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CULTURE AND CONFLICT IN ISRAEL

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
At the University of Louisville
Department of Sociology

by

Mrs. Hannah Scoggin

ii

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PREFACE

Times Square went mad with noise and excitement, and a small freighter slipped from its Brooklyn berth into the drama of the night. It was December 31, 1949--midnight--January 1, 1950; and I was on my way to the world in general and Israel and the Near East in particular.

To say the words Near East, to hear them spoken, to read the combination of Latin letters, even to think them fleetingly can conjure up for me a haze of incense-tinged dreams in which I see exotic sights, breathe pungent odours, and hear mysterious sounds. The Near East is all this and more. It reeks of intrigue, passion, idealism, sweat, blood, mysticism, laughter, romance, tension, eternal values. One is aware of these elements at times and in places, individually or in combination; and after only a few hours in the Near East one is aware of the presence of one of these factors all the time and in every place--TENSION. The tension may be political, it may be religious, or it may be social; more often than not there is an intermingling.

I lived in Israel almost five years with time out for a trip or two to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, a jaunt or two to the Continent, and a stop or two in North Africa. Part of that time Jerusalem was the home base, part of the time it was Nazareth. Belonging to that school of thought

"while in Rome do as . . .," Hebrew and Arabic became more important than English, and a tiyul (junket to some part of the country) more important than an embassy tea.

Hebrew, I studied formally with a private teacher and at the Hebrew University and informally with the green-grocer and the metalsmith and at wonderful sessions over a cup of fragrant thick coffee where ideas were presented and defended. Vulgar Arabic (colloquial, that is) I learned parrot-style; classical Arabic I studied in Nazareth whose population was some 98 per cent Arab.

The junkets took me to various parts of the country: ultra-modern cities, biblical towns, ma'abarot (transient camps), kibbutzim (communal villages), sheikdoms, collective villages, outposts, and ancient ruins.

In every experience there was an awareness of tension.

During university days I learned to view tension, its causes and effects, as social phenomena; and the field of social tension became a major interest in my thinking. It was quite natural, therefore, that living in an area where tension wore little disguise it should compel my attention. My information came as the result of interviews formal and informal, the addition of scores of new books to my personal library, the collection of clippings, mounds of magazines, newspapers and bulletins, and my personal and sometimes undecipherable notations of "on the scene" experiences.

Some explanations with regard to certain materials given in the text are in order. The terms Near East and

Middle East are used interchangeably. They may be construed to mean the same general area.

Exceptions to the hereindescribed Islamic culture are to be found in the large cities where culture diffusion is in process, many of its inhabitants having had European contact. These cities, however, are not typical of Oriental countries any more than Paris is typical of France or New York typical of the United States.

With sincere emotion I would express words of appreciation to my Israeli friends, both Arabs and Jews, who gave me gifts of themselves and knowledge of their cultural beings; to Dr. Robert I. Kutak, Head of the Department of Sociology of the University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky, for his encouragement, help, and steadfastness; to the University of Louisville whose scholarships made much of my education possible and to the Faculty thereof who made it probable; to my twelve-year-old daughter who washed a thousand dishes while I typed ten thousand words; and to my husband--gentleman, scholar, and husband par excellence.

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INTRODUCTION

In the preface to his book Middle East Tensions, S. A. Morrison, who has lived most of his life in the Middle East, attributes the intense emotional stress in that area of the world to two all-inclusive factors--the immediate cause lying in "the policies of the Western Powers from the time of the first world war onwards,"¹ and the deeper cause lying "in the penetration during the nineteenth century of a rigid, conservative, and formalized state of society by the forces of western culture at once life-giving and destructive."²

In an area of the world where there is no individual identification for the political, economic, social, or religious structure, one such factor cannot be isolated as the tension-causing factor, for all of these aspects of the culture are indissolubly bound up together. A missionary's Bible, the secret ballot, or a diesel engine may individually comprise a threat to the total structure of a community, a province, and a state.

Israel, defined politically and culturally as a Western-type state, in its physical proximity to the traditional Middle East exists as a possible causal factor in the

¹S. A. Morrison, Middle East Tensions (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1954), p. 7.

²Ibid., p. 7.

larger volcanic situation of cultural conflict in the Middle East. On a smaller scale, however, Israel provides within itself the near-perfect laboratory for a close-up study of East-West culture conflict.

Modern Israel's very existence, its *raison d'être*, is one that precludes homogeneity. Having dedicated itself to the task of gathering the Jewish people from all the lands of their dispersion, Israel contains a heterogeneity of culture and a wide range in levels of development. This diversity of population resolves itself into two loosely defined differing and culture conflicting groups--Oriental or Eastern and Euro-western.

In this drama of tension, the Euro-western group occupies the role of the established culture which is threatened by an incompatible culture carried by the Oriental group. Israel, the Western isle in an Oriental sea, has experienced the onslaught of Oriental migration waves of such intensity and propensity as to threaten her very Western existence.

Israel in its beginning was an Oriental people in an Oriental land. Successive political tragedies and opportunities dispersed the people to various parts of the earth and among peoples of diverse culture forms. Out of a progression of grafting influences--Greco-Roman Hellenism, Oriental Talmudism, Maimonidean Secularism, Talmudic Scholasticism, European Ghettoism, Secular Scholasticism, Cultural Nationalism, and Hebrew Ethno-centrism--the shoot which had its inception

in an Oriental trunk developed into a main stem and produced the fruits of Euro-western culture. The main trunk gave forth its kind, a bough whose branches experienced differing influences of Talmudism, Cabala, Feudalism, Missianism, Sephardic Talmudism, Qarism, Oriental Ghettoism and produced variations of Oriental culture.

For more than two thousand years Jews have lived within a unique connotation--a diaspora. As a people they became differentiated politically, culturally, religiously, intellectually, and even traditionally except for the tradition that they are a "people." In the thinking of many they continued through the centuries to be a people identified with a particular wedge of land on the eastern Mediterranean coast--Palestine-Israel.

With highly emotive ideas of a revived Hebrew nationalism based on Euro-westernisms, thousands came from Europe to establish Western culture patterns in Palestine. Refugees from the Nazi holocaust and the uncertainties of communism heavily augmented Euro-western forms. However, the establishment of the modern State of Israel and its declared objective of "the ingathering of the exiles" brought an influx of Oriental immigrants who were culture carriers for complexes of Oriental feudalism.

The tension arising out of the contact and conflict of these two opposing cultures created problems so acute that in June of 1954 David Ben Gurion--then retired Prime Minister--since called out of retirement to again serve Israel in this

capacity--said in a public address in Tel Aviv that the greatest domestic problem facing Israel lay in the existence of two "nations"--those who settled in the country before 1948 (the Euro-westerners) and those who came after (the Orientals).

In this paper I have sought to present the background as well as the foreground of the cultural conflict in Israel. The greatest value for studies in acculturation, however, lies in the last chapter which outlines aspects of the contrasting cultures and focuses on conflict at specific points of contact.

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN AND FORMATION OF A PEOPLE

Biblical Account

In the beginning.--To a new star bursting into view after a long sojourn in yet-unknown space is compared the "beginning" of the Hebrew people. The biblical account portrays in beautiful epic form the traditional story of the origin of the Hebrew people. An oriental-type narrative, it unfolds in that crescent-shaped bit of earth, historically known as the Fertile Crescent, that extends from Mesopotamia to Egypt. There one Abram (later called Abraham), having been commanded by God, migrated from Ur of the Chaldees in the land between the two great rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, to Canaan, the land of God's promising. Hebron, in the southern part of Canaan, was the site selected by the tribal chieftain, Abraham; there his tribe-family settled, and there they prospered and increased. Although on friendly terms with the other peoples of Canaan, they carefully avoided intermarriage and on occasion sent into another land to find mates among their kinsmen.¹

Canaan and Egypt.--Famine fell upon the land of Canaan during the days of Jacob, grandson of Abraham. Joseph, a son

¹Genesis 24:4.

of Jacob who had attained a semi-regal position in Egypt, urged his father to migrate to Egypt with all his tribe. Living in the rich delta region and enjoying the abundance of Egypt, Jacob¹ grew to great proportions.

But then disaster engulfed the Hebrews, for there arose in Egypt a Pharoah who "knew not Joseph";² and from a position of glory they were reduced to a state of virtual servitude. Tradition places this suffering-in-slavery within a period of four hundred years. A deliverer arose, one Moses, who being commanded by God animated and fired the Hebrews with the desire to escape from Egypt and once again return unto the Promised Land of their fathers.

A Hebrew "people."--The experience of the Exodus became a basic force in welding these nomads into a "people." It was to a people at Sinai that God gave, through Moses, the Law; and it was as a people, under the leadership of Joshua, that the land of Canaan was conquered and divided among the then-existing twelve tribes.

During the next six centuries, tribal identifications weakened as national identifications strengthened. A Hebrew nation developed and under the leadership of Judges and the rule of Kings became more completely welded into a people and a nation. The Age of David and his son and successor, Solomon, is considered "The Golden Age"--the highest point

¹Individual characters used as projection of entire tribe.

²Exodus 1:8.

in the history of the Hebrew people in a Hebrew land.

Historical Account

The biblical account is fascinating and enthralling; and because it is based greatly upon tradition, it is to some extent historical. Yet not completely so. It is necessary, therefore, to turn to additional evidence in order to add historicity to an interesting narrative. Evidence concerning the absolute origin of the Hebrew people is neither final nor complete. However, the application of historical research as well as the increasing number of sciences¹ and their increasing exactitude make it possible to delve more minutely into the problem at hand and add clearness and distinctness to the portrayal of an event occurring in space and time.

Migration waves.--The period around 2000 B.C. was characterized by large population movements within the Near East. As a consequence there was continual conflicting of one people with another resulting in their frequently changing status. The Hurrians overflowed the Caucasian highlands and infiltrated into northern and southern Mesopotamia and Canaan to the borders of Egypt.² A few centuries later great waves of peoples known as Hyksos ("rulers of the foreign

¹Among them archeology, philology, ethnology.

²Hurrian texts have been found at Mari in Mesopotamia, at Ras Shamra in Syria, at Tanaach in Palestine (Canaan). Hurrian names appear in the Old Testament, and the people themselves (Horites or Hori) are mentioned. Jack Finegan, Light from the Ancient Past (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 41 ff.

lands--the desert"¹) invaded Egypt in successive waves. It is well to note here that the name Hyksos is not an ethnic one but rather a descriptive one given to a conglomerate mass of heterogeneous elements. The Hyksos ruled Egypt until during the reign of Amosis, at which time the Egyptians drove them out of Egypt and back into the lands from whence they came. With the same stroke the Egyptians gained for themselves a great empire of vassal kingdoms spreading throughout the Fertile Crescent to the Euphrates River.

The two major migratory waves (Hurrian and Hyksos), supplemented by minor migrations,² added greatly to the already existent complexity of the ethnic stocks that made up the peoples known as Semites. Amid this conglomerate churning of heterogeneous nationalities rapidly interfusing, the Hebrew people were born.

Apiru in Egypt, Habiru in Canaan.---At this point in history the Old Testament introduces Abram, the dweller in Ur of the Chaldees. Commanded by God to migrate "unto a land that I will shew thee,"³ Abram and family make their nomadic way to northern Mesopotamia, Haran, Aleppo, Damascus, Canaan, Egypt and back to Canaan.⁴ There he is called Abram,

¹Theophile James Meek, Hebrew Origins (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936), p. 5.

²The Gutians into Mesopotamia, the Elamites from the Zagros Mountains in the east, the Amorites from the west. Finegan, op. cit., pp. 41 ff.

³Genesis 12:1.

⁴J. McKee Adams, Biblical Backgrounds (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1934), Map: The Journey of Abraham, p. 24.

the Hebrew; 'גִּזְרֵי מִדְבָּר; Avram ha 'Ivri; Abram the crosser from place to place, the transient, the nomad.¹

The Habiru (phonetic cuneiform for ivri, ibri) are found in "cuneiform literature from one end of the Near East to the other, from the twentieth century [B.C.] down to the eleventh [B.C.]."² They are found in Egyptian literature as Apiru.³ These Habiru (or Apiru), wherever found, are clearly described or inferred to be aliens, wanderers, adventurers, men without a country; and as such they appear all over the Near East,⁴ never distinctly connected with a country of their own. They seem to have moved from land to land with the greatest facility; and this nomadism gained for them the appellative 'Ivri with no ethnic connotation whatever. Later it becomes a gentilic⁵ and then specifically the ethnic name of a group of people known as the Hebrews.

The 'Ivrim (plural form) were a part of the Hurrian migration to the west, with Abraham among the migratory movements to Canaan, the proto-type in early patriarchal narratives. The Hyksos avalanche from the north followed on the

¹Genesis 14:13.

²Meek, op. cit., p. 7.

³Ibid., p. 12.

⁴Archaeological evidence: Akkadian texts from Hurrian city of Nuzi; Egyptian texts, Stele of Seti I; Ugaritic texts from Ras Shamra in Syria.

⁵The gentilic ending was added to the name of a "people". The usual procedure is geographical identification, e.g. America--American.

heels of the Hurrian invasion sweeping some of these adventurers, these 'Ivrim, into Egypt. Abraham (tribe projection) himself goes to Egypt, and in one of the later waves all the family of Joseph migrate there.

In Egypt the Hebrews grew and prospered under the propitious circumstances and a benevolent government, but inscriptions of the nineteenth dynasty¹ record disaster in accord with the biblical narrative. Once more the nomadic spirit of the Hebrews served their purpose; and under the leadership of Moses and in the name of their God, Yahweh, they returned to the desert. There, in the name of Yahweh, Moses received the inspiration of the Law. He collected the various laws, customs and traditions of the tribes he led and made them into one confederate code. This code was the stimulus for uniting the tribes into a more or less consolidated whole; and under that stimulus they invaded the land of Canaan as an organized group.

Entry, conquest and settlement in Canaan.--Recent studies set forth data which divides the Hebrew entry into Palestine into two cycles of tradition. One is that the entry was from the east across the Jordan, Joshua was the leading figure,² the tribes were Israelites (Bnei-Yisrael), and the conquests were in the northern part of Canaan and

¹Stephen L. Caiger, *Bible and Spade* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), pp. 68-71.

²Judges 1:22-36.

occurred some two hundred years¹ before the southern invasion. The other cycle of tradition points to the entry from the south; the association of Judah, Simeon, Caleb, Othniel and other related tribes, with Moses as the leading figure.² Archaeological finds confirm the biblical narrative of an invasion of Canaan during this particular period in history.

The First Stele of Seti I, discovered at Beisan in Palestine, testifies to the existence of the Apiru in that neighborhood at that time (1300 B.C.); and the indication is that they had come from east of the Jordan. In the Second Stele of Seti I there is a distinct reference to an invasion by tribes coming from the east side of the Jordan.

The Tel el Amarna Tablets³ are interesting in their conveyance of the Canaanite viewpoint of the invasion by the Habiru. It parallels the Joshua-Judges story. Among the tablets are the letters of one Arad-Hiba, king of Jerusalem, who reports the attack of the Habiru and begs for help.

The Habiru are now capturing the fortresses of the Pharaoh. Zimrida of Lachish has been killed. May the King send help. Lo, if not reinforcements come this year . . . the land of the King is lost to the Habiru. And now indeed a city of the territory of Jerusalem, Bet Ninib, has been captured. What have I done against my lord, the King, that thou lovest the Habiru, and

¹Meek gives 1400 B.C. as date of northern settlement and 1200 B.C. as date of southern settlement. Meek, op. cit., p. 43.

²Judges 1:1-21.

³Letters and dispatches sent during the years 1380-1360 B.C. to the court of Amenhotep III (Egypt) and his successor, Akhnaton. Discovered at Tel el Amarna on the Upper Nile.

hatest the governors? The Habiru have wasted all the territory of the King.¹

They are now attempting to take Jerusalem. . . . Gezer, Ascalon, and Lachish have given oil, food, and supplies to the Habiru. . . . Labaya and the land of Shechem have given all to the Habiru.²

The political picture of the invaded land reflects a situation heavily patterned with the intrigues of short-lived alliances made between petty kings who seized upon every opportunity to war one with another. Finding it expedient, as well as profitable, some of the native princes made alliances with the Hebrew invaders, who in turn take over much of the land either by concentrated conquest of battle and/or a gradual interpenetration of small groups and clans. Meek points out that in one of his later letters to the King of Egypt, Abdi-Heba uses the word Habiru with the determinative of country (ki) as well as people (ameluti).³ This indicates that the invasion of the land of Canaan by the Habiru is a successful one and their possession of the conquered land an accepted fact.

A people with a land.--The Old Testament indicates that these invaders were more of a composite group rather than an ethnic unit, and that their invasion was on the basis of a loose organization of allied tribes with a common cause against a common foe. Sensing the importance of a

¹Stephen L. Caiger, op. cit., p. 101.

²Ibid., p. 102.

³Meek, op. cit., p. 21.

closer union, Joshua attempted and succeeded in the organization of a confederacy of tribes. It was at Shechem, near Mt. Gerizim, that a covenant was made, a rather simple code of precepts¹ imposed or promulgated, and a loose amphictyony² established.

The "crossers-over" were becoming a people; and in the natural process of their so doing, their tribal traditions were being welded together, fusing into a common history, making the people one in the past as well as in the present.

Yet differences and antagonisms persisted. The natural physical division of the land tended to perpetuate cultural differences. Israel in the north was greater in territory, numbers, wealth, and prestige than Judah in the south. Linguistic differences were accentuated by dialectical disparities.³ In the genealogies, there occurs a clear division into Rachel and Leah tribes.⁴ Enemy attack brought forth no united response as is evidenced on one occasion when the northern tribes were threatened by the Canaanites under the leadership of Sisera.⁵ There was no appeal for

¹Modeled in some respects after the pattern of Canaanite civil and ritual law, which in turn bears great similarity to the Code of Hammurabi;

²An association of neighboring states or tribes for the protection or interest of a common religious center.

³A Danite (north) recognized a Levite (south) by his accent. Judges 18:3.

⁴Genesis 35:23-26; I Chronicles 2-8.

⁵Judges 4.

aid by Deborah (leader of the northern tribes) to the southern tribes and no offer of help on the part of the southerners. Jealousy and hostility were manifest in the spiritual realm. Amaziah, priest of Israel, warns Amos, prophet from Judah, against preaching in Israel--a biblical "Go home!"

Also Amaziah said unto Amos, O thou seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophesy there; But prophesy not again any more at Beth-el¹. . .²

Political, economic and cultural consolidation.--The books of Chronicles and of II Samuel sketch accounts of frictions having their parallel in the growing-pains of new nations. However, hovering on the horizon was a well-defined and ever-present, although sometimes faint-appearing, unifying force--the existence, both active and passive, of the common foe--the Philistines. This common cause brought to the foreground a common need--strong unification under a warrior-king. Saul, a northerner, became the first king of a political unit achieved by the national unification of individualistic tribes. Under the reign of David the various tribes and groups of tribes were consolidated economically and culturally. In the fusing process the traditions of each became the common traditions of the whole, and the experiences of all was the embodiment of the experience of each; and this corporate tradition of the whole became the common possession of each and of the whole.

