an interlinking system between the rulers and the ruled<sup>41</sup> and vice-versa. (One can insert the Eastonian "arrows" in this context). The polity in which such a system functions has to be differentiated in the sense that various ideologies and interests are being absorbed into it, and characterised by lack of a traditional ruling class and by dispersion of power. In other words, it must be a polity in which the rulers emerge out of "the people" and policies are

39. S.M. Lipset and S. Rokkan: op.cit. pp. 50-56.

40. ibid, p.54.

41. Agger, R.E. et al: The Rulers and the Ruled, New York, Wiley, 1964.

decided upon by elected formal institutions. The complex issues of legitimation<sup>42</sup> and capacity for mobilisation<sup>43</sup> are basic for the proper functioning of such a system, but the discussion of these general topics is out of context here.

The case of Israel, for the most part, seems to fit the generalisation concerning the "freezing of political alternatives", while the party system has demonstrated an enormous vitality in its functioning, in a society which has undergone and is still experiencing drastic changes. It is true that there have been many changes in the map of parties, e.g. the unification which formed the Mafdal; the split in Mapam in 1954, and in Mapai 11 years later; the reunion in Mapai (1969), this time with LeAchdut-HaAvoda returning to its mother party, together with the former Poalei-Tzion-Smol. Among the "Bourgeoisie" there was a union and later a split between the Progressives and General-Zionists; the Gahal bloc was formed. Even the Israeli Communist Party had its own split. The only parties which seem to have passed through the whole period without changes of this type are the Agudat-Israel parties. Even they, however, once or twice formed common lists in general elections while at other times preferred to contest the elections separately.

However, all these developments have proved to be not much more than what may be called "readjustments" within the system. One exception, which might have led to more drastic results, was the internal crisis in Mapai (1960/1) following the "Lavon Affair"<sup>44</sup>. However, even this most acute internal political crisis in the history of Israel has been finally brought under control. A drastic change in the system would have necessitated at least one of the following:

- 1) That entirely new powers, which did not exist in the Yishuv (either inside the emerging polity or outside it) would have emerged as real factors in the party-system;

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42. Besides the "classical" definitions and discussion of Weber, see also the very clear presentation by R.A. Dahl: Modern Political Analysis (2nd ed), Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1970, pp.41-42 as well as the detailed discussion in S.M. Lipset: The First New Nation, New York, Basic Books, 1963, Part 1.

43. K. Deutsch: "Social Mobilisation and Political Development" The American Political Science Review, Vol. 55 (1961), pp.493-514; J.P. Nettl: Political Mobilisation, London, Faber and Faber, 1967.

44. See the reference to the "Lavon Affair" in Chapter 1, and notes 40 and 43 in that chapter. See also the references to various additional books on this subject by Chassin and Horowitz (1961) and by Arieli (1965) in the Bibliography.

- 2) That the main characteristics of the system, viz the need for a coalition government and the central position of Mapai as the leading party, would have changed;
- 3) That "revolutionary" changes would have taken place within the major parties themselves, e.g. that a totally new elite would have gained control over the party;

Of these three, none has in fact occurred. There is some doubt as to whether the third possibility would have, by definition, been a change in the system. Here it really depends upon the type of change and the composition and orientations of the new elite, had such a change taken place. However, if one is permitted to approach the subjects in a somewhat lighter mood, it seems that there was only one "Iron Law" which was stronger than Michels' "Iron Law of Oligarchy", and this was the "Iron Law of Aging". Even in this case, however, it seems that "oligarchy" and "aging" have come to terms by instituting the mechanism of "inheritance". Things of course are not so simple, and the "struggle for inheritance" takes place, sometimes with a temporary "interregnum" being instituted while things are not yet stabilised. Several examples could be presented, such as the developments in Mafdal, following the passing away of its leader M. Ch. Shapiro (1970) and developments in Agudat-Israel, following the passing away of Rabbi Y.M. Levin (1971). These could be compared with the unexpected, but nevertheless not entirely surprising choice of Mrs. Meir as successor to Eshkol, following his sudden death (1969). However, all these interesting topics, relevant as they are for presenting an idea about internal mechanisms within the various parties, are outside the context of this study in so far as they call for further elaboration.