¹Beth-el literally means "house of God." It was the religious center for the northern tribes.

²Amos 7:10-15.

The spiritual unification of the people was brought to its highest peak by Solomon through the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem and the resultant highly organized pattern of temple worship. This period is historically known as the "Days of the First Temple," and traditionally referred to as the "Golden Age of the Hebrews."

Saul, David and Solomon, the first three kings, were the only kings to rule over the united country. Even in their reigns there reappeared differences and internal dissensions which multiplied and intensified to such an extent that upon the death of Solomon the country was divided into two distinct kingdoms--Judah in the south and Israel in the north. The political house divided and fell!

Becoming "the people of the Book."--Tribes had been welded together to form one nation--a nation which fought; sometimes conquering, sometimes conquered. Peaceful contact with neighboring peoples led to inevitable assimilatory processes both physical and cultural. The Hebrews became a nation with cities and fortresses, with public buildings and foreign emissaries. They began the collecting and organization of their national records. They developed a type of culture distinctive only in that it was a new pattern derived from older prototypes, acquired and inculcated in differing proportion and composition--a synthesis of the cultures of the ancient Near East.

Amidst the syncretism of their thought is seen a unique development in the monotheistic ideas of the invaders

of Canaan. Incipient monotheism held that Yahweh (Jehovah, God, Elohim) was the god of the Hebrews, while the god or gods of the surrounding peoples or tribes were known by other names. The Hebrews held that Yahweh was their god, He was their only god, and He was theirs alone.

With the passing of the centuries the monotheistic element was accentuated, the building of the Temple gave impact to the trend toward centralized worship, the moralistic and ethical content became emphasized, and the scope became universal.¹ The development of this universal, ethical monotheism was the greatest cultural achievement of the Hebrew nation. It was brought to its zenith by the teachings of the spiritual giants of the Hebrew people--their prophets--among whom the names of Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah loom in magnitude over the historical scene of every age.

Summary

From the fertile womb of an ancient world sprang a new people whose name was an appellative--the nomads, the crossers-over, the 'Ivrim. Led by spiritual and political giants, they become a people with a land. Conquered Canaan is divided among the tribes, but the tribes confederate to achieve political, cultural and economic unity. They are ruled first by judges and later by kings. The traditions of each tribe are consolidated into a corporate whole, and the

¹In Isaiah 40-45 is found the germ of a personal and universal religion.

corporate whole becomes the possession of each. Dominating the corporate whole is the personality of Yahweh--the god of the Hebrews. Failing politically, the physical nation divided into Judah in the south and Israel in the north. The people-nation remained united by their common tradition, and their peoplehood became uniquely one with the evolving concept of an ethical and universal monotheism as interpreted by the Hebrew prophets of both Judah and Israel.

CHAPTER II

DISPERSIONS AND DIVISIONS

In Three Lands

The term employed to describe the migration situation of Jews¹ to lands other than Palestine² is a Greek word diaspora, meaning "dispersion." The definition is not confined to "forced exile" or "deportation" but also includes "the sending forth of colonizers."³ The Hebrew term is golah which means in the abstract "exile," "captivity," "emigration."⁴

Palestine.--The Kingdom of Israel fell to the Assyrians in 721 B.C.; and in 586 B.C. the Kingdom of Judah came to an end with the sacking of Jerusalem by the Babylonians and the destruction of Solomon's temple. By a series of deportations the nobles, the lettered, and the craftsmen were exiled to Babylonia. The prophet Jeremiah, along with some few others, managed to flee southward and into Egypt.

¹Formerly referred to in this dissertation as Hebrews.

²Known also as Canaan, Israel, Promised Land.

³C. L. Grimm, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, Translated, Revised and Enlarged by Joseph Henry Thayer (New York: American Book Company, n.d.).

⁴William Gesenius, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, Translated, Revised and Enlarged by Edward Robinson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1882).

Only the poorest and simplest were left, and

this inferior racial stock deteriorated even further through the admixture of foreign blood from the people whom the Assyrians had settled in Palestine through their policy of intertransportation of captive peoples throughout their extensive empire.¹

They came to be known as am ha arets, people of the land, mixed-caste Hebrews, unlettered folk.

The destruction of Samaria (capital of the northern kingdom, Israel) had rendered impregnable the position of Jerusalem as the focal point for the spiritual and monarchical interest of the people. With the destruction of Jerusalem, the political capital, only the spiritual quintessence found in the law, the traditions, and the writings of the prophets remained. Having lost their political independence, the Jews endeavored to strengthen and preserve a strong national feeling, premised on tradition, religion, and literature. They remembered Jerusalem in its glory as their spiritual and religious capital; and the ground was thereby prepared for the eventual return.

Political vicissitudes brought Babylon under Persian domination; and by proclamation of Cyrus, King of Persia, the First Return to Zion was begun in the year 536 B.C. The returnees undertook the rebuilding of their ravaged land, their capital city--Jerusalem, and their spiritual capital--the Temple. This marked the beginning of the era known as

¹James C. Muir, The Spade and the Scriptures (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1940), p. 168.

the "Second Temple Period." The benevolent Persian reign (538-332 B.C.) permitted full autonomy in the religious and cultural development of the Jews; and two significant complexes developed in this fertile environment--the re-discovery and publication of the Tora,¹ which in turn brought into reality the Synagogue, "the most vital and original institution of Judaism."²

Numerically, only a small proportion of the exiles had returned to Palestine. However, their achievements in terms of spiritual values were gigantic. Jerusalem once again flourished as the center of a religious empire, but now her subjects dwelt internationally.

Babylon.--The Jewish dispersion into Babylonia (Mesopotamia) was the result of forcible deportations. The exiles to Babylonia and their descendants built houses, planted orchards, married, had children, and saw them marry³ and were the nucleus of many flourishing Jewish colonies. The dominance of Jerusalem in their religious thinking and their faithful adherence to the Torah enabled them to retain an ethnic and religious particularism in the midst of a gentile⁴ world. Despite prosperity, honor, and five hundred years of Babylonian background, they

¹The Law; the first five books of the Old Testament.

²Robert H. Pfeiffer, History of New Testament Times (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1949), pp. 179-181.

³Upon the advice of Jeremiah. Jeremiah 29:5-7.

⁴Meaning pagan.

continued to be in their thinking "exiles from the land of Israel."

Egypt.--The other great land of the dispersion or diaspora was Egypt. But here, the movement was for the most part a voluntary one, begun by those who had fled the Babylonian conflagration of Jerusalem and the resulting forced deportations. They took with them the prophet, Jeremiah, and settled in the Nile Delta. The Elephantine Papyri¹ reveal the existence of a flourishing Jewish colony at Elephantine during the fifth century before Christ.²

The Hellenistic period (300-30 B.C.) witnessed the voluntary movement of Jews to other areas of Egypt. The most important Jewish settlement was at Alexandria, the great harbor city founded by Alexander the Great in 331 B.C. Pfeiffer³ quotes Philo as to the growth of the Egyptian Jewish communities in numbers, prestige, and riches during the first and second centuries before the Christian era. Jews were represented among the farmers, merchants, tax collectors, public officials, and soldiers.

¹Documents written in the fifth century B.C. and discovered in 1904 and 1907 on the island of Elephantine in the Nile. Muir, op. cit., pp. 178-179.

²Pfeiffer reports it ". . . the only settlement of Jews outside of Palestine before 300 B.C. from which original records and detailed genuine information have come down to us." Robert H. Pfeiffer, History of New Testament Times, p. 170.

³Ibid., p. 179.

The Influence of Hellenism

The Jews, as a people, had been identified with the oriental orbit for some two thousand years. Hellenism inserted the opening wedge in the division of the Diaspora into an Oriental and a Western dispersion.

Language.--The Hellenistic milieu provided many subtle and pervasive influences. The most obvious and yet interpenetrative of these was the Greek language in the koine¹ (vulgar dialect) form. Inevitably it introduced modes of thought alien to Hebrew and Aramaic.¹ Hebrew was the language of the Mishna,² Aramaic was the language of the Gemara.³ They were the languages in which the juristic elaborations by Palestinian and Babylonian Jewry had been and were being carried on; and they were not sufficiently available to Greco-Roman Jews.⁴

Custom.--In Alexandria, the Jews were permitted a políteuma--an organized semi-autonomous community. The políteuma gradually took on the religious as well as the political functions of the community. It naturally followed that the term políteuma should and did give way to a more

¹Semitic language which supplanted Hebrew after the national decline of the Hebrews.

²Evolving body of law for the changing scene.
Vide. infra. p. 27.

³Record of oral commentaries on the Mishna, which being formed into a code became a basis for development and discussion.

⁴It was necessary for Paul the Apostle to come from his birthplace in the Roman province of Asia Minor to Palestine to study with Gamaliel, grandson of the famous Hillel.

descriptive Greek term synagōgē,¹ that is to say "congregation, colony."

In some localities (Rome, for example) the Jews were not permitted any type of civic organization. In this situation the synagogue assumed certain community-status functions which were rather distinct from strictly religious affairs. It was inevitable among a people nurturing a strong religious-national solidarity.²

The synagogue constituted the true centre and focus of Jewish life in its entirety. Sermons were delivered there, the Law was read there, prayers offered, and classes held. It was also a court of justice, and a place where sentences were carried out, as well as being a rendezvous for the discussion of the whole community's varied interests.³

The Greco-Roman period witnessed the expansion of this complex throughout the Mediterranean world, uniting in form a dispersed diaspora.

Contact with Greek letters also meant contact with Greek tradition. This put the Jews in a very delicate position with regard to the Torah (the Law). Lacking the juristic development of Palestinian and Babylonian Jewry, Hellenistic Jewry saw only one course open to them--they remained faith-

¹From the Greek preposition syn (σύν), meaning "with" plus the Greek verb ago (ἀγω), meaning "to bring;" to bring with, to assemble. Thayer's Greek-English Lexicon.

²This national-political-religious solidarity of the "community" concept exists in the Near East even today. Vide *infra*. Chapter IV.

³Ch. Guignebert, The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus, trans. S. H. Hooke, Vol. XXX of The History of Civilization, ed. C. K. Ogden (35 vols.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1939), p. 218.

ful to ancestral customs and to the Law, and at the same time adopted from their gentile neighbors certain institutions that did not directly conflict with Judaism. For example, Greco-Romans bestowed the chief seat and the crown at the games; Greco-Roman Jews bestowed them at the synagogue.¹

Thought.--In Hellenistic Jewish thought is found an intimation of a departure from the traditional, which was the bulwark of oriental religious thought, and a swinging toward modifications which tended to establish new patterns.

External observance of traditional Judaism was expressed by the use of representations of sacred articles--the Menorah (seven-branched candelabra), the Ark of the Covenant, the Altar, the Kad (pitcher for the pouring of oil).² The daily prayers (for example, the Shemoneh Esreh) expressed the petitions of the people for a return to Israel and a united nation under Davidic kingship and a re-establishment of temple ritual.

But a form of exegesis prevalent at that time excited favorable reaction in Hellenized Judaism. Their insistence upon the daring use of symbolism and allegory in the interpretation of the sacred text created a Judaism harmonious with Greek speculation. The application of this particular mode may be seen in portions of biblical apocrypha such as

¹Robert H. Pfeiffer, op. cit., p. 185.

²Carvings of these symbols may be seen on the rock remains of ancient synagogues. The ruins at Capernaum in Israel are among the finest.

Wisdom of Solomon and Second, Third and Fourth Maccabees. The writings of Philo of Alexandria more nearly typifies this philosophical syncretism which combines the concepts of Plato, the Stoics, and other great schools of thought and gives it a Jewish tinge.

This new Judaism had a strong attraction for many gentiles. It was universalistic, the high moral content was unique and ennobling, and it employed the methods of Greek philosophy. The development of a strong propaganda spirit resulted in reciprocal interpenetration effecting the development of cults and sects and the creation of a Jewish gnosis.¹

Paul, in his letter to the Church at Rome,² observes four attributes which characterized the diaspora Jew and his unique status in the Greco-Roman world--he knew the Law, he boasted about his God, he knew His will and that knowledge served as a testing ground for the differentiation of moral and ethical values, and he was an avid proselyter for Judaism.

Jews in the Roman Epoch

In Europe.--The cosmopolitanism of the Hellenistic Age had stimulated the voluntary movement of Jews westward to Cyrenaica and Libya and northward into Asia Minor, the

¹Revealed knowledge of the world, of life, etc., as opposed to human knowledge.

²Romans 2:17-25.

Isles of the Aegean Sea, Continental Greece,¹ the islands of the Mediterranean, and Rome.²

With Roman succession to Mediterranean sovereignty, all the various peoples of the Mediterranean area and the Near East, with the exception of Persia and her Mesopotamian dependencies, were drawn into the Roman orbit of a single world-state. Inasmuch as the Roman Empire also included all of Europe west of the Rhine and south of the Danube,³ the dispersion of diaspora Jewry over central and western Europe was facilitated. Participating in the inevitable process of influencing the cultural milieu in which he lived, and being reciprocally influenced, dispersed Jewry meant the dispersion of the thought and culture of that special civilization which so strongly influenced Western civilization.⁴

In Palestine.--Palestine retained the spiritual leadership of Judaism throughout the Persian-Greek period and into the Roman epoch. It was during this time that the twenty-four books of the Hebrew bible were collected and

¹Robert H. Pfeiffer, History of New Testament Times, p. 179.

²Raphael Patai, Israel Between East and West (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 5713-1953), p. 11.

³Portions of areas that we know today as England, France, Spain, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Romania.

⁴"As it is generally understood, Western civilization originated between 500 and 1000 A.D. within the roughly triangular area at the angles of which are located Rome, Berlin, and London." John Geise, Man and the Western World, Vol. I. (2 vols.; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940), p. 376.

canonized. The Apocrypha as well as other non-canonical religious literature, that has been preserved in original or in translations, was largely written in Palestine.¹

The impact of a changing cultural and political scene necessitated to the point of inevitability the provision of an evolving body of law, both civil and religious, for this continually changing society. The need was met by

subtle juristic interpretations, definitions, and casuistry, the scribes, Pharisees, and rabbis were able to supply in the oral law, a fluid body of prescriptions which was always abreast of the times and provided specific rules of conduct.²

It was this that comprised the Mishna³ which was finally codified and published by Rabbi Yehuda haNasi. This great and comprehensive work, completed in the third century A.D., provided a fitting end to Jewish spiritual leadership by Palestinian Jews.

In Babylonia.--The center of cultural gravity shifted to Babylonian Jewry, and the study of the Law was ascendant in their scholasticism. They became the natural recipients, maintainers, developers, and leaders of spiritual and cultural Judaism. Babylonian Jewry were a people unto themselves. They were unique, learned, wealthy, powerful, with a Babylonian background of hundreds of years; yet their basic

¹Patai, op. cit., p. 11.

²Robert H. Pfeiffer, History of New Testament Times, pp. 184-185.

³This is a religious sourcebook surpassed in importance to Judaism only by the Bible.

spiritual identification was with Israel. This identification was expressed materially by generous donations to Palestinian Jewry and physically, by frequent pilgrimages to Palestine. Work was begun on a literary compilation that was to serve as a written record of Jewish law and tradition, a spiritual textbook for the edification of the Diaspora, and an infallible foundation for the commonwealth of a politically restored Israel.¹ This magnum opus is the Babylonian Talmud.² It was codified in 500 A.D. and for the next fourteen hundred years served as the marrow of Jewish education and cohesion. Durant says it was "an organ of survival for a people exiled, destitute, oppressed, and in danger of utter disintegration."³ In the Talmud one finds multiform expressions of a common hope--the people of Israel in the land of Israel, a free people in a free land, and the restoration of the Temple and its ritualistic worship.

Jews in the Islamic Milieu

With the disintegration of the Roman Empire in 500 A.D., the Roman world separated into eastern and western halves, each developing a special form of civilization from

¹An orthodox Jewish group in present-day Israel holds to this idea as against the writing of a civil constitution.

²There are two currents in the Talmud: (1) Halachah or rule, and (2) Hagadah or legend. The Talmud (Selections), trans. H. Polano (London: Frederick Warne & Co., Ltd., 5636), pp. 1-2.

³Will Durant, The Age of Faith, Vol. IV of The Story of Civilization (7 vols.; New York: Simon and Shuster, 1995-), p. 365.

the basic Roman. Thus, the opening years of the Medieval Period finds Diaspora Jewry in three distinct culture areas-- Byzantine (or East Christian), Western (possibly West Christian), and Oriental.

In the latter sphere arose a new religious complex-- Islam--based on the teaching of the Moslem prophet, Mohammed. The new faith embarked upon a phase of imperial expansion which soon included Syria, Palestine, Egypt, part of Anatolia, Iran, Mesopotamia and reached eastward as far as China and India. The eighth century witnessed the extension of this religio-political empire to North Africa and across the Straits of Gibraltar¹ into Spain.

The expansion of Islam made it possible for Jews to immigrate to and settle in all the lands of the vast Muslim empire. Durant adds that "the conquerors . . . invited immigration."² The Jewish settlements in North Africa increased in number and size and, following in the wake of the conquering Muslims, overflowed northward into the Iberian Peninsula and southward into Ethiopia. Eastward they went from Babylonia and Persia into the rugged mountain country of Kurdistan, Bokhara, Khiva, Samarkand, Afghanistan, and into India and China.

Babylonian Jewry.--The fertile Islamic milieu

¹A western corruption of two Arabic words--jebel (mountain) tariq (way), Jebel Tariq (Mountain of the Way). Traditionally held among Palestinian Arabs to be called the mountain of Tariq, the commander of the Muslim advance and conquest of Spain.

²Will Durant, op. cit., p. 371.

stimulated the development of a vigorous commercial, professional, and scholastic creativity among the Islamic Jews. Babylonia remained the major center of Jewish religious thought and leadership until the eleventh century. Religious and intellectual leadership for Islamic Jewry, and in some degree for European Jewry, was provided by the rabbinical colleges at Sura and Pumbeditha. The directors of these colleges bore the title of Geon;¹ and their juristic interpretations of Talmudic and Mishnaic questions addressed to them from all the Jewish world created a new commentary for Judaism--the Gemara.²

This piquant situation produced Diaspora Jewry's first great medieval philosopher, Saadia ben Joseph al Fayyumi (892-942).³ He was Egyptian by birth but migrated to Babylonia in his twenties. His prolific pen, rivaled only by that of Maimonides, produced a mass of literature, most of which was written in Arabic. Among his writings was a translation of the Old Testament into Arabic, and it is this version which is used by Arabic-speaking Jews today.

Spanish Jewry.--Closely paralleling the cultural

¹It was a dispute over the principle of hereditary succession of the Gaonate that brought about a heresy that divided Oriental Jewry and established a sect known as Quaraites (text literalists, text adherers) because they rejected the Talmud, accepting only the Torah and insisting on its strict fulfillment.

²Vide Supra., p. 22.

³"Saadia B. Joseph", Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. X (1901-1906).

fate of the countries in which they dwelt, Islamic Jewry attained its cultural zenith at the height of Moslem cultural development. The Middle Ages witnessed the growth and budding of a brilliance that burst forth into a Golden Age of Hebrew poetry, religious literature, and philosophic thought and scientific practice. This vibrant creativity was not confined to Babylonia but was manifest in North Africa, in Egypt, in Bagdad, in Persia, and in Spain.