### 9. Some Problems of Accommodation in the Yishuv

The mechanism of "accommodation", in its various concrete manifestations, usually regulated relationships among the components of the "Organised Yishuv" and in some cases even vis-a-vis groups outside it. The coalition which governed the polity, viz the "National Institutions", was based upon some originally defined principles, according to which it could deal with various day-to-day issues concerning relations among the various participants.

The existence of various socio-political sectors, the aim of which, in this context, was to get their "share" as far as the resources of the Yishuv were concerned, is the starting point. These resources included among other things a potential of additional manpower (viz immigration permits), employment, housing and social services, funds for development (e.g. establishing rural settlements etc.). The background for some acute controversies in the Yishuv, such as the one concerning "Jewish Labour" and "Organised Labour", should by now be apparent. Moreover, by pursuing a certain policy in the sphere of immigration, the Jewish Agency (viz the Zionist Executive) could in fact "plan" the political composition of the Yishuv. The mechanism known as the "party-key" system was instituted in order to regulate relations among the main sectors at a "macro" level, and various units and divisions within each sector. Accordingly, each party in the Zionist Organisation received a certain quota according to criteria considered relevant in each issue. Similar arrangements were instituted when the "United Labour Exchange Bureau" came into existence. Here the relevant units were the various workers' organisations. During the thirties the "key system" and its by-product, the "queue procedure" became typical mechanisms regulating the relations between sectors, each sector having its share, and developing its internal "keys" and "queues" in respect to the various sub-units. One should be aware of the fact that not all sectors shared the same interests in every sphere, and the problem of priorities was a major issue in Zionist politics.

"The Key" and "The Queue" are indeed mechanisms of accommodation. Nevertheless, two results follow:

- 1) these groups which for one reason or another either had no direct interests in the various allocations, or were in conflict over basic issues (e.g. the Revisionists), did not take part in these arrangements<sup>45</sup>, while in the spheres which were under their control, they tried to preserve at least a certain monopoly;
- 2) the second result was that it made many individuals dependent upon a certain political formation. This dependence led to additional efforts by the various political formations to retain their manpower within their domain. A system of patronage had developed, which contributed to the development of <sup>the</sup> socio-political sectors, or sub-sectors, as relatively self-sufficient semi-communities. <sup>Within</sup> one such social unit, something like micro-society developed, including social and medical services, housing projects, sport and recreational organisations, elementary education systems, <sup>46</sup> styles of life etc. Not only a Kibbutz affiliated to HaShomer-HaTzair, but also an urban worker, could spend most of his life within the social environment of the party or organisation of which he was a member. This phenomenon, which has been described by some scholars as a new version of

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45. First large scale illegal immigration to Palestine (in the early thirties) was an enterprise of the Revisionists. Generally speaking, this was considered as a method of "activist" Zionism, but it was reinforced by the claims of the Revisionists that they had been discriminated against by the Jewish Agency, and had not received their adequate share of "certificates". As a first step, they boycotted the immigration offices of the Jewish Agency, with the possible idea of applying directly to the Mandatory Government for immigration permits. This was considered by the Zionist Executive as a breach of Zionist discipline. Another case of a breach of discipline was the fact that the Revisionists carried on an independent "foreign policy" while still members of the Zionist Organisation. All these issues were discussed in detail in the meetings of the Zionist Council (the "Actions Committee") in the years 1934 and 1935. The discipline issue was the final cause which led to the withdrawal of the Revisionists from the Zionist Organisation. (The minutes of the meeting of the Zionist Council in April 1934 and April 1935 were published in Hebrew. On immigration problems see also the publications of the Department of Immigration, The Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, during the same years. An account of this issue from a Revisionist point of view is to be found in Ch. Lazar: Af-Al-Pi, Sefer Aliya Bet (Heb.), Tel-Aviv, Machon Jabotinsky, 1956, esp. pp. 36-60.)
  46. In the framework of this study there is no place for a systematic full-scale analysis of all these spheres. Some of them, however, have been presented in the relevant contexts of the development and activities of various parties and organisations. See, for instance, the discussion of education in Chapter 7, Section 4 (see also n. 41 in that chapter).

feudalism (the concept "Verzuiling" seems to be a better one<sup>47</sup>), was by no means typical of the whole Yishuv, but characterised many of its components. Strong and organised sectors usually formed super-structures, and their representatives, viz the functionaries of their political parties, or of various parties according to the "key-system", represented them in the various general frameworks, common to more than one sector.

The "Organised Yishuv" may also be view<sup>ed</sup>, therefore, as<sup>a</sup> super-coalition of various sectors. It is self-evident that the more the sector developed the amount of activities and resources under its control, and the more it was organised and controlled by an efficient elite, the more powerful was the political party which dominated it. One has now to recall the description of the various sectors, presented in this study from various angles, in order to realise once again the key position which Mapai held in the Yishuv.

Mapai did not, however, enjoy a monopoly claim upon resources in the Yishuv or the Zionist Organisation, and it had to come to terms with partners. As far as the development of the Yishuv was concerned, the resources were either private ones, or those mobilised by the Zionist Organisation and allocated according to the "key-system". There were, however, spheres of activity which were confined to the Yishuv as such (maybe not as a principle, but just because the financial resources of

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47. This issue has already been mentioned earlier (Chapter 6, Sec. 5. See in particular n. 53). See the discussion in Amitai Etzioni: "Changes in the System: The Decline of Neo-Feudalism in Israel" in his Studies in Social Change, New York, Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1966, pp. 180-197; Aharon F. Klinberger: Society, Schools and Progress in Israel, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1969, pp. 98-102; 118-119; I have noted above (Ch. 6, n. 53) that the concept of "Verzuiling" is a better one for this context, although it is also not the ideal one. Conditions in the Yishuv were, after all, different from those in countries like the Netherlands and Belgium. The "sectors" (or "pillars") of the Yishuv Society did not share the same position and conditions. Accommodation in the Yishuv, had therefore its own logic. Moreover, the Yishuv lacked the legal framework of a state. See discussions of this concept in various contexts in R.A. Dahl (ed): Political Opposition in Western Democracies, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1966, Chs. 5 (Belgium, by V.R. Lorwin) and 6 (the Netherlands, by H. Daalder).

the Zionist Organisation were limited). The Vaad-Leumi could, as a statutory body, levy taxes, but only within a limited scope and for well defined purposes. Besides, as demonstrated earlier, many groups in the Yishuv did not submit themselves to the political control of the Vaad-Leumi. Nevertheless, various coalitions were formed by direct contacts between the Histadrut and the Ezrachim. While in the case of the Histadrut, it was clear that the backing power and the individuals acting on its behalf were usually representatives of Mapai, the representation of the Ezrachim in the coalition did not usually represent such a unified formation with internal mechanisms of control, reporting etc. As a result, Mapai was usually able to manoeuvre quite efficiently, and in cases which were important to it, to gain real control. A deeper analysis would require a fuller presentation, since there were several such cases. Only some of them will, therefore, be mentioned by name: (a) various funds for financing para-military formations in the Yishuv (such organisations as "Koffer HaYishuv" and "Magbit HaHitgaysut Ve'HaHaTzala"<sup>48</sup>); (b) an organisation for helping families of the Yishuv's political prisoners, detained by the British ("LaAsirenu"); (c) the Hagana itself, which was officially controlled by a parity of three representatives of the Histadrut and three representatives of the Ezrachim, with a chairman who was acceptable to both sides (see Ch. 4, n. 75, 81; Ch. 8, n. 36).

This was a relatively late arrangement, which was instituted in the early forties. Between 1930 and 1937 there were two Hagana Organisations, one affiliated mainly to the Histadrut and the other governed by a coalition of Revisionists, HaMizrachi and some Ezrachim. The union between the two, caused a split in the "right-wing" Hagana, which eventually led to the formation of I.Tz.L. Without going into the history of the Hagana, it is very interesting to note, from the point of view of coalition formation and cross-cutting cleavages, that HaMizrachi for instance co-operated with the Revisionists in the Hagana, while it was already in a coalition with Mapai in the Zionist Executive. On the other hand, with the merger in 1937, the Ezrachim co-operated with Mapai in the Hagana (and this co-operation continued through the whole period up to the establishment of Israel although, (1) the "HaGush HaEzrachi" in the Tel-Aviv municipality included a Revisionist councillor; (2) politically, the Revisionists and the Ezrachim were not interested in strengthening the authority of the "National Institutions", viz the stronghold of Mapai.

48. There are various reports in Hebrew on these funds, their activities and how they were formed (i.e. the "coalitions"), e.g. E. Harrussi (1950); M. Berger (1964; 1970). For details see the Bibliography.