Cultural pre-eminence passed from the Babylonian to the Spanish Jews during the eleventh century. The Spanish Jews called themselves Sephardim from the Hebrew word Sepharad,¹ the Hebrew name they gave to Spain. They found the Moslems of Spain to be benevolent rulers and were encouraged to enter the fields of industry, agriculture, finance, and the professions. They adopted the dress, language and certain customs of the Arabs, and lived in close contact with all facets of Islam. Their facility with literary form combined with their eager grasp of the written word facilitated their entrance into the world of medieval Moslem science, medicine, and philosophical thought.

Whereas the two sources of Hellenistic Jewish philosophy were Hebrew religion and Greek thought, medieval Jewish philosophy was conceived in a Moslem milieu from the union of Hebrew religion and Greek thought derived from

¹The book of Obadiah 1:20 gives Sepharad as the name of a country or province which received some of the Judean exiles.

Arabic traditions and Moslem commentaries. The writings of most of the medieval Jewish thinkers from Saadia to Maimonides were composed in Arabic script and for Moslems as well as Jews.

Maimonides,¹ the greatest of medieval Jews, was born in Cordova, Spain, in 1135. His synthesis of reason and faith became the basis of every philosophic interpretation of Judaism. His basis was the Neo-Platonism² that permeated all Arabic philosophy.³

Inherent mysticism within the traditions of Islam gave birth to a parallel trend--the Sufism⁴ of Islam and the Cabala⁵ of Sephardic and Babylonian Judaism.

Moslem mysticism reached its spiritual climax in Sufism. Prevalent in Sufi writings is the use of symbolic language. For example, the famous poem--the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam--has gloriously lofty meaning whether read exoterically or esoterically. The Sufis insist that even the Koran has a double meaning; one is obvious, the other hidden.

The Cabala has its beginnings in oriental Judaism of Babylonia. It represents a secret oral tradition that

¹Ben Zion Bokser, The Legacy of Maimonides (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), pp. 1-9.

²A philosophy of revelation; a mystical explanation of ultimate phenomena. Hebert Ernest Cushman, Ancient and Mediaeval Philosophy, Vol. I of A Beginner's History of Philosophy (rev. ed.; 2 vols.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946), pp. 273-301.

³Jacques deMarquette, Introduction to Comparative Mysticism, (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949), pp. 157-183.

⁴Edward J. Byng, The World of the Arabs (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1944), pp. 269-281.

⁵deMarquette, op. cit., pp. 107-133.

mystically interprets the Torah. Basic Talmudic traditions were modified by influences of Zoroastrianism and Mithraism from the Persian empire. This syncretism was brought to Spain in 840 A.D. by a Babylonian rabbi; there it found fertile ground for development, being nourished by the Neo-Platonistic substitution of emanations for creations, by the Neo-Pythagorean mysticism of numbers, and by the Gnostic theosophies of Egypt.¹

Jews in the European Orbit

During this period of Islamic expansion, Jews were increasing in numbers in various West European communities, adopting the customs of their respective adopted communities and further differentiating themselves from their Sephardic and Oriental kin.

Currents of migration.--Two migratory trends brought Jews into Russia. One originated in the Persian and Babylonian sphere and entered Russia via Transoxiana and the Caucasus; the other movement came from Asia Minor and made its way through Constantinople and up the Black Sea coast via its port cities.

Greece, which had several large Jewish communities, was the starting point for migration into the Balkans through Thessaly, Thrace and Macedonia. From there, Jews

¹deMarquette, op. cit., p. 112.

Will Durant, op. cit., pp. 416-418.

Maurice M. Kaunitz, A Popular History of Philosophy (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1941), p. 181.

filtered along the Danube into Hungary.

The mobile character of trade brought German-Jewish merchants into Poland; and upon finding economic and political conditions fairly favorable, they brought their families and settled there. Jews had been in Germany, England, France and Italy since the Roman Era, their history having been one of sporadic peace and prosperity interspersed with periods of severe persecution, legal discrimination, hostile legend and expulsion.¹

Particularism of the Ghetto.--A unique community-status concept arose in western Europe, forcibly imposing upon Jews a segregated and separated corporate group status known as the Ghetto. This compelling, by Church and State, of Jews to live in certain sections of the city apart from the civilization in which they had their being was strictly enforced. Any slight infraction was accompanied by dire penalties, sometimes death.²

The ghetto situation was in many instances welcomed by the separatist element in Judaism,³ which used it to bring about a Jewish resurgence based on minute study and intellectual devotion to the Talmud. Thus, the scholasticism of Christian

¹Rufus Lears, Fulfillment: The Epic Story of Zionism (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1951), chaps. 33-38. Solomon Grayzel, A History of the Jews (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1948), chaps. 4-8.

²Elmer Berger, A Partisan History of Judaism (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1951), p. 93.

³Ibid., p. 93.

Europe was paralleled by a Jewish scholasticism whose theme was religious and whose core was the Talmud. A rabbinical academy was founded at Mainz on the Rhine by Gershom ben Judah (960-1028). His juristic interpretations on law and ritual were so widely received that he supplanted the Babylonian Geonim in the minds of European Jews.¹

Merchant and scholar alike drank up the teachings of Rabbi Shlomo ben Isaac, better known as Rashi (1040-1105).² Young men flocked to his school at Troyes (France) and went out into all parts of Europe as teachers and rabbis. His commentaries on the Bible and Talmud, and the additions (Tosaphot)³ made by his successors, bear witness to the mind-sharpening results of Talmudical dialectics.

Secularism of Maimonides.--In contrast with the Sephardic Jew whose training included all the arts and sciences of the day in addition to theology and philosophy, the intellectual acquirements of the Ashkenazi⁴ Jew appear almost insignificant. The Jews of Germany, France and Poland consumed themselves in the study of the Talmud, resisting at every opportunity inroads of secularistic thought--in particular,

¹His insistence on monogamy was accepted by Western Jewry but never formally accepted by certain Sephardic communities. Israel Abrahams, Jewish Life in the Middle Ages (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1896), pp. 116-119.

²Abrahams, op. cit., p. 216.

³Rufus Lears, Israel: A History of the Jewish People (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1949), pp. 269-270.

⁴Term applied by medieval rabbis to Germany. It came to include German Jews of Bohemia, Hungary, Italy, Poland.

that stimulated by the works of Maimonides.

The influence of Maimonides was revolutionary in Judaism, and the rabbis fought vigorously any study or teaching of any profane science or literature or any non-Jewish philosophy. The Maimonidean controversy was so bitter that it divided many Jewish communities; and at the instigation of Rabbi Solomon ben Abraham of Montpellier (France) and his followers, in 1234 many of the works of the great philosopher were publicly burned by the Dominican Inquisition.¹

Decline of Islamic Jewry

Spanish Inquisition.--The Islamic Empire had reached its cultural and political zenith; and having done so, began its descent. The decline of the Spanish Caliphate was accompanied by a rise of Christian power in the Iberian Peninsula. Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor of the Spanish Inquisition, demanded more and more fuel for the holocaust that engulfed Spanish Jewry. In 1492 an edict of expulsion was issued,² and Spanish Jewry fled to Europe, Africa and Asia, settling in Holland, Italy and the Balkans, Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, Syria, and Palestine.

Spanish-Oriental acculturation.--In the Moslem countries in which they settled, Spanish Jews found old

¹Will Durant, op. cit., pp. 414-416.

²Rufus Lears, Israel: A History of the Jewish People, p. 316.

Oriental Jewish communities. They established themselves and in many instances became the aristocracy of such communities. The prestige of their superior culture and noble lineage accomplished a complete acculturation of the oriental element, Ladino (or Spaniolic)¹ replacing Arabic, their progeny were identified as Sephardim.

In other instances the two groups (Oriental and Sephardim) maintained their separate linguistic and cultural identity, each considering the other the "outgroup."

There also occurred the situation in which a small Spanish group was swallowed up by the larger and culturally stronger Oriental community.

A unique situation existed in several of the European communities where Sephardic Jews settled, retained their Spanish identity, but adopted the language of the country. Examples of this occurred in Italy and in Holland.

Cultural decline.--Just as the cultural ascendancy of Islam was paralleled by this cultural ascendancy of Islamic Jewry, so the decline of Arab culture was paralleled by the decline of Jewish cultural activities in Moslem countries. There was a gradual disappearance of intellectual activity save that in the field of religious literature. Purely rabbinical studies ruled the Hebrew schools, and intellectual creativity found its outlet in the compendia of religious codes.

In the middle of the sixteenth century Rabbi Joseph

¹Judeo-Spanish vernacular.

Qaro¹ compiled and produced the Shulchan Arukh. This was the last of the codes produced by Sephardic Jewry and the one to which they strictly adhered.

Augmentation in Eastern Europe

The anti-Jewish policies and practices of the Crusades effected a Jewish migration movement toward Germany. In 1290 the Edict of Expulsion² ordered all Jews from England, many of whom found refuge in France. However, in 1306, these English refugees--together with French Jews who had a French background of a thousand years--were ordered to leave France.³ Despite the precarious position of Jews in Germany, it became the center of Ashkenazi Jewry. Violence, extortion, and libel against German Jewry increased as the political quilt of Germany became more patched; and German Jews joined Ashkenazi communities in Bohemia, Hungary, and Italy. In the sixteenth century great numbers of Jews went from Germany to Poland and the adjacent lands under Polish rule, to Lithuania, Russia, and Volhynia.

In all the areas where they settled, West European Jews gave new vitality to all aspects of Jewish life, imposing their superior culture on the indigenous Jewish communities and replacing the Slavic languages with the Middle High German

¹Abrahams, op. cit., pp. xxv-xxvi.

²Rufus Lears, Israel: A History of the Jewish People, pp. 72-73.

³Ibid., pp. 72-73.

of the Rhineland. The result was a Judeo-German vernacular, Yiddish, that became the Jewish vernacular in many areas of the world where Jews settled.

Distribution of World Jewry: Seventeenth Century

By the first half of the seventeenth century after periods characterized by either persecution and expulsion, modified peace and prosperity, or tolerated existence, or any of these in combination with some other, the distribution of Jews¹ throughout the world was rather like this:

In the world of Islam there were Jewish settlements in North Africa, Palestine, and throughout the Ottoman Empire extending to the Indian Ocean. Many of these settlements were the peculiarly Spanish-Oriental described above. In Persia and Yemen were ancient Oriental Jewish communities; while India, China, and possibly Japan housed very small isolated Jewish settlements.²

An insignificant number of Jews were in Avignon (France) and in the papal territories of Provence (region in France adjacent to Spain). In Italy Jews were in a number of communities living under the ghetto system in Rome, Venice, Ancona, Turin, Modena, and Ferrara. Most of German Jewry were in small towns and villages with some minor communities

¹Self-acknowledging and self-professing Jews.

²Cecil Roth, "The European Age in Jewish History," The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion, Vol. I, ed. by Louis Finklestein (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, n.d.), pp. 248-249.

in the important cities of Frankfort, Hamburg, Worms, and Fuerth. In Holland, both Marranos¹ and professing Jews were established. A few Jews were to be found in the Germanic provinces of southern Denmark.²

No Jews were living in England, Portugal, France (except for the provinces mentioned above) or in Spain and her possessions, both in the Old World and the New. (This does not take into account Marranos who fled to Portugal and to the New World.) The Scandinavian countries also did not admit Jews.³

To the east in Austrian territories there were large settlements of Jews; this being especially true of Bohemia and Prague. Lithuania and Russia also contained large settlements.⁴ However, Poland, which at this time covered a vast area, "harbored what was probably the world's greatest agglomeration of Jews."⁵

Summary

Physical dispersion.--The conquest of the Hebrew nation and the dispersion of its inhabitants created a Jewish diaspora in Babylonia and Egypt. The Persian-Greco-Roman period witnessed the further spread of Jews throughout Europe;

¹"New Christians" converted by force in 1497.

²Roth, op. cit., pp. 248-249.

³Roth, op. cit., 248-249.

⁴Ibid., 248-249.

⁵Ibid., 248-249.

and the rise of Islam gave impetus to an eastward migration as far as India and China. Inquisitions added Spanish Jewry to Oriental communities; and persecution and hostile legend drove West European Jewry into the great Polish Empire.

Cultural and intellectual division.--Hellenistic Judaism, as interpreted by Philo of Alexandria, was a departure from the traditional Judaism subscribed to by the Oriental Jewish communities of Babylonia and Palestine. The secularistic influence of Maimonides, outstanding scholar of Islamic Jewry, brought about a tragic controversy in European Jewry. Jewish scholasticism, having flirted briefly with reason, withdrew into the safety of a physical, religious and intellectual segregation. The physical ghetto sustained a ghetto mentality.

The religio-scholastic suzerainty of Judaism passed from Palestinian to Babylonian to European Jewry where the scholasticism of Christian Europe was paralleled by a Jewish scholasticism whose theme was religious and whose core was the Talmud.

The Jewish philosophic mutation that had its inception in Hellenism reached its zenith during the Age of Islam; and the brilliant creativity of Spanish Jewry was reflected in art, science, philosophy, literature and literary criticism.

By the middle of the seventeenth century a western culture complex containing concepts of Rationalism, Nationalism, and Secularism was differentiated from an oriental complex based on religion and tradition. World Jewry was

found in both culture areas, and the opposing streams of Secularistic Thought and Religious Tradition was flowing through the Jewish scene.

CHAPTER III

REAWAKENING AND RETURN

Modern Jewish history begins with the latter half of the seventeenth century. The cultural and spiritual suzerainty of the diaspora--having belonged first to Palestine, next to Babylonia, then to Spain--paused briefly in Germany and shifted to Eastern Europe. The great Polish empire became the center of concentrated Jewry. Here during the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century--reinforced numerically and spiritually by the exiled Jews of England, France, Spain, and Germany, and enjoying the quasi-benevolence of the Polish kings and their powerful nobles--Polish Jewry increased and prospered.

Divisive Departures from Established Judaism

Talmudism.--The center of religious authority having shifted to European Jewry, the Ashkenazi school of rabbis were stimulating and encouraging a most strongly regulated Jewish life. Rabbi Moses Isserles¹ (1520-1572) had been for many years head of the Yeshiva² in Cracow. He annotated

¹Rufus Lears, Israel: A History of the Jewish People, p. 353.

²School of Talmudic studies.

and amended the Shulchan Arukh of Qaro,¹ and the amended compendium of Talmudic law became the guide for east and central European Jewry. From this time on the Ashkanazim adhered to the opinion of Isserles, while the Sephardim adhered to the opinion of Qaro. The breach between these two Jewish mass-groups exists today.

Messianism.--A mystical breath blew in from Turkey; or was it a great spiritual storm? In the seventeenth century Smyrna, Sabbatai Levi² proclaimed himself the Messiah, the longed-for redeemer of Israel. Broken and exhausted European Jewry was ready and eager for the fulfillment of the messianic promise of deliverance and restoration. In the midst of their devastation they turned to the mystic Cabala as interpreted by the Ashkenazi school of Luria and Vital whose theme was "the advent of the Messiah who would redeem them from Exile and restore their ancient glory."³

Throughout Jewish Europe flew the news of Messianic deliverance. The outcasts of the earth were to be restored. Learned and unlearned alike from Salonika to Venice, Amsterdam, Hamburg, London were stirred by the Sabbatian call; and many prepared for the return to Palestine. During the next twenty years excitement continued to mount as

¹Vide supra, p. 36.

²Abba Hillel Silver, A History of Messianic Speculations in Israel (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), pp. 157-161.

³Rufus Lears, Israel: A History of the Jewish People, p. 353.

the messianic fever spread, and the Jewry of three continents¹ became infected with it.

Triumphant personal visits to important cities, marriage to a beautiful but unchaste mystic, and a series of imprisonments by Turkish authorities lent fantasy and glamour to the messianic drama of Sabbatai. Faced with the threat of extermination of himself and all his followers in the Sultan's empire, Sabbatai became a Moslem. He died in 1676, but the Sabbatian virus had already begun to abate. In Salonika, however, a group of Jews continued strong in the teachings of Sabbatai and accepted a lad, Jacob Querido,² as the son and reincarnation of Sabbatai. Menaced by both Jewish and Turkish authorities, they converted to Islam; nevertheless, they continued secretly in their Sabbatian beliefs. They managed to preserve their identity by the practice of endogamy and exist today as a Moslem sect known as Donmeh (Dissenters).

Hasidism.--Discontent with rabbinism and a deep-seated mystical gravitation fused to produce a movement in Polish Jewry that placed emotion above reason and rites, and religious exhaltation above knowledge. Hasidism³ (meaning pious-ism), as the movement was called, grew up

¹Europe, Asia, Africa.

²Rufus Lears, Israel: A History of the Jewish People, p. 366.

³"Hassidism", Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VI (1901-1906).

around the teaching of Baal Shem Tov¹ (Good Master of the Name) in Podolia. He taught that true religion was not Talmudic scholarship, but rather a love for God based on sincerity and faith, and a belief in the efficacy of prayer. Not only were the common people attracted to this movement but also scholars who failed to find satisfaction in rabbinic scholasticism and ascetic cabalism.

The movement quickly swept the southern provinces of Poland, Galicia, Podolia, and Vohlynia, and made its way into the north where it at once met with the bitter opposition of orthodox rabbinism. These antagonists called themselves Mitnagdim² (opponents). As Hasidism continued to gain converts in northern Poland, Lithuania and White Russia, the conflict increased in intensity; and the Mitnagdim, under the leadership of the Vilna Geon--Elijah ben Solomon (1720-1797),³ sought to excommunicate the Hasidim spiritually and physically from Judaism.

Rabbi Shneur Zalman (1747-1812)⁴ of Liozna was the leading apostle of northern Hasidism. He combined certain

¹Master of the Name refers to one who is a dealer in practical magic; one who, knowing the names of angels and demons, could compel them to do his will. Grayzel, A History of the Jews, pp. 522-528.

²"Mitnagdim," Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VIII (1901-1906).

³Rufus Lears, Israel: A History of the Jewish People, p. 385.

⁴Cedars of Lebanon, "The Tanya and the Gaon," Commentary, January 1956, pp. 67-68.

tendencies in contemporary rabbinism with Hasidism to produce a type of rational Hasidism that appealed to the comparatively advanced Jewish mentality of the north. The principal doctrine of the BeSHT (Baal Shem Tov) was that man's salvation is dependent upon his faith, not merely religious knowledge. This was in strong opposition to the principal dogma of rabbinism that man's religious value is measured by the extent of his Talmudic learning. Zalman urged that Hasidism be based on wisdom (hochmah), understanding (binah), and knowledge (deah). His group became known as HaBaD,¹ based on the first letters of these three requirements, and constituted the intellectual element in Hasidism.

Hasidism continued to spread, reaching its maximum development and expansion during the first half of the nineteenth century. Half of the Jewish population of Russia, Poland, Galicia, Romania, and Hungary professed and adhered to Hasidic teachings. The Mitnagdim reconciled themselves to the establishment and existence of Hasidism as a fait accompli.