The whole system of accommodation in the Yishuv was, indeed very complicated. The sectors differed from each other in many respects and arrangements were, in the last resort, a result of agreements without a binding legal power or a backing of an institutionalised political order. Nevertheless, in many cases the method proved itself as a practical one. Connected directly with the subject of this study, its details are not within the defined context. The discussion and examples presented above (and in various former chapters), were intended to present a general idea. Generally speaking, the system was based on four elements:

- 1) the development of parallel institutions for each sector (or in some cases, groupings of sectors);
- 2) Coming into terms as to "keys" for allocation of various resources among sectors and sub-sectors (and their members);
- 3) The emergence of a complicated network of relationships ("coalitions");
- 4) The existence of cross-cutting cleavages.

All these mechanisms did in fact reinforce the ultimate social and political identity of the Yishuv, bridged over various conflicts and avoided total splits. The most striking example in this respect is the conflict between the Hagana and the dissident organisation (I.Tz.L. and Lehi). There were many severe clashes, and there were moments in which an internal civil war was on the threshold. Nevertheless, this radical development has never been realised.

#### 10. The Emergence of a Predominant Party

The unique position of Mapai (now the Labour Party) in the system is a result of various factors, most of which have been mentioned in one way or another in the course of this study. A glance at the map of parties in the State of Israel, as well as in the Zionist congresses and "Knesset-Israel" since the thirties, reveals the practical fact that no "winning-coalition" can be formed without Mapai, since this would mean that totally conflicting powers would have to come to terms. Even before the emergence of Mapai as the largest party, it was already realised that this party controlled "strategic" positions in the emerging society, which were vital to the whole Zionist enterprise. Jabotinsky's biographer, a prominent Revisionist leader himself, explained this situation very



clearly. After describing the vote of no-confidence in Weizmann at the 17th Congress, in which Mapai was the main supporter of the deposed leader, he discusses the possibility emerging for the first time, that a coalition composed of Weizmann's opponents would be formed, either with or without Jabotinsky as president. All those who voted against Weizmann, viz the Revisionists, HaMizrachi and the majority of the General Zionists, commanded a majority in the congress. However, no such coalition was formed, and instead an aging Zionist leader and colleague of Weizmann (Sokolov) was elected as President, and a Mapai leader (Arlosoroff) was elected as Head of the Political Department in Jerusalem. It was, indeed, a "Weizmann's executive without Weizmann". Weizmann himself was re-elected as President four years later (1935). The important fact here, however, is that although Mapai was defeated in the vote of no-confidence in Weizmann (the Revisionists, on the other hand, were defeated in the vote concerning the "ultimate goal" of Zionism - see Ch.6), Mapai's emergence to a position of hegemony in the Zionist/Yishuv polity started with this congress. Jabotinsky's biographer writes<sup>49</sup>:

"In an article published a short time after the congress in New Palestine, Dr. Schwarzbart (General Zionist Leader-OS) admitted that for a while the possibility of forming an executive composed of the Revisionists, HaMizrachi and a large group of General Zionists had been considered. This idea was, however, deliberately given up. Dr. Stephen Wise (American Zionist leader - OS) published in the same issue a report of the congress, in which he explained the reasons for this step.... (the idea) was rejected in order to avoid a Zionist government or executive in which the leaders of the masses of workers in Palestine would not have been included. (underlining mine - OS).

In other words, this information proves that what mattered was not just the question of numbers of votes in the congress, but also that of the "facts in the field". The "facts in the field" were composed to a large extent of the Labour enterprise in the Yishuv, later translated into numbers of delegates to the Zionist congresses too.

The General Zionist (and diaspora Zionist) leaders were not ready in their relationship with Mapai to go beyond a certain limit, since they evidently realised that this would lead to an open conflict between the emerging powerful sector in the Yishuv which had to a large extent been the symbol of the realisation of Zionism, and Zionism as a world (and in

49. This quoted paragraph is a translation from the Hebrew edition (Tel-Aviv Karni, 1959, Vol.2, p.202). For reasons unclear to me, it is not included in the English one (J.B. Schechtman: Fighter and Prophet, op.cit) although the whole issue is mentioned there (pp. 147-154).

fact still mainly a diaspora) Jewish Organisation<sup>50</sup>. The years 1931-35, were transitional years in the history of the polity, and with the consolidation of the power of Mapai and the return of Weizmann to presidency, a coalition dominated in fact by Mapai was formed<sup>51</sup>.