Wars and Redistribution of European Jewry

Polish maelstrom.--East European Jewry was not free of tyranny, massacre, and hostile legend of ritual crime.² Despite the shocks of blood accusations, active Jesuit

¹Solomon Grayzel, A History of the Jews (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1948), pp. 532-533.

²Blood libels accusing Jews of the ritual murder of Christians.

hostility, and mob attacks with their concomitant evils, Polish Jewry managed to "gather up the pieces" and reconstruct their personal and community existences.

However, in 1648 accelerated hostility reached its climax in a wave of massacre whose scale and range was hitherto unknown in Europe. Under Bogdan Khmielnitski,¹ the wild and primitive Cossacks of the Ukraine revolted against their Polish overlords and expended their fury against the Jews of Poland, Volhynia and Podolia.

Invasions of a weakened Poland by the Swedes and the Russians added to the maelstrom of murder and maleficence which befell the Jews of Poland; and the whole of Europe experienced the oncoming tide of Jewish refugees, swelling with each new outburst of violence. The migration current of the preceding five centuries reversed itself, and the trend was from east to west. The great kingdom of Poland was divided by wars which reduced her to a small nation. Her southern provinces were seized by Austria and her northern provinces by Russia.

Germany.--While echoes of messianic redemption, national restoration, strengthened Hasidism, weakened rabbinism were reverberating among east European Jewry, the Jews of central and western Europe were absorbing the waves of refugees fleeing from the violence of Slavonic lands.

The first wave naturally rolled onto German soil

¹Rufus Lears, Israel: A History of the Jewish People, pp. 354-360.

where, following the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), occurred a mild and temporary cessation of anti-Semitism; and the Yiddish-speaking refugees fused easily with German Jewry. Considered to have rare economic genius, German Jews were eagerly employed in the provision and expenditure of funds. From the peddler of the village to the financier of the court, the Jew was finding a place in the economic life of his new homeland; and Hamburg, Berlin, Brandenburg, Frankfort, Altona were his focal centers.

In other countries Jews were called from their segregated or expelled life to help rebuild lands devastated by the Thirty Years' War.

Holland.--Holland, a haven for Jewish refugees in earlier centuries, permitted greater expansion of Jewish settlement; and the Sephardic communities were reinforced by Ashkenazi settlers. Amsterdam became a great center of both Spanish culture and Jewish life.

England.--In England, the establishment of Cromwell's Commonwealth plus the Old Testament sympathies of the Puritans gave rise to Jewish hopes for the readmission of Jews to England. In the latter part of the seventeenth century these hopes were realized, and Ashkenazi settlers joined groups of Marranos who had been living a rather furtive existence in England for several centuries. By the middle of the eighteenth century, large settlements of Jews were to be found in London, Westminster, Canterbury, Portsmouth, Birmingham, Plymouth, Bristol, and Liverpool.

Denmark, Belgium, Sweden.--A small Jewish community established itself in Copenhagen, Denmark, with both Sephardic and Ashkenazi settlers. In 1782, a small Jewish community was founded in Sweden by immigrants from Germany. When Belgium passed from Spanish to Austrian rule in 1713, small numbers of Jews entered for purposes of settling.

Italy and France.--In some areas of Italy, the Jews were rigidly ghetto-ed; while in other areas relieved of all restrictions, encouraged to come in for settlement, and stimulated toward economic endeavor.

The policy of Jewish exclusion remained in force in France, but in a modified manner. In her newly acquired (seventeenth century) provinces of Alsace and Lorraine established German Jewish communities were permitted. Marranos, living under a rather flimsy self-covering of Catholicism, were dwelling in the Bordeaux area; and the established Jewish settlements in the papal territories of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin remained.

Other countries.--A complete policy of exclusion prevailed in Spain, in Portugal, and in the kingdom of Sicily. In addition to those lands, Holy Russia, Norway, and certain areas of Germany were also closed to the Jews.

Decline of the Ghetto

Throughout Christian Europe seeds of enlightenment, long dormant, began to sprout and grow. Humanitarian principles were nurtured by enlightened statesmen, philan-

thropists, philosophers, stylists, and writers.

Breach in mental ghetto.--In Germany, men of culture dared to speak and write in terms of liberalism. Some even dared to raise their voices in behalf of the Jew. Among these was Gotthold Ephraim Lessing,¹ aristocrat, philosopher and writer. It was Lessing who introduced to Berlin society and the cultured world the person, the mind, and the spirit of Moses Mendlessohn (1729-1786).²

Mendlessohn was the son of a penniless Torah-scribe of Dessau. He tasted of the works of Maimonides in his youth; and his insatiable hunger for further knowledge led him to Berlin and to a penurious existence. Every moment away from the bread-earning activities of giving private lessons was devoted to study and writing.

Mendlessohn's entry into the cultured circles of Berlin was accompanied by friendships with cultured men of various religious backgrounds and national origins. These contacts stimulated an analysis of the Jewish situation. Desiring to lead his people out of the mental ghetto of a limited cultural heritage, he translated the Pentateuch³ into German and published it in duo-graph form. It encouraged the relinquishing of the Yiddish speech in favor

¹Cecil Roth, A Short History of the Jewish People, 3rd ed. (London: East and West Library, 1948), pp. 337-340.

²Ibid., pp. 337-340.

³The first five books of the Old Testament.

of the pure German. To further the adoption of German culture by German Jews he encouraged the issuance of a magazine, Ha-Meassef (The Gatherer) as a vehicle for transmitting to the Hebrew-reading Jews various aspects of general culture. He also encouraged the opening of a Jewish school where not only religious subjects were taught, but also secular subjects and manual arts.

In the eyes of orthodox Jewry, Moses Mendlessohn was a destroying influence; their fears were not without foundation. Many among the Jewish youths of Germany, and eastern Europe as well, were drawn away from the safe exclusiveness of Talmudic study and led into the eddying currents of general cultural thought. They thrashed amidst the waters of personal freedom of thought, reveling in the new-found intellectual stimulation so contrary to the traditional Jewish concept of community thought.

Mendlessohn became the prototype of a movement known as Haskalah.¹ It was a movement dedicated by its adherents to the abandonment of Jewish exclusiveness and the acquisition of the manners, morals, customs, trades, knowledge, and aspirations of the various nations and cultures of which they were a physical part. These adherents were known as Maskilim (intellectuals). Many wealthy Jews sponsored the movement; and under the leadership of talented writers, Haskalah spread throughout Germany and onward to Austria,

¹"Haskalah", Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VI. (1901-1906).

Bohemia, Galicia, and Russia. In Galicia and in Russia the movement emphasized the revival of Hebrew literature and the use of Hebrew as a means of disseminating secular information. It created a neo-Hebrew movement in literature and a neo-Hebrew reading public.

The widespread growth of Haskalah, with its permissive atmosphere of free criticism, constituted new and dangerous opposition to the mysticism of Hasidism. The enlightening literature of Haskalah hastened on its way the stagnation and decline of Hasidism and drew from under its influence a considerable number of the younger generation.

Cleft in physical ghetto.--Mendlessohn dreamed and wrote and labored not only for the breaking down of the mental ghetto in which the Jew kept himself, but also for the breaking down of the physical ghetto in which the Jew was kept. With the aid of his friends he argued and pled for Jewish civil emancipation--acquisition of civil rights.

Social Philosophy and Jewish Emancipation

In France.--Three years after the death of Mendlessohn, the rumblings of revolution gained in power and intensity until at last in 1789 a thunder peal was heard whose repercussions were felt throughout all Europe. The "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" was adopted in August of 1791 by the Revolutionary National Constituent Assembly of France.

In the New World.--These basic credos concerning the inherent freedom and rights of man were echoes of a declaration

of rights that had been proclaimed some years before in the United States. To the New World Jews had come from Spain and Portugal, from Holland and from England. They settled in Mexico and the West Indies, in Peru, the Guianas, and Brazil; in North America they made new homes, in Pennsylvania, in New York, in South Carolina and Georgia, in Rhode Island, Maryland, Massachusetts, Virginia, and North Carolina. They became farmers and planters; they engaged in manual trades, shipping, manufacturing, and merchandising. They rebuilt their lives and communities and joined in the fight to win and maintain the dignity and freedom which characterized the emancipation issuing from the American Revolution.¹

In Europe.--In her "Declaration of the Rights of Man," France touched off a series of chain reactions; and in 1795 Holland granted equal rights of citizenship to the Jews of the Dutch Republic. In Italy, in Prussia, in Austria, in Germany, echoes of liberation and social reform were wafted on the air; and Jews benefitted from this mood. The secular world became more open to them, and many Jews feared that equal rights would lead away from ancient faiths. And indeed, it did serve as a bridge to facilitate the more rapid crossing over into a secular life with its enticing influences toward cultural as well as political assimilation.

The movement known as Reform Judaism² came to life

¹Grayzel, op. cit., pp. 549-563.

²Rufus Lears, Israel: A History of the Jewish People, pp. 421-431.

in Amsterdam in 1796, grew to full size in Germany, and traveled to Austria, Denmark, and other countries in Europe, making its way into the United States. Among reforms considered and in some communities instituted were: departure from dietary laws, freedom to intermarry, elimination from prayer books of prayers for national restoration.

The meandering stream of civil emancipation made gradual erosions in the soil of bigotry, superstition, hostility. In its flow it was joined by streams of rational thought, natural science, sceptical philosophy, political and industrial revolutions. At each juncture in central and western Europe, Jews became established; and in many cases, conspicuously so. To give examples: Covering a continent was the fantastic Rothschild family--wealthy, patrons of the arts and sciences, politically and socially influential. In England the Montefiore family produced scholars and sbldiers, men of finance and of affairs. In France the Pereire family, avid sympathizers and followers of French socialism, pioneered in French and Spanish railroading and endeavored to bring the masses of the French nation into the scheme of participation and profits.

The Russian Orbit: Stirrings of Hebrew Nationalism

As the stream crossed from west to east, the impulses of enlightenment, science, and humanitarianism became weak and feeble until, having reached Russia, the sluggish waters were turned back upon themselves. Hostile legend, economic

restrictions, periodic expulsion and transference from village to country and vice versa, and the drastic system of conscripting small boys for twenty-five year terms of military service created panic, confusion, continual misery, and destitution among the majority of Russian Jews. The humbling effects of the Crimean War and the succession of Alexander II (1856-1881), however, brought social reforms to Russia. These reforms also benefited Russian Jewry.

Jewish enlightenment.--The waters of enlightenment which were nurtured and guarded for former Polish parts of Russia seeped gradually into other areas. Among the Jews, Mendlessohn-based societies for enlightenment sprang up here and there; ever opposed by Rabbinism, Hasidism, and Mitnagdism on the ground that European secularism was the door through which their children would depart from the Jewish faith.

Two noteworthy movements became prominent among the Jews of Russia. One was the "Society for the Diffusion of Enlightenment."¹ Its basic purpose was a more complete Russianization which they felt would be brought about by the adoption of Russian as the language of the Jewish masses, a modern (secular) type of education, and a general elimination of those differences which made them peculiar in the eyes of their Russian neighbors.

The other was the movement Haskalah which used Hebrew as its *modus operandi*, and among its goals was the

¹Rufus Lears, Fulfillment, pp. 41-48.

rebirth of Hebrew literature as well as the introduction of European culture and thought to young Russian Jewry. Haskalah flowered in two great centers--Vilna in the north, the intellectual center of east European Jewry, and Odessa, the most civilized metropolis in Russia.¹

The seeping waters became a strong current among Russian Jewry; and Jewish youth immersed themselves fully in the churning waters. They flocked to the centers of learning, both on the high school and university levels, and exulted in the wealth of scientific and literary learning of secular Europe. They found acceptance in the bold revolutionary circles, and concepts of social justice and universal brotherhood stirred utopian dreams.

Effect of Czarism on Russian Jewry.--The changing policies of the Czars brought a system of brutal suppression into effect directed against both the revolutionary Nihilists and the Jews. These shocking pogroms had the effect of dividing Russian Jewry into three categories:

1. Those who became absorbed in the revolutionary movement, seeing in it the perfect salvation for all Russia--the all-healing balm for Jew and non-Jew alike.
2. Those who looked hopefully to the West, and in particular to the New World. Pogroms became more cruel, more infamous, until on April 27, 1881, there broke out at Elisavetgrad a shocking series of pogroms that resulted in mass emigration of Jews from Russia. The picture of Jewry throughout the world was changed by the addition of these broken, paupered, helpless,

¹Rufus Lears, Israel: A History of the Jewish People, p. 467.

shocked immigrants that poured out of Russia and into more or less adjusted communities. England received the largest number of the migrants as is evidenced by the fact that between 1880 and 1900 the English Jewish population increased from 60,000 to 160,000.¹ Into the New World went 10,000 to settle in Argentina.²

3. Those who were disillusioned by the failure of Enlightenment and Russianization to effect civil emancipation and acceptance of Jews by Russians. They became vitally interested in movements for the return to Palestine.

Focus on Palestine.--Judah Leib Gordon³ (1830-1892), the leading poet of Russian Haskalah, became a standard-bearer of the movement for the colonization of Palestine. He and other of the Maskilim in their writings glorified the farmers and shepherds of ancient Judea and emphasized the importance of the return to the soil.

Hirsch Kalischer,⁴ orthodox Rabbi of Posen, in 1862 published his view that the return to Palestine did not necessitate first the appearance of the Messiah, but that the time was now ripe for resettlement of that ancient land through the establishment of agricultural colonies.

Moses Hess⁵ (1812-1875), visionary dreamer of a league of nations, whose interpretations of socialism was wedded to an ethical point of view, spoke of the indestruct-

¹Roth, The European Age in Jewish History, op. cit., p. 276.

²Learsi, Israel: A History of the Jewish People, p. 479.

³Roth, A Short History of the Jewish People, pp. 371-375.

⁴Grayzel, op. cit., p. 666.

⁵Roth, A Short History of the Jewish People, pp. 408-409.

ibility of Jewish nationality and suggested in his writings that Palestine gradually become a Jewish homeland under the supervision of the liberal and cultured French nation.

Leon Pinsker¹ (1821-1891), Jewish physician in Odessa and one of the founders of the "Society for the Diffusion of Culture" among the Jews of Russia and one of the leading figures in the cause of Russianization, declared that the only solution to the Jewish problem was a boldly radical one--scattered Jewry must once again become a people in a land of their own. To this cause he wrote and published the pamphlet Auto-Emancipation.

Meanwhile, a foetal movement was conceived in Russia named Chibath Tsiyon (love of Zion); and thus was born in Russia, Romania, and Galicia from this fissuring seed the various societies of Chovevei Tsiyon (Lovers of Zion) which federated under the Presidency of Leon Pinsker. The basic credo of this quasi-messianic movement was threefold--to further and strengthen among Jews the idea of Jewish nationalism, to bring about a revival of Jewish culture, and to encourage and materially aid Jewish colonization in Palestine.

The influence of Lovers of Zion penetrated into Austria, Germany, France, England, and even into America.² Young Jewish intellectuals, who were in later years to play leading roles in Zionism, received their training in the student societies of Vienna, Berlin, Paris, Berne, Geneva,

¹Learsi, Israel: A History of the Jewish People, p. 479.

²Learsi, Fulfillment, pp. 47-48.

and other university centers, all having branch organizations of Chibat Tsiyon.¹

One of these student societies was Kadimah (forward, eastward), the first Jewish student society dedicated to the theme of national revival. Its organization was inspired by the spirited ideals of Perez Smolenskin² (1842-1885), a Jewish intellectual of Vienna who declared that the Hebrew language and the colonization of Palestine were the most important instruments of Jewish survival.

Another movement which called itself BILU³ arose among students who abandoned their specialized studies and joined other pioneers in the trek toward Palestine. By 1882, these pioneers from Romania and Russia had established three agricultural settlements. They began the physical work of reclaiming and restoring a land which had become waste and disease-ridden through centuries of neglect. The united societies of Chovevei Tsiyon gathered support for these and others who followed.

Beginnings of Zionism

Theodore Herzl, Founder.--Anti-Semitism continued to crop up here and there in varying degrees of intensity in

¹Striking example--Chaim Weitzman (Weizmann), destined to become Israel's first president. Chaim Weizmann, Trial and Error, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1949).

²Roth, A Short History of the Jewish People, pp. 408-409.

³Compounded of the initials of the Hebrew words meaning "House of Jacob, Come and let us go!" Isaiah 2:5.

Russia, Austria, Germany, France. Disappointed in their hopes that either socially, intellectually, religiously, or politically, or in a combination of any or all of these they might find the adequate response to anti-Semitism, more and more Jews began to think and act in terms of return to Palestine. The nationalistic spirit rampant in Europe fired the passive ideal of Jewish nationhood in the hearts of many Jews in related and in comparatively isolated parts of the world.

Among these was Theodore Herzl¹ (1860-1904), brilliant journalist and litterateur. His acceptance of the idea of a Jewish nationhood was rudely propelled by his witnessing of the trial of Captain Alfred Dreyfus. He was shocked at the public degradation of Dreyfus by the citizens of a country he considered the most civilized on earth. Fevered by the streetcry, "Death to the Jews!" which rang in his ears, he wrote his famous pamphlet, "Der Judenstaat" (The Jewish State), in which he argued for the organization of the Jews into a Jewish society to effect the obtaining of a national homeland, a Jewish state, preferably Palestine. He contended also for the organization of a Jewish Company which would obtain the financial support for the migration movement to this state.

Herzl's physical and mental life had developed outside the circles in eastern Europe dedicated to national

¹Alex Bein, Theodore Herzl (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1942).

revival, and he was totally unaware that his fevered dreams had already begun to crystalize into reality. The publication of his pamphlet brought enthusiastic response and promised support from these circles. Kadimah and Chovevei Tsiyon, as well as prominent individuals¹ in European and American Jewry assured him of their support. Herzl called for a congress of Jews, which met in Basle in August 1897 with 197 delegates present. The delegates represented almost every country in which Jews were living. Here was reality. A declaration of Zionist aims was agreed upon: "Zionism seeks to secure for the Jewish people a publicly recognized, legally secured home (or homeland) in Palestine for the Jewish people"² Herzl became the acknowledged leader of the federation of Zionists which came into being in almost every land, including England and the United States. Herzl contacted sultans and kings, appealing to the romantic and to the imperialistic in interviews dramatic and heartrending. Negotiations dragged, and progress toward the obtaining of a charter for the Jewish settlement of Turkish-held Palestine came to practically nothing.

Oppositions and divisions.--The masses of Eastern Jewry, though they hailed Zionism enthusiastically, could contribute very little to it either in terms of finance or in terms of political influence. Among those who could,

¹Among them Baron Edmond deRothschild.

²Bein, op. cit., p. 289.

there were conflicting opinions which resulted in division and opposition.