The coalition in the Zionist Executive, which reflected Mapai's position in the Zionist/Yishuv polity, served on the other hand as an instrument for strengthening Mapai's position at authority level. Backed by Weizmann, it became the core of this authority, with the other partners slightly outnumbering it, but divided among themselves into several political formations, with some General Zionists in the original sense of the term among them. It is no wonder, therefore, that gradually the Zionist Executive (and the Jewish Agency) became de-facto identified with Mapai.

From the point of view of Mapai, this situation turned it gradually into a "polity within a polity", in the sense that decisions taken inside Mapai became the "binding decisions" of "National Institutions". As a diversified party, Mapai has never become monolithic or doctrinaire. In fact, its critics from the left (HaShomer-HaTzair, Poalei-Tzion, and later the splinter group which formed the new and short-lived party of HaTnua-LeAchdut-HaAvoda) used to criticise it for being, among other things, a "reformist" party, viz a pragmatic one. Both HaShomer-HaTzair and LeAchdut-HaAvoda were, in fact, during the whole period under discussion (viz the "forties" in particular) dependent upon Mapai, since it was the dominant party in the Yishuv/Zionist polity and the majority party in the Histadrut. Their attempts to reduce Mapai to the "largest minority party" in the 1944 Histadrut election failed, and both parties had no alternative in the Yishuv to their links with Mapai. Thus because it was the majority party in the Labour sector and because the Labour sector was the central power in the "Organised Yishuv", Mapai succeeded in maintaining its dominant position even if in particular cases it did not secure total support.

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50. This case, by the way, may serve as an interesting illustration in the context of coalition-formation. The validity of theories based on simple "zero-sum" calculations (presented usually with the use of somewhat complicated mathematical formulas), and leading to a "minimal winning coalition" is being questioned here. The diaspora Zionist leaders were worried, indeed, that a "winning coalition" in the technical sense of the word (viz one which could receive the support of more than 50% of the delegates to the congress - see in this context especially the paper by Jerome M. Chertkoff: "Sociopsychological Theories and Research on Coalition Formation" in S. Groenning et al: The Study of Coalition Behavior op.cit., pp. 297-322) would clash with reality.

51. See following page

One such famous case goes back to a somewhat earlier period, when Ben-Gurion, backed by the party top leadership came to terms with Jabotinsky on problems of Labour and the regulation of relationships between the Histadrut and H.O.L. This "Ben-Gurion - Jabotinsky pact" was presented to a referendum in the Histadrut<sup>52</sup> (the only referendum held in the Yishuv by a large scale organisation), but was rejected by the majority, which consisted at that time mainly of Mapai members themselves. It seems that the lesson of this referendum was learned, viz to find a way for settling matters first of all within "the party", and once the backing of the party is ensured, to present problems to wider forums. Such was the case as regards several important decisions of later years viz -

- (a) the readiness to negotiate with the British Government on the partition of Palestine, following the report of the Peel Commission (1936);
- (b) the acceptance of the "Biltmore plan";
- (c) the "activist" policy against the British (1946), etc.

All these problems caused internal cleavages within Mapai, but it proved itself strong enough to reach a decision which became binding in the first instance within the party, and later to mobilise the support required. In this respect the fact that the Revisionists, for

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51. D. Ben-Gurion, who became Chairman of the Executive, is not always a reliable source for students of history and politics. However, his description of the process of the coalition-formation in 1935 is illuminating, and reveals all his tactics and considerations. This description appears in long letters sent to his children, who were still young teenagers. One who reads these letters now, gets the impression that they were in fact addressed to a future historian. They are published in the book - D. Ben-Gurion: Michtavim LePaula (Heb. Letters to Paula - his wife - to be published shortly in English: London, Vallentine-Mitchell) Tel-Aviv, Am Oved, 1968, pp. 96-117. Ben-Gurion deliberately preferred a wider coalition in which Mapai was technically a minority, to a narrower one (still a "winning coalition" in which Mapai could form a majority. This approach of a practising politician, totally negates the various hypotheses of the theoreticians - Riker, Gamson and others (see p.6, n.9). As to the results of Ben-Gurion's tactics, the fact that Mapai has been in power since, and has emerged as the majority party in all Israeli coalitions after the institutionalisation of the polity (viz the integration of Agudat-Israel, the Revisionists - I.Tz.L.- and the Ezrachim into it), speaks for itself.
52. Following its rejection, by a very narrow majority, in the Mapai 3rd Conference (1935), the leadership of the second echelon in towns and of HaKibbutz - HaMeuchad voted against the ratification of the agreement.