1. There were those who followed Ahad Ha'Am¹ (1856-1927), leading essayist of neo-Hebrew literature, who declared that a Jewish spiritual and cultural renaissance based on Jewish thought and experience must precede colonization. His idealistic views and the advocates of them were absorbed into the Zionist movement, and Achad Ha'Am became known as the spokesman of cultural Zionism.
2. Opposition came from Reform Jewry in Europe and in America. They feared that the revival of Jewish Nationalism would presume that any Jew not living in Palestine would be living in spiritual exile.
3. Orthodox Jewry was divided within itself.
 - a. One group which came to be known as Agudat Yisrael² insisted that the coming of the Messiah must predate the colonization of Palestine. They also objected to the "worldly" or a-religious nature of Zionism.
 - b. Already within the Zionist movement, a group of orthodox Russian Jews organized in 1902 the Mizrachi³ party in order to bring traditional Judaism into a closer relationship with Zionism.
4. In an effort to win the Jewish youths from the seductive fascination of cosmopolitan socialism and revolutionary fires burning in Russia, there developed within Zionism a Po'alei Zion⁴ party whose striving was for a cooperative commonwealth in Palestine--i.e., a socialist state.
5. Discouragement in obtaining a Palestine Charter coupled with the immediate need for the amelioration of the desolate condition of east European Jewry led certain men out of Zionism and into a

¹Pen name of Asher Ginzberg, meaning "one of the people." Learsy, Fulfillment, p. 49.

²Learsy, Fulfillment, p. 123.

³Ibid., p. 123.

⁴Labor Zionists. Ibid., p. 122.

Jewish Territorial Organization¹ whose purpose was to settle Jews in any available territory.

Non-Zionist supporters.--In other lands and among other peoples dreams were spun, voices were heard, and actions were taken to further the actuality of a national homeland for the Jews.

Mordecai Manuel Noah, American consul to Tunis, editor, playwright, orator, conceived the idea of a Jewish state in America which would serve as a temporary refuge to the stricken Jews of Germany and East Europe until the restoration of an independent Jewish state in Palestine.²

In 1851, wealthy Clorinda S. Minor led a group of enthusiastic Americans to Palestine to help redeem the land by the teaching of agriculture and trades to the young Jews.³

Another group of enthusiasts, led by a clergyman named Adams, came to Palestine from America in 1866 to establish an agricultural settlement and to participate in the ingathering of the Jews to the Holy Land.⁴

Emma Lazarus (1849-1887), passionate poetess of Sephardic descent, enflamed untold numbers of Americans with her poetic call to Jewish national resurgence.⁵

¹Ibid., pp. 117-1181

²Learsi, Fulfillment, pp. 31-34.

³Ibid., pp. 35-36.

⁴Ibid., pp. 35-36.

⁵Ibid., pp. 38-40.

Another clergyman, William E. Blackstone, traveler and scholar, in 1891 submitted a widely sponsored plan which he considered "both feasible and politic" to the then President of the United States, Benjamin Harrison. The plan called for major action by the United States and other great world powers to be directed toward the fulfillment of that imperishable dream of Jewish national redemption.¹

In England other voices were heard in the swelling sounds of the Jewish redemptive call. Sir Laurence Oliphant;² Colonel Henry Churchill, scion of the clan which produced Winston Churchill; Colonel George Gawler, governor of South Australia; Arthur Hollingworth, devout Christian theologian; Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesburg, philanthropist and social reformer;³ and George Eliot⁴ headed the roster of influential and bold writers and speakers whose talents were poured out in behalf of Jewish National Restoration in Palestine.

In France and in Switzerland echoes of Jewish National Redemption were heard and re-echoed. Ernest Laharanne,⁵ secretary to Napoleon III, and novelist and playwright Alexandre Dumas fils⁶ represented the French advocates of

✓ ¹Learsi, Fulfillment, pp. 38-40.

²Ibid., p. 25. Grayzel, op. cit., p. 668.

³Learsi, Fulfillment, pp. 25-27.

⁴Grayzel, op. cit., p. 668.

⁵Learsi, Fulfillment, p. 27.

⁶Ibid., p. 27.

Jewish rebirth in Palestine while in Switzerland Jean Henri Dunant,¹ great humanitarian and founder of the Red Cross, lent his talents in behalf of Jewish colonization in Palestine.

Movement Into Palestine: The Return

Bilu and First Aliyah.--A human current was moving into Palestine. At times it reached flood-like proportions, at other times it subsided to the proportions of a trickling brook, but never completely drying up. The Chibat Tsiyon propelled into motion the first immigration wave that washed the shores of modern-day Palestine. This movement of sizable groups has come to be known as the First Aliyah.² When the spearhead movement, BILU, arrived in Palestine in 1882, there were some 24,000 Jews there. Most of them were dwelling in the four Holy Cities--Jerusalem, Tiberias, Safed, Hebron--and their cultural background was Oriental and Sephardic. The First Aliyah came with the ideology of productive labor, a cooperative society imbued with the principles of social justice, and return and reunion with the soil. The realization of these ideals were attempted through the establishment of a rural agricultural settlement known as Moshava.

Second Aliyah.--The Second Aliyah began about 1904 and continued until World War I. It originated in Russia and brought in about thirty thousand migrants fleeing from

¹Learsi, Fulfillment, p. 28.

²From the Hebrew la'alot--to go up, to immigrate.

the inconsistencies of a revolutionary Russia whose glowing ideals of freedom and security were punctuated with blood libels and other refinements of cruelty. These newcomers, fresh from the seething cauldron of revolution, brought with them ideas and ideals of nationalism and socialism which fused to produce a three-fold principle of self-labor, cooperative living, and self-defense. The trinitarian principle of the Second Aliyah expressed itself realistically in:

1. the kvutzah¹--a communal or collective farm settlement with none exploiting and none being exploited.
2. kibbush avodah, meaning "conquest of labor"--a formula to express their rejection of the gentlemen-farming of the First Aliyah and their creation of a Jewish peasantry to fulfill their ideal of self-labor, and
3. haShomer,² meaning "the watchman"--an organized means of self-defence and protection of their settlements against marauding groups.

Reverse trend.--Nineteen hundred and fourteen spelled disaster and world conflict. It was a colossal conflict involving the combined strength of Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire pitted against the allied power of Russia, France, and Great Britain. As the carnage continued it drew into its inferno other great nations--Japan, Turkey, Italy, and the United States. Many of the smaller powers were

¹Kvutzah--small group; kibbutz--larger equivalent.

²David Ben Gurion, Israel Prime Minister, and Isaac Ben Svi, President of Israel, were among its founders and leaders.

sucked into the bloody fray.

Jews fought as others fought, and in their fighting fought each other; and they suffered as others suffered from the inescapable miseries of warring peoples.

Immigration to Palestine took a reverse trend. The Turkish military governor of Palestine looked with suspicion upon these Russian Jews of the First and Second Aliyot and accused them of spying and engaging in subversive activities in behalf of a country with which Turkey was at war. Zionism was counted as treason; and thousands of Russian subjects in Palestine experienced imprisonment, torture, and forced evacuation.¹ Thousands fled to Egypt and thence to other countries where they became the nucleae for Jewish military units who fought with the Allies in Europe and in Palestine.

Balfour Declaration.--War's end brought various situations to various peoples; but to Zionists the world over, it brought solemn joy. The Turkish Empire had been destroyed, and Palestine was under a Mandate given to Great Britain by the League of Nations.² The British War Cabinet in an hour of distress and danger had conceived a plan of practical statesmanship parented by an utterly

¹Ben Gurion was among those expelled. He fled to the United States where he helped recruit pioneer workers for Palestine and soldiers for the Jewish Legion of which he became a member. Emil Lengyel and Ernest O. Melby, Israel: Problems of Nation-Building, Headline Series No. 89 (New York: The Foreign Policy Association, 1951), pp. 41-42.

²Paul L. Hanna, British Policy in Palestine (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1942), pp. 162-169.

incompatible pair, political expediency and biblical sentiment.

On November 2, 1917, after many months of tension-filled negotiations that went on between the British government on one hand and Zionist leaders¹ on the other hand, Arthur James Balfour, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, sent a communication which had been approved by the Cabinet to Lord Rothschild, president of the English Zionist Federation. The pronouncement contained therein, which came to be known as the Balfour Declaration, stated:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object,. . .²

Third Aliyah.--Nineteen hundred and nineteen saw the beginning of the Third Aliyah, and by 1921 it was well underway. By 1923 about 35,000 immigrants had been brought in, of whom about 92 per cent were Ashkenazi, e.i. from central or eastern Europe.³ The Third Aliyah was outstanding by reason of the idealism and courage of the Halutzim.⁴

¹Among the Zionist leaders were Louis D. Brandeis in America and Nahum Sokolow and Chaim Weizmann in Europe. Weizmann had unusual influence with British leaders due to his outstanding contributions to chemical warfare.

²Harry Sacher, Israel--The Establishment of a State (London: George Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1952), p. 4.

³Statistical Handbook of Jewish Palestine and Statistical Bulletin of Israel, cited by Patai, Israel Between East and West, p. 74.

⁴Philip Graves, Palestine, the Land of Three Faiths (London: Jonathan Cape, 1923), pp. 120 ff.

They undertook a new form of agricultural settlement, the Moshav 'Ovdim (workers' small-holders' settlement), which was based on five principles--(1) self labor on (2) national land, (3) mixed farming whose products were (4) to be sold and bought through the settlement's institutions, and (5) mutual help and responsibility.

Fourth Aliyah.--Close on the heels of the Third Aliyah came a new immigration wave. The Fourth Aliyah began moving into Palestine in 1923-24 from eastern Europe. Most of the immigrants came from Poland with a few refugees from Bolshevik Russia. They were unlike their predecessors in that they represented the capital and business of the middle class; and they came to the cities of Palestine, not to the soil. Tel Aviv is an outstanding example of the urban character of this aliyah, for it was through the efforts of immigrants of the Fourth Aliyah that Tel Aviv, which was a tiny suburb of Jaffa, ballooned with the pressure of capital investment and soon rivaled and then outdistanced Jaffa in size and wealth and social attributes. During the Fourth Aliyah which ended in 1931, some 82,000 immigrants had been brought into Palestine.¹

Palestine: A.D. 72-1931.--In the nineteen hundred year period beginning with the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 72 Palestine had been ruled successively by the Romans, Byzantines, Persians, Saracens, Crusaders,

¹Statistical Handbook and Statistical Bulletin cited by Patai, Israel Between East and West, p. 74.

Ottoman Turks, and the British. Throughout this long period of changing suzerainty, Jews continued to live in Palestine amid a checkered existence of persecution, precarious existence, privileged favor, and tolerated being. This remnant was augmented by a trickle of Jewish pilgrims and settlers who came from time to time to till the soil, to sell their wares, and/or to study the law and the lore of the Talmud.¹

In 1492, the office of the Grand Inquisitor was responsible for the flow of exiles from Spain who were welcomed into the bounds of the Turkish empire. In Palestine these Sephardic settlers congregated largely in Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed,² and Tiberias which became centers of Palestinian Jewish life. Ashkenazi Jews came singly and in groups following the mystic messianic calls which were wafted on the air from time to time.³ Hasidim came and their opponents, the Mitnagdim. From the sixteenth century onward, Palestine contained a distinct Ashkenazi group and a distinct Sephardic group.⁴ However, both groups were submerged in an oriental sea to which the Sephardim bore a

¹Dissenting Qarites came here from Babylonia. Great Jewish writers and philosophers--e.g., Maimonides, haLevi, Nachmonides--came. The famous traveler, Benjamin of Tudela, describes his visit to Palestine in "The Travels of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela," Contemporaries of Marco Polo, ed. by Manuel Komroff (London: Jonathan Cape, 1928), pp. 1160-1173.

²Considered second only to Jerusalem in sacredness. City of Qaro (compiler of Shulchan Aruch), Luria (leader of Cabala). Grave of Yochai (author of Zohar, mystic book) at Merom, near Safed.

³Silver, op. cit.

⁴Patai, Israel Between East and West, p. 56.

greater likeness and to which they contributed more mass.

These old inhabitants of Palestine are referred to as the Old Yashuv.¹ The great majority of the Old Yishuv lived in near poverty, maintained by the institution of Halukka² (distribution, dole) while they submerged themselves in the study of the Talmud and in its observances, justifying this supported asceticism on the basis that they were the protectors and defenders of the faith and the intermediaries between World Jewry and God.

In 1882, there were about 24,000 Jews in Palestine, the great majority of whom were Sephardic and Oriental living in an Oriental-Arab culture complex.³ The First and Second Aliyot brought in some 49,000 immigrants, most of whom were of European origin. During these early years of settlement, many of the young settlers, whose intense idealism could not be tempered by wisdom, fell victim to the malarial swamps, and to other diseases, and to the knives and guns of marauding groups.⁴ Added to this was the reverse migratory trend forced into motion by the Turkish authorities in which some 15,000 persons were forcibly deported. Thus it was that by 1918 the number of Jews in Palestine was about 56,000.

¹Meaning "settlement" from verb la-shevet to sit, settle.

²Had its beginnings in fifteenth century Europe. Donations by Jews for the support of the Jewish remnant in Palestine.

³See Byng for discussion of Arab culture complex.

⁴Svi Rosensweig, Aleh!, Part II (Tel Aviv: Hotzaot Yavneh, n.d.)

Of that number, about 33,000 or 58.9 per cent were of Ashkenazi origin, having come mainly from eastern and central Europe; 11,000 or 19.6 per cent were of Sephardic origin, having come from Spain by way of lands of the Turkish empire, or North Africa, or Italy, or directly to Palestine; and about 12,000 or 21.5 per cent were Oriental Jews, e.i., Jews whose ancestry had no European experience but rather had settled in Near and Middle Eastern countries hundreds and thousands of years before when vicissitudes of politically-inspired catastrophes dictated their leaving Palestine. With this group is counted the small remnant whose ancestors never left Palestine.

Together the Oriental and the Sephardic (quasi-Oriental) Jews constituted a population of 23,000 or 41.1 per cent of the total Jewish population. Practically all the other non-Jewish population elements such as the Moslem and Christian Arabs, Beduins, Druzes, Semi-Moslems, Bahais, and others are Oriental peoples. Thus it was that up until the end of World War I the culture of Palestine was predominantly Oriental as it had been from its beginnings.

During the period of the Third and Fourth Aliyot, from 1919 to 1931, some 117,000 persons, of whom the overwhelming majority were Ashkenazi, were introduced into an Oriental culture in which well-established Jewish groups of European as well as Oriental origin were participating. As a result of this contact certain Arab-Jewish culture traits were taken over by the newcomers, but this process

of acculturation never reached the high degree which it had attained during the settling of the First and Second Aliyot, the degree being higher with the First than with the Second. The New Yishuv¹ was creating a cultural atmosphere of its own emanating from the complexes of its own language,² own economy, own labor and the products thereof, own society,³ and own culture.⁴

Fifth Aliyah: Westernization.--Early in 1933, von Hindenburg, president of the German republic, called the Nazis to power and touched off a campaign of horror that was to affect all mankind in general and the Jewish people in particular. From Poland, Russia, Romania, Hungary, Germany, and other countries touched by the Nazi plague, Jews fled to whatever land would take them. In the eight years between 1932 and 1939, about 225,000 Jews entered Palestine, many of whom brought capital and industrial skills to add to the economy of the New Yishuv. But the element which was implicit in their coming and which they

¹Those who came in to Palestine since 1882.

²Ben Jehuda, carrying on in the tradition of the neo-Hebrew writers, authored a neo-Hebrew dictionary and devoted his total efforts to the acceptance of this revitalized Hebrew as the lingua franca of the Return.

³There was a realistic deployment of socialistic ideals in collectives and communal settlements. "We are no more a nation of shopkeepers and middlemen, but a nation of farmers and shepherds." They created a peasant-intelligentsia and a labor-elite in contrast to the feudalism of Arab lands replete with illiterate and impoverished masses and fabulously wealthy overlords.

⁴Even the folk songs took on the full throbbing Slavic rhythm in contrast to the early folksongs whose scale, rhythm, and tone show the influence of the Orient.

brought without conscious knowledge or premeditated intent was the deciding weight of Westernization which tipped the culture-balance far into the Western sphere. The Ashkenazi element reached 77.5 per cent. The Westernization process was well underway, and the socio-cultural structure of Palestine began to take on the characteristics of western Europe with a specific Hebrew flavor.

The physical structure of Palestine was also undergoing change. The idealism of the pioneer movement was taking shape in the form of a revitalized soil and reforested hills, drained swamps and developed farms, erected towns and embryonic cities.

Immigration restrictions: White Paper--In May of 1939, a new British policy was promulgated in the White Paper issued by British Colonial Secretary Malcolm MacDonald.¹ A provision dealing with immigration of Jews into Palestine set up a quota of a 75,000 maximum for a five year period--10,000 a year with an additional 25,000 throughout the five year period as an act of mercy toward those fleeing the Nazi deluge of horror.² At the end of the five year period Jewish immigration would come to a full and complete stop unless the Arabs of Palestine, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Transjordan, and Iraq would agree to its continuation.

¹Esco Foundation for Palestine, A Study of Jewish, Arab, and British Policies, Vol. II (London: Oxford University Press, 1947) pp. 876-955.

²Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 905-907.

Aliyah Bet: Illegal immigration.--The White Paper came on the heels of the Nazi blitz of Czechoslovakia, Bohemia, Moravia; and the victims of the Nazi conflagration were mounting into the millions. Thousands of refugees from the mass murder of Nazism were rudely halted in their chaotic flight by the barriers imposed by the MacDonald White Paper. Caught between the racist-crazed hordes of Nazi Germany and the damming-up policy of the British government, the human current diverted from the established channels and made its way to Palestine through dangerously new and uncharted courses. This immigration wave which pounded the shores of Palestine until 1948 came to be known as Aliyah Bet.¹

Masses of wanderers, for whom restrictive laws had closed the gates of almost every civilized land, sought to enter Palestine via the process of the illegal immigration of Aliyah Bet. Thousands came by long, surreptitious, and circuitous channels reversing the trend along the routes taken by their forefathers hundreds and thousands of years before. Central and east European Jews fled into Russia, made their way across Siberia to Chinese ports, thence via the sea lanes of the Indian Ocean to ports on the Mediterranean Sea. Others followed the routes of the East Indies to Capetown, wandering north through African states, reaching Egypt

¹Sacher, op. cit., pp. 45 ff.

I. F. Stone, This Is Israel (New York: Boni and Gaere, 1949), pp. 36-38.

Ruth Gruber, Destination Palestine (New York: Current Books, 1948).

and the Greek islands and arriving by sea on "coffin ships"¹ carrying their illicit cargo. The maapilim² (illegal immigrants) filtered across frontiers, they were smuggled via the sea, they were contraband brought into ports. The Palestinian Yishuv coordinated their efforts with European Zionist Groups.³ Budapest became the center of the radiating channels of underground resistance and rescue that led tens of thousands via Mediterranean and Black Sea ports to the derelict freighters that carried these piteous men, women, and children toward Palestine.

World War II and the Battle of Immigration.--While Palestinian Jewry were fighting the Battle of Immigration with the British government as their principal foe, during the war years of World War II they fought with the British as their principal ally. The Yishuv furnished manpower, technical ability and other resources in a national effort to end the holocaust of World War II, meanwhile continuing in the grim fight to rescue and bring in to Palestine the escapees of German slaughterhouses and crematoriums.⁴ The explanation for this strange war within a war was given by

¹Sacher, op. cit., p. 47.

²Meaning "daring ones."

³Their stories are heroic and tragic. E.g., Marie Syrkin, Blessed Is the Match (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1947).

⁴Bergen-Belsen, Treblinka, Auschwitz, Dachau, Buchenwald, to name only a few.

David Ben Gurion¹ when he said, "We will fight the war [World War II] as if there were no White Paper, and we will fight the White Paper as if there were no war."²

World War II ended in 1945, but the Battle of Immigration went on. The displaced-persons camps³ of Germany and Austria were the temporary home of over 200,000 homeless Jewish refugees. Romania, Hungary, and the Balkans contained tens of thousands of homeless, displaced Jews, while Algeria, Italy, France and other countries that had been liberated by the Allied Powers contained thousands. There were over 25,000 in Switzerland alone.

These stateless Jews cared not what was in Palestine or what it would take to get them there. They wanted only to flee from surroundings that kept fresh memories of horror they had witnessed and experienced. Europe **could** provide for them only a "heritage of despoilation, disorder and hate"⁴ while Palestine meant work and "psychological security."⁵

¹At that time chairman of the Zionist Executive in Palestine.

²Learsi, Fulfillment, p. 328.

David Ben Gurion, Rebirth and Destiny of Israel, ed. and trans. from the Hebrew under the supervision of Mordekhai Nurok (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954).

³Carl Hermann Voss, The Palestine Problem Today (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1953), pp. 16 ff.

Richard Crossman, Palestine Mission (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947).

Bartley C. Crum, Behind the Silken Curtain (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1947).

⁴Esco Foundation, op. cit., p. 953.

⁵Ibid., p. 953.

In both Britain and America protests were made against the restrictive immigration policy of the White Paper, and recommendations were made for the entry of these refugees to Palestine.¹ The White Paper stood, tension in Palestine increased, and extremism found ready soil for growth.

The Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Group² were intent on bringing Jews into Palestine and forcing the British out. The Haganah,³ a quasi-underground force, continued to be the legitimate self-defense Jewish force in Palestine. Among its membership were the thousands of Palestinian Jews trained by the British for fighting in the North African and European theatres of war.

Partition plan.--Sharp criticism of the vacillating policy of the British Mandatory administration poured in upon the British government from many sides.⁴ In Palestine there was constant harassment by the terrorist organizations coupled with varied and unexpected forms of military resistance by the Haganah despite wholesale arrest and foreign imprisonment⁵ of national leaders and others suspected of local leadership. The Palestinian Jewish community offered

¹Crossman, op. cit.; Crum, op. cit.

²Arthur Koestler, Promise and Fulfillment (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), pp. 90-98.

³Ibid., pp. 68-89.

⁴American Jewish Conference, A Survey of Facts and Opinions on Problems of Post-War Jewry in Europe and Palestine (New York: The Comet Press, 1943), p. 80.

⁵In the crown colony of Kenya.

passive resistance; and non-cooperation abounded. In February 1947 in the midst of this multi-factor situation, the British presented to the United Nations the problem of Palestine. The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine--UNSCOP--was appointed by the General Assembly for the purpose of investigating the problem in its entirety and suggesting recommendations that might possibly lead to a solution.¹ The majority plan of partition of Palestine into three distinct political units--a Jewish state, an Arab state, and an internationalized Jerusalem--was adopted by the United Nations in General Assembly on November 29, 1947.²

Rebirth of the Hebrew nation.--On May 14-15, 1949, three events occurred which created a new and unique chapter in political history:

1. His Majesty's government gave up the Palestine Mandate and brought to a complete halt the administrative machinery of an entire country, withdrawing or aborting many of its integral parts.
2. The newly formed National Council of State assembled in the Tel Aviv art museum³ "representing the Jewish people in Palestine and the Zionist movement of the world . . . by virtue of the natural and historic right of the

¹Jorge Garcia Granados, The Birth of Israel (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1948).

²Shabtai Rosenne, Israel's Armistice Agreements with the Arab States (Tel Aviv: Blumstein's Bookstores, Limited, 1951), pp. 9 ff.

United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, Report to the General Assembly, Vol. I. Official Records of the Second Session of the General Assembly, Supplement No. 11, Lake Success, 1947.

³Stone, op. cit., pp. 51-55.

Jewish people and of the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations," proclaimed "the establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine, to be called Israel" and declared further that the State of Israel would be open to the immigration of Jews from all the countries of the dispersion.¹ And at once they set into operation their own machinery of state in accordance with the United Nations Partition Plan.

3. Seven Arab nations,² having condemned the United Nations and the partition plan, undertook to fulfill their promises to fight it; and on May 15 Palestine was invaded by five³ member states of the Arab League.

The victorious Battle of Immigration was immediately succeeded by battle for newly-proclaimed independence. AbdurRahman Assam Pasha, who was then secretary for the Arab League and its official spokesman, declared in a B.B.C. broadcast: "This will be a war of extermination and a mementous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian Massacres and the Crusades."⁴ This was talk which the Jews understood. They had heard it and experienced its effects in every age and in many lands. The declaration of the State of Israel had been their answer in deed; and as in times past, their verbal answer was "ain brerah," meaning "no other choice." And so they fought.

By the spring of 1949, the United Nations had called

¹Israel Before the Security Council, May 15-July 15, 1948 (New York: Israeli Mission to the United Nations, 1948), pp. 1-3.

²Egypt, Lebanon, Yemen, Iraq, Transjordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia.

³Egypt, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq.

⁴Learsi, Fulfillment, p. 384; Voss, op. cit., p. 26.

for a cease-fire;¹ and Acting Mediator Dr. Ralph Bunche began the negotiation of armistice agreements between Israel and the limitrophe Arab states of Syria, Lebanon, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordon, and Egypt.² These agreements were concluded in 1949, and the newly-created State of Israel was firmly established and was recognized among the nations of the world.³

Ingathering of the Exiles.--With statehood came the realistic fulfilling of pre-statehood concepts. Not quite a year after the Declaration of Independence announced that "the State of Israel will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion," Prime Minister David Ben Gurion stated in the Israel Parliament: "It was for this (mass immigration) that the State was established, and it is by virtue of this alone that it will stand."⁴ He referred to the policy of free Jewish immigration to which Israel had pledged itself, and which came to be known as Kibbutz Galuyoth, ingathering of exiles. In the twenty years between 1932 and 1952, 1,033,485 Jews immigrated into Palestine-Israel. Of that number, 698,123 came in during the period May 15, 1948-June 30, 1952.⁵

¹Israel Before the Security Council; Supplement No. 11.

²Rosenne, op. cit., pp. 10 ff.

³In May, 1949, Israel was admitted as a member of the United Nations, granted defacto status by Russia and de jure by the United States and Great Britain. Gerald deGaury, The New State of Israel (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1952), pp. 19-20.

⁴Ibid., p. 27.

⁵Jerusalem Post, Economic Supplement, December 1, 1952, p. 12.

Because of the overwhelming number who came in from Asia and Africa bringing with them a distinct and easily recognized culture, this thundering immigration current has come to be known as the Oriental Aliyah, with distinct waves bearing distinct and romantically fanciful names,¹ and was characterized by its heterogenous fabric.

Oriental Aliyah: Sources

North Africa.--Along the fringes of the North African coast in Tripoli, Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria were large Jewish communities inhabited by Jews of Berber and Spanish origin.² Through the centuries of their North African settlement their fate was determined by the attitudes of the rulers of their respective territories. The ghetto or mellah was their home; their cultural form was the oriental of their overlords; and their occupations were largely manual and heavy-labor trades, some leather and jewelry manufacture and Mediterranean commerce. The security of assimilation into the Moslem milieu resulted in an almost complete abandonment of Jewish traditions, customs, and knowledge. Nineteenth century European imperialism brought extreme changes in civil status, manners, language, customs, which produced a sort of mongrel-French frame of reference. During World War II large portions of Jewish populations in

¹E.g., Operation Magic Carpet from Yemen; Operation Ali Baba from Iraq.

²Joseph J. Williams, Hebrewisms of West Africa (New York: L. MacVeagh, the Dial Press, 1930), pp. 186-216.

the path of the German advance in North Africa were deported or destroyed. In the aftermath of the war there were to be found remnants of the ancient Jewish communities of coastal North Africa.

Egypt.--Jews had been in Egypt since pre-Christian times. With the advent of the Saracen invasion a type of Moslem Marrano made its appearance among Egyptian Jewry. The defeat of the oppressive Mamelukes¹ by the Turks in 1517 was followed by the settling of Spanish and Portuguese Jewish exiles. Jewish religious activity reappeared and constituted a differentiating element among a people who were Arabs in all but faith. Egypt has also been the home of many Qarites. When England gained hegemony over Egypt in the nineteenth century, the Jewish communities of Cairo and Alexandria received many European Jews. These two cities became centers of culture in the Near East.²

African interior.--The interior of the continent of Africa holds unique and varied forms of Jewish life.³ Jewish Agency teams were able to contact the nomadic Jews of the desert who huddle around the sparse greenery of the oases. There are those to whom the desert sands are home, and the spirit of the yellow sands sustain them in their rejection of inhabited places. There are small primitive groups

¹Mercenary slave-soldiers who became master of Egypt in 1250. A.D. "Mamelukes," Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. XVIII.

²Williams, op. cit., pp. 257-288.

³Ibid., pp. 217-256.

dwelling in mountain caves: and there are those Jews who are the cultured slaves of Moslem noblemen.

Among these various peoples Judaism takes on diverse forms and may be found to contain various elements of strange superstition. The Hebrew that exists among them is the ancient Hebrew modified by a diversity of local dialects.

Abyssinia.--Interesting among these peoples are the black-skinned Jews of Abyssinia who are known as Falashas.¹ They are thought to have their beginnings in the district of Assuan where in 600 B.C. thousands of Israelites and Judeans settled. Haile Selassie, King of Ethiopia, claims descent from Menelik, son of the union of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba;² and it is claimed by the Jews of Abyssinia that the wise men and priests sent by Solomon to advise his son established Judaism there.

Intermarriage and other assimilatory measures have produced this unique group of people discovered in 1867 by Professor Joseph Halevi (1827-1917), a French orientalist, and reported by him to number in the vicinity of 100,000 people. They are unfamiliar with Hebrew and their Torah

¹Meaning "strangers."

Norman Bentwich, Israel (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952), p. 64.

Williams, op. cit., pp. 159-185.

²Professor W. F. Albright of Johns Hopkins University, speaking at Ratisbonne Hall in Jerusalem on October 8, 1953, declared that archaeological evidence proves the co-existence of the empires of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

is written in an ancient Abyssinian dialect. The absence of Talmudic literature indicates isolation from rabbinical Judaism.

Statistical Summary: Africa.--In the twenty year period from 1932 to 1952, 100,757 immigrants came to Palestine-Israel from Africa; 97,575 of whom came between May 15, 1948 and June 30, 1952.¹

Yemen.--Tradition holds that Jews came to Yemen in their flight from the Babylonian conquest of Judah (586 B.C.). Theirs was a history of periodic peace, prosperity, and political power interspersed with persecution and its restrictive measures. The Moslems proved to be hard taskmasters, and the Yemenite Jews have remained in the status of second-class citizens for hundreds of years.²

Yemenite Jewry maintained touch with the Oriental Jewry of Palestine and Babylonia and were influenced by Cabalism and Oriental-Sephardic talmudic tradition. They rejected Ashkenazi interpretations, in particular the edict of Gershom ben Judah³ which abolished polygamy. They engaged actively in proselyting and intermarried with these converts to Judaism.

Physically, they are slight of build, the average male weight being about 135 pounds; complexion varies from

¹Jerusalem Post, December 1, 1952, p. 12.

²The Exodus From Yemen, compiled and published by Keren haYesod /Foundation Found/, Jerusalem, n.d.

³Vide supra, p. 33.

bronze to brown; features are thin. Their culture is that of the Arab world. In the economic realm, they engage in manual arts, being especially proficient in smithing, tanning, building, etc.

Theirs was the dramatic flight of Operation Magic Carpet; and via this operation between July 1949 and March 1950 about 40,000 Yemenites were brought to Israel.

Iran and Turkey.--From Turkey and Iran (Persia),¹ non-Arab states in the Middle East, came a migration wave soon after the establishment of Israel. Jewish communities in Turkey (Asia Minor) and Iran date back to pre-Christian times. It was under the Persian king, Cyrus, that a return to Palestine was made under the leadership of Ezra (ca. 536 B.C.). The Jews of these two countries were under the spiritual authority of the Geonim of Mesopotamia (Babylonia). Constituting a minority, they suffered socio-economic restriction. With the ascendancy of the Shiite sect of Islam in Persia came concomitant restrictive measures for Jews eventually leading to forced conversion. Many Jews converted to Bahaism² in order to escape persecution yet cling to an essence of Judaism.

The military victory of the Jews over the Arabs and the subsequent forming of a State of Israel fanned into

¹Walter J. Fischel, "Israel in Iran," The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion, Vol. II, ed. by Louis Finkelstein (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, n.d.), pp. 817-856.

²American Christian Palestine Committee, "Situation of Jews in Communist Countries and Arab Lands Bleak," Land Reborn, January-February, 1952, p 14.

flame the religio-nationalistic sparks; and the Jews of Iran and Turkey began to make their way Israel-ward. Their legal exodus meant leaving everything tangible behind; their illegal exodus after having been refused permit to leave also necessitated the relinquishing of all chattel goods.

Iraq.--Jewish ascendancy in the Middle East was paralleled by a disastrous deterioration in the status of Jews in Arab lands. In Iraq, ancient Jewish communities, whose existence at most had been precarious, became the victims of even more vicious attacks.¹ With the rise of Israel and unlimited immigration, the Jews of Iraq came in such numbers that within a few years after statehood, Iraq was almost emptied of all its Jews. In the twenty years preceding statehood, about 5,000 Iraqi Jews had come to Israel; however, between May 15, 1948 and June 30, 1952, more than 120,000 crowded through Israel's open gates by way of the project entitled "Operation Ali Baba."²

Russo-Persian fringe.--The neighborhood of the Persian kingdom is the locale of several comparatively unknown Jewish settlements which have had very rare contact with other Jewish groups since their beginnings. As for their beginnings, they all claim descent from the ten northern Hebrew tribes that comprised the Kingdom of Israel and which were conquered and dispersed by the Assyrians in 721 B.C.

¹American Christian Palestine Committee, "Situation of Jews in Communist Countries and Arab Lands Bleak," Land Reborn, January-February, 1952, p. 14.

²Bentwich, op. cit., p. 70.

Grayzel¹ estimates that in 1948 in the province of Kurdistan, which is between Turkey and Persia, there were between 20,000 and 30,000 Jews; and that the region between the Black and Caspian Seas, in Georgia and Daghestan, held about 50,000. Part of this region is in Russian territory. Turkestan, which is north of Persia, and Bokhara,² which is north of Afghanistan, had a combined population of about 10,000 Jews; and Afghanistan, to the east of Persia, held about 5,000 Jews.³ These people have met and mingled with the barbaric hordes that have swept back and forth across their territories; and their social and religious customs have been greatly influenced by the people among whom they have been dwelling.⁴ These Jews were contacted by Jewish Agency teams who succeeded in bringing many of them into Israel on the wave of the Oriental Aliyah.

India.--There are two known Jewish communities in India. One is located in Cochin on the Malabra coast near the southeast tip of India, and the other in Bombay on the west coast, and in the vicinity thereof. It is presumed that these settlements were created by Jews from Babylonia

¹Grayzel, op. cit., pp. 740 ff.

²The Jews of Bokhara "hold to this mystical teaching of the Kabbala" and many came to Palestine for pious study before the Mandate. Bentwich, op. cit., p. 71.

³Bentwich, op. cit., p. 70.

⁴The Jews of Kurdistan, for example, practice wife-purchase and child-marriage and chant mystical incantations over graves.

and Persia who followed the expansion of Islam. "It is said they are the descendants of the Jews who were sent to India by Solomon to capture elephants for his use and to work in the gold mines."¹

During the Spanish Inquisition Jews from Spain and Portugal came to India. These new arrivals kept themselves aloof from the old Cochin Jewry who, having yielded to their Hindu milieu, were Indians physically and culturally. The near 2,000 Jews of Cochin were all orthodox in their practice of Judaism, subscribing to Sephardic ritual and interpretation.

In the Bombay community, the brown-skinned Jews had little contact with outside Jewry. Yielding also to Moslem and Hindu influences, they modified and neglected many observances of Judaism. However, they adhered to the Torah and offered sacrifices.² Bombay Jews refer to themselves as the Bnei Israel (sons of Israel) and claim to have immigrated from Israel in the eighth century B.C. when the Northern Kingdom of Israel was destroyed by the Assyrians. Prior to World War II, they numbered about 15,000. The coming of European Jews in recent years has augmented that

¹Williams, op. cit., p. 150.

Recent research has brought to light alphabet links between the ancient Brahmin script of India and the Hebrew of Solomon's day. Words of Sanskrit origin are to be found in Hebrew Old Testament. In I Kings 10:22 the Hebrew words shenhabim, gophim, and tukiyim (meaning ivory, apes, peacocks, respectively) are from Sanskrit ibha, kapi, togei or toghi or sikhi. Elisha Nattiv, "Alphabet Links India With Israel," Jerusalem Post, November 20, 1953.

²Williams, op. cit., p. 150.

number, but it has also seen the creation of a caste system similar to that imposed upon the dark-skinned Cochin Jews by the Sephardim. Jews from both communities emigrated to Israel in the Oriental Aliyah.¹

China.--The modern settling of Jews in China began around the middle of the nineteenth century when China's isolation from the western world was temporarily broken. Jews were part of that feverish commercial invasion of China, coming from Persia, India, and Russia. Settlements were made in HongKong, Shanghai, Tientsin, and Harbin--a city near the Russian border. Refugees from east European pogroms increased the size and number of these and other settlements. In the 1930's, German Jews found refuge in China adding their numbers to the other relatively recent settlements. Their recent experience in China and increased communication with the rest of the world permitted the preservation of most of the cultural norms of their native lands with minor adaptation to the Chinese complex.

However, among the ancient Jewish settlements, as in India, the old Chinese Jews were completely Chinese except for a modified form of Judaism.² Their traditions place their beginnings in China in the first two centuries A.D., perhaps in search of silk for the silk-loving Romans. Their contacts with Jews of other lands were practically nil. This

¹Bentwich, op. cit., p. 70.

²Adaptation of Chinese dress and language; and intermarriage.

is evidenced by the fact that Talmudic Judaism is completely unknown to them. They have the Torah, most of the Prophets and Sacred Writings and some of the Apocrypha.¹ The Synagogue includes the Chinese element of the Ancestor's Hall in which bowls of incense are placed in memory of Abraham, Joshua, Ezra, etc., at the times that the other Chinese conduct memorial services. Most of these ancient settlements were in the interior of China, the most important being Kai-feng Fu in the province of Honan.²

In 1950-51 about 5,000 Chinese Jews arrived in Israel. Much of this number were Jews of European origin, but it also included those from ancient Jewish congregations.³

Japan.--Tradition holds that Jews came to Japan early in the Christian era⁴ and merged with the Japanese population. There are a number of ancient inscriptions which have been interpreted as meaning "David," "Manassah," "Ephraim," etc.⁵

Some of Japanese Jewry dates back to the seventeenth century when relations were established between Japan and

¹Writings up until and through Hellenistic Period.