instance, were outside the framework of the "Organised Yishuv", made it easier for Mapai to ensure the support of the majority of this polity for its policies. On the other hand, this fact evidently led to problems emerging out of the relationships between the "Organised Yishuv" and the Revisionists, in particular with the I.Tz.L. Mapai, however, usually had the "Organised Yishuv" behind it. The situation can be summed up by recognising the advantages which Mapai secured from being in the first instance a "giant" among much smaller parties in a certain coalition, and later representing this coalition in wider frameworks. On the other hand, Mapai itself became, as has just been mentioned, something like a "mini-polity" as far as decisions on basic issues were concerned. The problem of policies concerning the British between the Second World War and 1947 have just been mentioned as an illustration. The issue was also raised in earlier chapters, in different contexts, (e.g. Ch. 4, Sec. 3,4; see also note 74 there), and references to what was called "The Struggle" were made. One can find within Mapai representatives of nearly all shades of opinion - from those who thought that the Yishuv should fight the British, to those who were moderates in the sense that they did not want the achievements up to date to be put in jeopardy, or thought that a struggle which involved the use of violence contradicted the spirit of Zionism.

This split of opinion cut across the party from the leadership to the grass roots. For a time it led to the formation of two "camps" in which, as it happened, the leaders of the former Achdut-HaAvoda (of the twenties), Ben-Gurion and Mrs. Meir among them, were among the "activists", while the leaders of the former HaPoel-HaTzair (Sprintzak, Kaplan) were among the "moderates". "Activist" orientations in Mapai go back at least to the very early forties with the "activists" acting as an informal group under the leadership of B. Katzenelson. The old guard of "HaPoel-HaTzair" also formed an informal group, led by Sprintzak, Kaplan and Lavon (Lubyaniker)<sup>53</sup>.

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53. In an earlier stage, the activists started publishing two periodicals, edited by E. Libenstein (now Livneh) - "Milchamtem" and "Eshnav". See, for instance, a series of articles by Libenstein in his brochure: Im HaVikuach HaTzioni, Tel-Aviv, Am-Oved, 1944. The "moderates" published a collection of articles LeBchinat HaDerech (1946). See the details in the Bibliography. A special conference of Mapai (the Sixth Conference, 1946, was convened in order to discuss this issue).

This issue, as well as many others, cut across the whole polity and one can find various opinions in several parties. Once a decision has been made inside Mapai, and the Party became totally committed to the pursuit of a certain policy, it could assume that it would have the support of enough other units within the polity to secure a majority. This is in fact a somewhat later development, which became evident during the 'forties, or maybe the late 'thirties. In this respect, it seems evident that controversies and conflicts became "accommodated" within the parties. 17

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This study has dealt with a subject, the scope of which is very broad. However, an attempt has been made to present a considerable amount of material without departing from the basic theme, viz. that Israel's parties are products of an emerging society which was itself, generally speaking, a product of a nationalist movement - the Zionist movement. Various cleavages which preceded the emergence of the Zionist movement, as well as cleavages which emerged within it, had their impact upon the development and the structure of the new society. Analysing the American experience, Chambers claims that parties in the proper sense of the concept, did not exist in the early American State<sup>54</sup>. The same is also true to an extent in the context of the Yishuv, although the political formations during the Yishuv period were of a different type from that of the early American political formations (see the last section of Chapter 3 in this study). Chambers rightly states that "the first task was to fix workable patterns of legitimacy and authority in the new polity, under which the conflict of interests and opinions could go on within a larger national unity."<sup>55</sup> This study has demonstrated that the

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54. William N. Chambers: Political Parties in a New Nation: The American Experience 1776-1809, New York, Oxford University Press, 1963, p.26.

55. ibid, p.11.

problems of "fixing workable patterns of legitimacy and authority" were interwoven with the basic problem of creating a polity within a society which was then in the process of being formed under unique conditions. However, social and political developments led to the gradual emergence of a polity which proved itself able to create a state and be absorbed within its framework.

In a similar context, Lipset discusses "The crisis of Legitimacy and the role of the Charismatic leader"<sup>56</sup>. One could follow this approach and present further material demonstrating the transition of a not yet fully institutionalised polity, the history of which includes many cases indicating a "crisis of legitimacy", into a relatively stable and properly functioning one. This transition was carried on under the leadership of an individual (Ben-Gurion) whose position in the polity could by no means be defined as ordinary. The first years of statehood have witnessed many developments, most of them resulting from his policies, which have led to changes both in the conditions out of which the polity and its party-system emerged, and in the structure which served as a basis for the system of accommodation in the Yishuv. However, one can still find many traces of the Yishuv tradition in Israeli politics, and society at large. In this respect, Israel presents a combination of a system based on "Verzuiling" on the one hand, and a predominant party on the other hand. Its case, however, deviates in several respects, from the definitions given to both "Verzuiling" politics and to a system characterised by a predominant party. The fact that Mapai has succeeded in maintaining its position as the dominant power in the transition from "Organised Yishuv" to an institutionalised polity, is a central one for the understanding of the relationship between these two types of polities.

Returns of the election to the First Knesset demonstrate that the Labour sector itself received more than 50% of the vote cast and secured more than 50% of the seats. Moreover, it was composed of the dominant and largest party in the polity and the second largest party at that time (the United Mapam). The Labour sector itself could, therefore, form a

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56. S.M. Lipset: The First New Nation (op.cit.) pp. 16-22.

coalition government without requiring any other partners. This was not done due to the severe differences of opinion between Mapai and Mapam with regard to problems of foreign and internal policies alike. Parts of the 1949 Mapam ("LeAchdut-HaAvoda") later returned to Mapai (Labour), while the smaller Mapam now co-operates with Mapai (Labour) in the alignment. Mapai had no difficulties in forming a coalition-government with its "traditional partners" (viz. Religious-Zionist and the powers then represented by the Progressive Party in particular).

Although Mapam was the largest opposition party in the First Knesset, it could not present an alternative "winning coalition" to that of Mapai; neither could any other party. The unique position of Mapai in the Israeli polity is to be attributed to various factors, discussed throughout this study. Moreover, the "method" whereby these factors were gradually combined together (viz. the "co-relation" between its "Yishuv" and "Zionist" orientations, and the development of the Labour enterprise in the Yishuv as its basis of power in the Zionist Organisation; its internal strength; its control of the Histadrut; its place in the "map of parties"; its pragmatic approach, enabling it to become a "catch-all" party, etc.) played an important part in the rise of Mapai and its efficient leadership to a unique position of power.

One should also take into consideration the weaknesses of the other parties. The fact is that in comparison to all other parties which could (hypothetically) challenge its position, Mapai was also the one which was the most "ready" for changes in the position and functions of the polity, both in its general orientations and in its organisation and structure. A comparison of returns of elections to Zionist congresses in the Yishuv with those of elections within the general frameworks of the Yishuv itself (especially when these were not boycotted by "right-wing" groups) reveals that Mapai secured a larger (sometimes much larger) percentage in the representation of the Yishuv in the Zionist Organisation, than within various general Yishuv bodies themselves. Even if one assumes that other powers in the Yishuv could not, for one reason or another, form an alternative stable "winning coalition", one cannot yet avoid the conclusion that the emergence of Mapai to its position in the polity, is related to the fact that during the 'thirties it became the Majority, and

not only the largest party in the Yishuv's representation to the Zionist congresses. One is, therefore, justified in suggesting that the Revisionists' hostility (or perhaps wrong tactics) and the Ezrachim's apathy, contributed their share to the emergence of Mapai.



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This Bibliography is "selected" in the sense that its Hebrew section contains mainly books and papers explicitly referred to in the text or the notes. Only very few items have been added, in order to keep internal composition, or to draw attention to certain publications.

The English section is somewhat broader, although here too many items have had to be omitted. All books translated from Hebrew to English, are mentioned only in the English section.

The third section, "Theoretical Works and Case-Studies", again includes mainly books mentioned in the text or notes. It is by no means a general bibliography of the material in this field.

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