²Williams, op. cit., pp. 151-152.

³Bentwich., op. cit., p. 70.

⁴There is a legend held among certain of the Japanese that Jesus and some of his disciples came to Japan and there lived and died. This accounts for the shrine built over the supposed burial place of Christ in Japan. (Related to the writer of this paper by Professors Alma and James E. Wood, Jr. of Seinan Gakuin University, Fykyoka, Japan.)

⁵Old Testament names, some being tribal names.

Holland. Other Japanese-Jewish settlements were organized around the middle of the nineteenth century when Japan was opened to the rest of the West. Russian Jews organized a community in Nagasaki; and Sephardic Jews, coming from Syria and India, settled in Kobe. In 1930, according to Grayzel,¹ there were about five hundred known Jewish families, many of whom were native to Japan.

Statistical summary: Asia.--In the twenty year period between 1932 and 1952, 272,303 Jewish immigrants came to Israel from various Asian lands. Of this number, 241,890 came between May 15, 1948 and June 30, 1952.²

Eastern Oceania.--Following the conquest of the Philippine Islands by Spain in the sixteenth century, came Marranos with other Europeans for purposes of settling. It is said that some of these Marranos practiced Judaism secretly even up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. After World War I, Jews from Russia and other parts of the world came to settle, increasing the number of Jews to about five hundred. They became, for the most part, merchants. There is one synagogue in the Islands--in Manila--and the members practice a moderate Judaism.³

Jews went to the Dutch East Indies to settle soon after their acquisition by Holland in the sixteenth century. For the most part they assimilated; however, there remain

¹Grayzel, op. cit., pp. 750-751.

²Jerusalem Post, December 1, 1952, p. 12.

³Grayzel, op. cit., pp. 750-751.

several very small and scattered Jewish communities.

Jewish Immigration Into Palestine-Israel:
Statistical Recapitulation and Interpretation

In 1882 the Jewish population in Palestine was about 24,000; in 1952 it numbered about 1,500,000. For the most part this tremendous population increase was the result of the waves of immigration that deposited at times thousands of immigrants in a single month on Israel's shore.

TABLE 1
IMMIGRATION WAVES INTO PALESTINE-ISRAEL^a

Name of Wave	Period of Time	No. of Persons
First Aliyah.	1882-1903	25,000 ^b
Second Aliyah.	1903-1914	40,000
Turkish Deportation.	1914-1919	-15,000
Third Aliyah.	1919-1923	35,000
Fourth Aliyah.	1923-1931	82,000
Fifth Aliyah.	1931-1939	225,000
Restricted and Illegal.	1939-1948 ^c	110,000 ^d
Oriental.	1948-1952 ^e	699,000
Total		1,201,000

^aStatistics compiled from Patai, Israel Between East and West, pp. 56-78; Jerusalem Post, December 1, 1952, p. 12; Esco, Vol. II, p. 952.

^bRound numbers are being used for convenience.

^cMay, 1948.

^dUnder the terms of the White Paper of 1931, 75,000 were authorized for a five year period. The British administration deducted from this quota their estimates of illegal entries. During the five year period 1939-1944, their estimate of known and unknown illegals amounted to 26,459. Esco Foundation for Palestine, A Study of Jewish, Arab, and British Policies, Vol. II, p. 952.

^eUntil June 30, 1952.

Prior to the First Aliyah in 1882, the majority of the Jews of Palestine were of Oriental and Sephardic (semi-

Oriental) origin and background. During the years of the First and Second Aliyah, immigration to Palestine was almost exclusively Ashkenazi in origin; however, it was still so small numerically that it did not constitute a culture threat to the traditions and forms of the Oriental culture. On the contrary, the newcomers assimilated themselves to the established Arab-Jewish culture, emulating many of the existing culture traits.

During the years of the Third and Fourth Aliyot, again immigration was almost exclusively Ashkenazi. The dominant ethnic group was Ashkenazi, and Westernization began to take the lead. Although the years of the Fifth Aliyah showed a definite thickening in the thin stream of immigrants of Oriental origin who came in along with the others, the Ashkenazi element was overwhelming; and the tide was turned in favor of Westernization.

In the years of illegal and restricted immigration, the percentage still favored the Ashkenazi; however, there was an increase in the number of Orientals. But with the establishment of the new state and unrestricted immigration, there was an influx of immigrants of Oriental and Sephardic origin. In the years 1949, 1950, 1951, and 1952,¹ the number of Oriental and Sephardic immigrants surpassed the Ashkenazi, and the Ashkenazi, or Westernization, element was severely threatened.

¹Until June 30, 1952.

TABLE 2

IMMIGRATION WAVES TO PALESTINE-ISRAEL^a
 ACCORDING TO CULTURAL ORIGIN

Wave	Years	Ashkenazi	Oriental- Sephardic	Unknown	Total
First . .	1882-1903	24,000	1,000		25,000
Second. .	1903-1914	38,000	2,000		40,000
Third . .	1919-1923	29,000	2,500	3,500	35,000
Fourth. .	1923-1931	64,000	10,000	8,000	82,000
Fifth . .	1931-1939	170,000	16,000	39,000	225,000
Bet ^b . . .	1939-1948 ^c	60,000	20,000	30,000	110,000
Oriental.	1948-1952 ^d	293,500	387,500	18,000	699,000
Total . .		678,500	439,000	98,500	1,216,000

^aSources as stated for Table 1.

^bIllegal and restricted; unofficial estimates.

^cAs of May 1948.

^dAs of June 1952.

Prior to May 1948, Europe had sent four-fifths of all the immigrants that came into Palestine. From May 1948 until June 1952, less than one-half came from Europe, the majority coming from Asia and Africa.

TABLE 3

IMMIGRANTS' COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN^a

Countries	May 15, 1932- May 15, 1948	May 15, 1948- June 2, 1952
Asia	30,413	241,890
Iraq, Yemen, Turkey, others.		
Africa	3,182	97,575
Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Libya, South Africa, Others.		
Europe	281,698	336,072
Poland, Romania, Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, others.		
America and Oceania	4,660	3,797
Not Stated	15,409	18,789
All Countries	335,362	698,123

^aStatistics obtained from Jerusalem Post, December 1, 1952, p. 12.

Until statehood came in 1948, the Jewish community was a minority group within the total population of Palestine. On the whole, Jewish life constituted a separate entity. The situation was that of a group existing within a larger group but maintaining a social, cultural and political life of its own. It occupied the unique position of a Western isle in an Oriental sea.

Increased Jewish immigration into Palestine with Western standards had the effect of lessening mortality rates and increasing life expectancy among the Arabs of the land. In addition to this, better economic conditions attracted Arabs from neighboring lands into Palestine. Thus, we find an increase in Arab population as Jewish population increased.

During Israel's War of Independence, some 600,000¹ Arabs fled from Israel, having been encouraged to do so by Arab leaders with the promise that they would return in the wake of the conquering Arab armies and would claim the "Jewish farms and villages, cattle and chickens, homes and shops."² Added to their confusion was their fear of reciprocal action by the Jews for past atrocities committed against them by extremists incited by Arabs.

The Arabs who stayed and the other non-Jewish groups who remained became with the establishment of the State of

¹Voss, op. cit., p. 36.

²Ibid., p. 26.

Israel minority groups. The democratic framework in which the State of Israel operates has brought these minorities into the social, economic, cultural, and political scene in which the day-to-day activities of life are enacted.

Inasmuch as almost all these non-Jewish peoples are Oriental and, therefore, have a close cultural relationship to the Oriental and Sephardic population of Israel, together they constitute a cultural majority.¹

TABLE 4

PALESTINE-ISRAEL ARAB AND JEWISH POPULATION^a

People	1921	1931	1942	1952 ^b
Arabs ^c . .	660,641	851,110	1,122,476	180,000
Jews. . .	83,790	174,610	484,408	1,430,000
Total .	744,431	1,025,720	1,606,884	1,610,000

^aStatistical Yearbook 1948 (Lake Success: Statistical Office of the United Nations, 1948). Patai, Israel Between East and West, pp. 56-78. deGaury, op. cit., p. 26.

^bMiddle of 1952.

^cIncludes Moslem and Christian (of which a small percentage is of European origin) and quasi-Moslem.

Bentwich states that in 1952 the program of the Israel planners included the bringing-in during the next three years of 400,000 immigrants from the Oriental countries of Turkey, Syria, Persia, Egypt, and North Africa (Tun, Morocco, Algeria, etc.).² In 1952, North Africa alone had a Jewish population of over 500,000; and the explosive nature of the differing political situations could necessitate

¹See Table 5.

²Bentwich, op. cit., p. 72.

a mass exodus. Thus, it is likely that immigration from Oriental lands will be maintained.

TABLE 5
POPULATION OF ISRAEL IN 1952^a
ETHNIC COMPOSITION^b

Ethnic Origin	Breakdown	Population
Ashkenazi. . .		862,000
Oriental . . .		748,000
Jews . . .		568,000
Arabs. . .		180,000
Total. . .		1,610,000

^aAs of July 1, 1952.

^bCompiled from Patai, Israel Between East and West, pp. 56-78.

Immigration to Israel during the year August 1954 to August 1955 reached some 32,000. Of this number 18,000 came from Morocco and 7,000 came from Tunis, Algiers, and Tangiers. About 1,000 came from India while the rest came from Iraq, Persia, Turkey, Yemen, Hungary, Poland, England, France, Bulgaria, and Russia.¹ Of the 172 immigrants that arrived on one boat in August of 1954, 153 persons were from North Africa while ten were from Europe, eight from South America and one from the United States.²

In addition to the augmentation of the Oriental

¹Statistics given by Dr. G. Josephthal, Treasurer of the Jewish Agency in the Jerusalem Post, August 31, 1955, p. 2.

²"More Arrivals from North Africa Bring Month's Total to 1,000," Jerusalem Post, August 27, 1954, p. 1.

community and influence by dint of immigration, there exists the factor of natural increase. Inasmuch as the reproduction rate among Orientals is much higher than that among Westerners, the Oriental element is constantly being increased at a higher rate than the Western element.

TABLE 6

CRUDE BIRTH RATES FOR 1932 AND 1945^a

Live Births Per 1,000 Midyear Populations

Country	1932	1945
Palestine ^b		
Moslems	49.0	54.2
Jews	29.1	30.2
Egypt	42.5	42.6
United States ^c	17.4	25.8
Bulgaria ^d	31.5	24.0

^aStatistics taken from Y. N. Yearbook 1948.^bExcludes nomadic Beduins, war refugees and other residents.^cExcludes armed forces overseas.^dIncluding Southern Dobruja.

In Palestine in 1946, the birthrate of the Jews, who comprised the Western element, compared favorably with that of the United States and Bulgaria, also representing Western elements. However, the birthrate of the Moslem community, which represents the Oriental element, is even higher than that of Egypt, also an Oriental country, and is almost twice as high as the Jewish or Western birthrate.

Patai, using a study done by Bachi for the period 1938-1940 in Israel, states:

The average number of children of both sexes born to Ashkenazi mothers during their entire lifetime begins with a minimum of 1.32 (women born in Austria) and ends

with a maximum of 1.83 (women born in all American countries taken together).¹

He further states:

The Oriental women lead with a minimum of 4.63 (Syria and the Lebanon) and a maximum of 7.28 (Yemenites).²

According to Table 6, between 1932 and 1945 the Oriental (Moslem) birthrate jumped almost five points while the Western (Jewish) birth rate jumped a fraction over one point. This differential is not balanced off by an accompanying increase in number of deaths among Orientals (Moslems). Rather the picture reveals an inverse trend--a decrease in death rates.

TABLE 7

CRUDE DEATH RATES FOR 1932 AND 1945^a

Number of Deaths, Exclusive of Still Births
Per 1,000 Midyear Population

Country	1932	1945
Palestine ^b		
Moslems.	26.3	16.4
Jews	9.6	6.7
Egypt	28.5	27.7
United States ^c	10.9	10.6
Bulgaria ^d	16.3	14.9

^aStatistics compiled from U. N. Yearbook 1948.

^bExcludes nomadic Beduins, war refugees and other Residents.

^cExcludes armed forces overseas.

^dIncluding data for Southern Dobruja.

Between 1932 and 1945, the differential in death

¹Patai, Israel Between East and West, p. 83.

²Ibid., p. 83.

rates became smaller between the Oriental community (Moslems) and the Western community (Jews), while the differential in birthrates became larger and in favor of the Oriental element. This was largely due to increasing Jewish medical facilities in Palestine with its European background of personnel, study, equipment, etc., that were made available to and used by an increasing number of Orientals.

Distribution of World Jewry:
Immigration Potential for Israel

On the eve of the Nazi debacle, the main reservoir--at least two-third--of world Jewry (some 16,000,000) was located in Eastern and Central Europe; for the most part in Russia, Poland, Hungary, and Romania. About 3,000,000 were in the Soviet Union; another 3,000,000 were in the Polish republic; about 2,000,000 were in the Balkan States and Hungary; and 1,000,000 were in Austria, Germany, and Czechoslovakia with another 1,000,000 in Western Europe, including Great Britain.¹ With the destruction of some 6,000,000 European Jews by the Nazis and the forced migration of another million, the picture changed to look like this in 1952.

Almost half of the remaining Jews--about 5,000,000--were located in the United States. About 500,000 had migrated to various South American countries. The United Kingdom held about 400,000 and Israel about 1,500,000.

¹Bentwich, op. cit., p. 58.

In all four zones of Germany¹ were about 30,000, most of whom were displaced persons, while in Austria and Czechoslovakia there were about 2,500 each. In 1953, there were in the Soviet Union and its satellite states some 2,500,000 Jews of whom about 2,000,000 were in Soviet Russia while 250,000 were in Romania, 150,000 in Hungary, and less than 50,000 in Poland.²

Anit-Jewish incidents in Poland and Hungary³ in the late 1940's and in Czechoslovakia⁴ in the early 1950's stimulated a rather desperate migration to Israel. Prior to statehood in May 1948, this necessitated illegal entry in Palestine. Jacob Lestschinsky in his study, "Jewish Migrations,"⁵ says that it was not until "remaining in one's native land proved even more terrible than sailing on the Black Sea and not being admitted into any port"⁶ did illegal immigration take on the status of a mass movement. He gives a distribution of illegal immigrants according to countries of origin.

¹American, British, French, and Russian Zones until April 1955 when the Americans withdrew occupancy, followed by the British and French in May 1955.

²Voss, op. cit., p. 50.

American Christian Palestine Committee, Land Reborn, January-February, 1952, p. 14.

³Anti-semitic cartoons, Jewish purge, Zionism accounted as espionage, demotion of Jews from prominent posts, etc.

⁴Rudolf Slansky trial in Prague.

⁵Jacob Lestschinsky, "Jewish Migrations," The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion, Vol. II, ed. by Louis Finklestein (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, n.d.), pp. 1198-1237.

⁶Ibid., p. 1234.

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS
ACCORDING TO COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN^a

Countries of Origin	Illegal Immigrants in Absolute Numbers
Czechoslovakia	4,557
Poland	2,450
Austria.	2,187
Germany.	1,714
Romania.	1,318
Hungary.	1,300
Bulgaria	769
Miscellaneous Countries.	460
Stateless.	132
Total.	14,887

^aSee footnote 5 page 103, p. 1234.

Statehood meant unrestricted immigration into Israel; but by that time, even though the Soviet Union had granted recognition to Israel, only a trickle emigrated from countries within the Russian orbit; however, none were permitted from Russia itself. When temporary relaxation of restrictions occurred in the satellite countries, the trickles grew to spurts. In 1950 their huge numbers¹ threatened to surpass the Oriental element, but in 1951 as the exit gates of the Russian orbit began to close, their numbers fell close to half; and in 1952 only a fraction came from the European reservoir.

¹"It is estimated that ninety per cent of the Jews of Romania have registered for transfer to Israel while half of the remaining Polish Jews will arrive in Israel during 1950." American Christian Palestine Committee, "The 'In-gathering of the exiles'..." Land Reborn, July-August, 1950, p. 14. Some 80,000 were permitted to leave for Israel; in 1952 there were 250,000 still remaining. Land Reborn, January-February, 1952, p. 14.

TABLE 9

IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE-ISRAEL ACCORDING TO ETHNIC
ORIGIN FOR THE PERIOD MAY 15, 1948-JUNE 30, 1952^a

Years	Ashkenazi	Oriental- Sephardic	Unknown	Total
1948. ^b . .	58,000 ^c	32,500	11,000	101,000
1949. . .	99,000	135,000	5,000	239,000
1950. . .	83,000	85,000	1,500	169,500
1951. . .	48,000	125,000	250	173,250
1952. . .	5,000	10,000		15,000
Total	293,000	387,500	17,750	698,250

^aStatistics compiled from Jerusalem Post, December 1, 1952, p. 12; Patai, Israel Between East and West, pp. 56-78.

^bUnofficial estimate.

^cRound numbers are used throughout for convenience.

Mass Jewish populations from various countries have been brought into Palestine-Israel. Mass migrations from Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia,¹ Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yemen, Cyrenaica, and Iraq are considered to have been accomplished.

Of the 2,500,000 Jews in the Russian orbit, it was the program of Israel's planners in 1952 to bring in about 200,000 immigrants within the next three years, most of whom would come from Rumania and Hungary. This, of course, constitutes a mere permitted trickle; it does not mean a leak which may some day release the entire mass. In 1954 a total of 84 Jews came from countries beyond the Iron Curtain; however during the first eight months of 1955

¹Since the establishment of the State of Israel, about 10,000 Jews have emigrated to Israel from the small Jewish community of Yugoslavia. Bentwich, op. cit., p. 60.

some 400 arrived.¹

In the Anglo-Saxon orbit and the Americas, Jews are too firmly moored to yield any large numbers of immigrants, although plans were made with the objective in view of bringing in 1,000 families during the year August 1955-August 1956.²

In the Moslem countries a possible decline in the socio-economic position of Jews would furnish adequate impetus for migration. Additional stimulus is furnished by the recent resurgence of Jewish religio-nationalism in an area of the world which is experiencing an upsurge of nationalism. In the Middle East an aroused political consciousness is accompanied by a religiously motivated nationalism; and Judaism has always contained the Messianic element of the Return to Israel.

The immigration program for the year August 1955-August 1956 is based on 45,000 immigrants. Priority is being given to North Africa because it is the scene most subject to political tension. The present program envisions the bringing in to Israel during the 1955-1956 period 36,000 Jews from Morocco and the remainder firstly from Tunis and after that from other countries including Western areas.³

¹Statistics given by Dr. G. Josephthal in the Jerusalem Post, August 31, 1954, p. 2.

²Ibid., p. 2.

³Report of Dr. G. Josephthal of the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem Post, August 31, 1955, p. 2.

A romantic "pull" and a political "push" have created in Oriental lands a reservoir of over 2,000,000 Jews as an immigration potential for Israel.

TABLE 10
DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD JEWRY^a

Continent	1939	1952
America	5,480,000 ^b	5,933,000
Europe ^c	9,639,000	3,420,500
Asia ^d	871,000	1,567,300
Africa	610,000	680,000
Australia		
and New Zealand . . .	33,000	58,000
Total	16,633,000	11,558,800

^aSources: The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1955, edited by Harry Hansen (New York: New York World-Telegram and the Sun, 1955), p. 268. Patai, Israel Between East and West, p. 22.

^bRound numbers are used for convenience.

^cIncluding Asiatic U.S.S.R. and Turkey.

^dIncludes Israel.

Summary

Europe: Reawakening.--In the latter half of the seventeenth century seeds of enlightenment were beginning to sprout in England and in Holland. In France, rumblings of revolution were heard, and on the other side of the Atlantic--a new world was born. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed the decline of absolutism, the spread of secularism, the age of reason and of social and political tolerance.

European Jewry was experiencing within its own realm the stirrings of Jewish enlightenment. Messianic rumors

gave courage to an oppressed people, and in eastern Europe Jewry conceived the Hasidic movement in which religious value was premised on experience in contradistinction to the established rule of Talmudic scholasticism.

In Germany, Moses Mendelssohn through the written word introduced German culture to the physical and mental ghetto and thereby hewed an escape route which led to secular education.

Mendelssohn developed the seed for two movements which found fertile ground in Russian Jewry. Haskalah revived Hebrew as a secular language, and the Maskilim (adherents of Haskalah) used this neo-Hebrew as a means of literary expression. The Society for the Diffusion of Enlightenment sought to bridge the gap between Russian Jewry and Russian culture.

Realizing the failure of Russianization to achieve civil emancipation for Russian Jewry, the leaders of these two movements were among those who fired the minds and hearts of young men and women as they wrote of Hebrew nationalism in its native habitat--Palestine.

Theodore Herzl in France was stung by the anti-semitism implicit in the Dreyfus case and, unaware of the nationalistic stirrings in east European Jewry, conceived and published his ideas of Jewish nationhood. Herzl proved to be the ideal leader for the international movement--Zionism--formed to press for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Meanwhile rumors of revolution were heard in Russia,

and Russian Jewish youth were torn between Marx and Herzl. Those who chose Herzl made plans to follow the pioneer groups which had already begun the modern Jewish colonization of Palestine.

Palestine: Return.--Modern day immigration to Palestine took the form of waves of large numbers of people, each wave following close upon the preceding one. Between the years 1882 and 1931, some 290,000 persons from east European countries came into Palestine on four distinct migration waves (aliyot). The fifth wave from 1931 to 1939 brought 225,000 Jews from central and west European countries in flight from the horrors of the Nazi regime. Their presence made the Western element the dominant ethnic group among Palestinian Jewry.

The British government, which held a mandate for Palestine granted by the League of Nations at the close of World War I, declared and attempted to enforce policies restricting Jewish immigration to Palestine. In panicked flight from Nazi Europe some 110,000 persons entered Palestine between 1939 and May 1948 on the illegal wave known as Aliyah Bet.

The birth of the modern State of Israel in May 1948 meant unrestricted immigration and encouraged immigration. Between May 1948 and June 1952 on a wave known as the Oriental Aliyah, some 699,000 Jews were brought to Palestine of whom 387,500 were from Asia and North Africa.

Although Europe and the Americas hold the pre-

ponderance of world Jewry, the political restrictions of many European countries--as well as the fact that many European countries have been virtually emptied of Jews in former migrations or calamities--and the security of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness found in the Americas serve as a deterrent to any sizeable emigration.

Among the Oriental lands, only North Africa still holds a large Jewish population. Political tension makes it an emergency area in the thinking of Israel planners; and, therefore, emmigration from North Africa is being heavily encouraged with financial, social, and economic priorities. Although the Oriental wave has subsided a bit, it continues to bring immigrants to Israel's shores, and plans for 1955-56 call for the bringing-in of some 35,000 from Morocco alone.

The immigration waves prior to May 1948 and the changing picture of Palestinian population due the exigencies of the Israeli War of Independence established Israel as a Western isle in an Oriental sea. The influx of immigrants from Oriental lands in overwhelming numbers makes imminent the threat of deculturation.

CHAPTER IV

CONFLICT AND ACCOMMODATION

Israeli Culture: Reflections of Westernism

Repudiation of "millet."--Modern Israel had its beginnings in the 1880's with the coming of the Biluim to Palestine as the vanguard of those pioneers who came on three successive immigration waves. Practically all these pioneers came from east European countries--in particular greater Poland, Russia, Lithuania--where modified forms of medieval feudalism prevailed. Throughout the Medieval Period the Jews of Europe constituted what Toynbee terms¹ a "millet" community.² A "millet" people are a people defined by religion rather than by territory, political forms, or language. In a "millet" situation the religious community assumes the social and political functions usually filled in the western world on a civil governmental basis. The ghetto was the physical structure that contained the "millet" community.³

¹Using the ideal-type method.

²Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, Vol. VIII (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 272 ff.

³Toynbee offers as the basic sociological reason for the "Jewish tragedy" in Europe a conflict between two community types: (1) the millet form and (2) the evolving territorially, linguistically and politically unified national structures characteristic of Western civilization. Toynbee, op. cit., pp. 272 ff.

Enlightenment.--In the eighteenth century Ashkenazi Jewry gave birth to a number of vital movements, one of which was Haskalah. Enlightenment represented a trend whose forms were to be found in central and western Europe during the middle of the eighteenth century; and Haskalah was the corresponding Jewish companion to that general trend. Initiated by Moses Mendlessohn with the view of freeing European Jewry from the spiritual ghetto by familiarizing them with the culture of Europe, it spread to east Europe where it became a movement for Jewish emancipation. The socialist slogans of a seething Russia conjured visions of cultural and political autonomy, and Jewish ethnocentrism assumed a secular tone. Western nationalism and cooperative socialism provided the impetus for a Jewish nationalism whose catalyst was the Dreyfus case and whose modus operandi was Zionism.

Socialism.--Imbued with strong ideals of social justice and equality as applied to a rural economy, the settlers who came to Israel on the first three aliyot brought a weltanschauung whose socialistic principles radiated from the hub of a secular ethno-centrism which negated both the religion and the folk-kultur of the "millet."

The application of their socialistic principles to the realities of everyday living produced certain patterns of life which have become well enough established to offer resistance to change, and to the creation of tension if they came in contact with incompatible forms. Having evolved

with intent and purpose along lines whose principles are considered basic and sacred from a "millet" into a structure completely incompatible with the "millet"--a western-type, democratic state--the new community could not tolerate within its domain the existence of a "millet" flavored with oriental feudalism without the inevitability of conflict.

Collectives, cooperatives, unions.--The social structure of Israel was built on the foundation of socialism which manifests itself in collective settlements, cooperatives, and trade unions.

Collective settlements vary in the degree of communalism, the purest form being found in the kibbutz. The kibbutz is characterized by communal living, absence of private property, equal status of the sexes, and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." The moshav is the traditional village, the land privately worked with the aid of hired hands and the produce sold through cooperatives. In the moshav there are individual farms with the purchasing and marketing done cooperatively and instruments of production owned cooperatively. In the moshav ovdim the emphasis is on separate mixed farms, production based on self-labor, and instruments of production owned cooperatively. Partnership reigns in the moshav shitufi with land being worked cooperatively and produce sold cooperatively.

Among the strong features of the socialistic pattern of collective settlements was the determination of these

nation-builders to base their economy on productive manual self-labor. They aimed at the complete destruction of the diaspora economic mentality with its negative attitude toward agriculture and manual arts and its predilection for middleman and merchandising.

The Kibbutznik¹ was the ideal prototype of the pioneer personality. He was free from the shackles of a bourgeois people who knew not the soil and the physical labor that working the land demands. The most menial, the most formidable tasks were approached with a spirit and a determination that characterized the true pioneer. Whether it meant draining the malarial swamps, moving into desolate areas and setting up new settlements, washing the salt from the soil in order to increase the area of cultivation, clearing a rocky wilderness--all this in the face of sporadic attacks from the marauding tactics of hostile Arabs--the halutzim (pioneers) were equal to the task; and the tales of their efforts have become immortalized in the writings and traditions of modern Jewish Palestine. The halutz spirit is considered one of the noblest of ideals.

Most of the economic life of Israel is dominated by a giant labor union² which controls directly or indirectly many of the larger and most important industries such as transportation, manufacture of food and goods, buildings and materials. So large a part does it play in the life-line

¹Member of a kibbutz; prototype of the pioneer.

²The Histadrut or General Federation of Labor.

of the country that it is often equated with the government. During the construction of their huge district office building in Tel Aviv in 1954, local humor stimulated references to the building as "The Kremlin."

Huge cooperatives operate the most important industries and services in the nation. The mention of their name brings immediate identification with certain enterprises.¹ In addition to these mammoth cooperatives are the small private cooperatives, both forms serving cooperative groups and individually owned enterprises for obtaining and/or distributing goods.

Industrial urbanization.--Grotesque aberrations occurring in Europe during the 1930's and 40's necessitated the movement of Jews from eastern and also from western Europe. No longer was emigration exclusively determined by the free will of the emigrants and by the laws of the countries of origin. Restrictive immigration laws curtailed Jewish immigration into the western hemisphere during the tragic years of the twenties, thirties, forties, although many thousands did find refuge in Canada and the Americas. Zionism, which had experienced only a mild reception in central Europe, provided the ready answer to anti-Semitic persecutions. Those who were mildly or strongly infected with Zionism were joined by others who, finding the gates

¹Hamashbir Hamerkazi, purchasing and distribution; Eshed, transportation; Tnuva, food processing and distribution; Solel Boneh, building supplies and services.

to the western hemisphere closed and faced with the precariousness of life in native lands, chose Palestine as a refuge.

From Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and other central European countries they came to Palestine, finding similar values in the small groups of settlers who came from the United States, Canada, South America, England, France, Holland, South Africa, and Australia. They flocked to the cities and towns, planting western ideas of efficiency and scientific thought into every aspect of life. Towns grew up around industries and became cities. Agriculture became more highly mechanized. The machine and the tractor became symbols of increasing industrialization, bringing the economic and social level of the worker to an all-time high. Handicraft was on the way to becoming an art form rather than an indispensable factor in the economic life of the country. The concept of labor became more glorified with the crystalization of a labor elite whose dedication was the building of a nation and an economy through the dignity of labor.

Political parties.--Influences of Westernization had pervaded other phases of Palestinian Jewish life. The national parliament (the Knesseth) and the related governmental agencies are based on the democratic ideal of government by, of, and for the people. Varying shades of socio-political opinion are represented with the Social Democrats (Mapai) constituting the leading party. Mapam,

which is next in influence, is the leftist party; and General Zionists, polling the next largest number of votes, is to the right of Mapai. There are several religious parties which have a combined total of about eleven per cent of the vote in national elections and a variety of other smaller and splinter groups. This diversity of opinion, a marked western luxury, is exhibited in the kibbutz movement where an entire kibbutz will follow along certain political lines or where a Kibbutz will be divided along two or more lines. Until the recent unification of all "streams" of education, the schools in Israel were divided along party lines; and even today various scout and other youth groups are sponsored and supported by political movements.

Social services.--Areas of health, standards of cleanliness, and the place of social services in the society are unavowedly western in Israel's value system. Health services which take the form of clinics, hospitals, mobile clinics, treatment centers, convalescent and rest homes, as well as the personal services of doctors and nurses are provided for the most part by a Ministry of Health, the Magen David Adom (Red Star of David which has the status of the Red Cross with whom it is affiliated), the General Federation of Labor whose Worker's Health Service provides medical care for approximately half the population of Israel, and by other organizations who specialize in certain categories of medical welfare.

Medical services often tie in with social services as in the case of the Malben Organization whose services are directed to the care of certain diseases¹ among new immigrants. Child care too is considered a public responsibility and is met through the combined services of the above-mentioned agencies with orphanages, boarding institutions, childrens' hospitals, agricultural training farms, and vocational training centers.

More and more welfare measures are being taken out of the category of family responsibility and assumed by the state. A draft bill of Israel's first national insurance scheme was submitted to the Knesseth on June 27, 1951. It dealt with various aspects of a national insurance program, covering old-age insurance, partial maternity insurance and insurance for surviving dependents.

Individualism.--The hereinabove mentioned elements of Westernism have made possible and in many instances compelled a more individualistic outlook on life in which certain personality traits have come to be considered the norm as opposed to others which are characterized as being medieval.

Many of the European immigrants came to Palestine as individuals or in portions of families, mentally prepared to live without the protection of the primary group. The socialist state became for them the extended family. Their values did not include the old traditions of the diaspora,

¹Tuberculosis, trachoma, etc.

but rather they looked forward to a new and free atmosphere in which they might develop new values and interests. The social framework of Israel encourages the individualistic type family. Legislation of equal rights was but a confirmation of an existing pattern in which each adult unit of the family often participated in bread-winning activities, belonged to differing cooperatives, was sustained culturally by participation in varying social activities during leisure, and held his or her own political opinions.

Israeli personality traits may be crystalized in the stereotype of the Sabra, the native born of Israel, who, having no experience in the galut (diaspora), is free of the diaspora mentality allegedly characterized by "submissiveness, fearfulness, hypersensitivity, lack of self-confidence, bodily weakness, excessive intellectualism, and detachment from the soil."¹ Being both the recipient and the activator of determined efforts to create a "free, proud, self-assured, psychically and physically healthy"² individual, the Sabra is the outward manifestation of the new personality type extant in Israel today. He has either directly or indirectly created and is creating his own traditions, and he has an awareness of his role. The status quo does not awe him to the point of curtailing his efforts; rather, he glories in what he considers to be progressive

¹Samuel Koenig, "Israeli Culture and Society," The American Journal of Sociology, September 1952, pp. 163-164.

²Ibid., pp. 163-164.

change. It follows as a matter of course that this personality type is free of domination by any type of rigidly organized religion.

Secularism.--Although it seems surprising that a nation which has been created by a people whose identification throughout most of written history has been along religio-ethnic lines should be established upon a secular philosophy, yet secularism is one of the outstanding aspects of Israeli culture.

Simon, who used the term "Catholic" Judaism, says that a "Catholic" religious situation may be said to exist when the totality of life is "so infused with religion that, at any given moment, the separation between sacred and profane" ceases to have meaning.¹ In practice, this religion "seeks to sanctify and control the life of the individual and the community on every level: eating, drinking, work, rest, the principles of community and state, love and war."²

The "Catholic" Judaism of European Jewry³ faced two crises: (1) Haskalah (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) which caused tremors of such proportions that (2) twentieth century nationalism forced the weakened foundations of

¹Ernest Simon, "Are We Israelis Still Jews," Commentary, April 1953, p. 357.

²Ibid., p. 357.

³Came into being during the period of the Mishnah and Talmud (first Christian centuries), having been rooted in certain legal portion of the Torah.

absolutism to its end. Both movements brought into open existence the appearance of developing phenomena¹ that had been evolving through the centuries.

These phenomena were the result of a gradual breaking-down of the pattern of total dominance of life by religion. No longer had Orthodoxy the power to translate into reality its claim to the control of every sphere of life. Rather, its authority became confined to definite schools, homes, synagogues, businesses.

Modern government, economics, society, and war reflect a secular spirit in the western world;² and in Israel these various spheres of life have been divested of religious domination, and religion has been relegated to the status of an existing complex in the total pattern of a nation. It meant "the contraction of the territory within which the spirit of religion was conceived [by 'Catholic' Judaism] to run."³ The Jew in Israeli is a political being, an Israeli, who may or may not, as it pleases him, give some attention to spiritual matters.

Although "Catholic" Judaism encompasses only a

¹It is interesting to note that in the secularizing of east European Hebrew schools, the word tarbut (Hebrew equivalent of the German kultur) was used to differentiate them from the Yeshiva, the traditional Hebrew school. Yeshiva has the connotation of supra-human or spiritual while tarbut--human or secular.

²See R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, for a classic study of the relationship of religious thought to social and economic questions.

³R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1926), p. 228.

small minority of the population of Israel, it occupies a plank in the political platform of the country.¹ Orthodox adherents struggle unceasingly against the secularistic identification of the State, insisting upon a national return to the "Catholic" ideal of a Jewish religious life fully lived within a Jewish theocracy. In 1955 when Moshe Sharett, then Israel Prime Minister, announced the grant of land for the construction of a Reform synagogue in Jerusalem, warnings came from Orthodox circles that "force and bloody attacks against the Reformists, especially in Jerusalem"² might be attempted by the extreme religious element.

Among the non-religious and religiously disinterested, there are grass-roots movements, varying in strength, which are waging verbal guerilla warfare through the media of newspapers, pamphlets, and public addresses for secularization to a greater degree.³ They insist that the guaranteed freedom of religion and conscience contained in the proclamation of independence inherently includes the freedom to disbelieve.

The late Chief Rabbi of Palestine, Isaac HaCohen Kook, representative of "Catholic" Judaism, recognized the

¹Holds certain portfolios in the government: Ministry of Religion, Ministry of Welfare, Ministry of Immigration.

²The Friends of Israel, "Reform Temples Coming to Israel," Israel My Glory, June-July-August 1955, p. 20.

³One such movement is the League to Prevent Religious Coercion in Israel.

historical process of secularization and attempted to resolve the relation between sacred and profane. He saw the Jewish nation as a corpus mysticum, all of whose members are sanctified.

Oriental Culture: Reflections of Feudalism

The focal complexes described in the foregoing discussion have been sufficiently rooted in the soil of revived Israel to be considered the established orientation of Israeli culture. However, with the appearance on the scene of extremely large numbers of peoples from backgrounds physically, mentally, and emotionally in conflict with characteristic Israeli patterns of life, the culture patterns which provide the frame of reference for the identification of Israeli life-patterns began to be seriously threatened. The reference is made to the large influx of Oriental immigrants from Near Eastern and North African lands.

Folk society.--The immigrants came from regions of the world that are considered most backward and primitive. Some of those areas have not yet reached the feudal society in historical process, while others, having attained to feudal status, fiercely resists any change in the status quo.

Oriental Jewry, whenever it has survived as a sociological entity, has occupied the unique status of a folk society within a larger feudal order. The customs, language, traditions, mental attitudes, and patterns of life in general that characterize Oriental Jewry are those of Oriental feudalism and comprise a threat to the continued

existence of Israeli westernisms. This in itself is a serious causal factor in effecting conflicts. When, however, the invading culture is one which is vividly reminiscent of rejected values whose actual rejection was a part of the triumph and glory of the new system, the emotional character of the conflict is immeasurably heightened.¹

Immigration motivation: Religious fervor or need to escape.--There is a striking contrast between the idealism of those first Israeli settlers who with purpose migrated from Russia and Poland, braving manifold hazards in order to create a new type of nation, and the migration motives of the Oriental immigrant which were in some instances religious fervor, and in others, necessary flight from perilous living or forceful death.

From the Yemen they came by the tens of thousands, inspired by prophetic interpretations of sacred writings that predicted "return." They conceived of Israel as a nation of tsadikim (righteous ones) whose delight was in the Torah, whose establishment was a messianic event, and whose functioning framework would be built and maintained upon the foundation of Talmudic traditions of Oriental-Sephardic interpretations.

In North Africa life was perilous at best and non-

¹In the mental processes of the pioneer, the oriental hara and mellah are the equivalents of the European ghetto, whose values are in deep contrast to the ideals upon which Israel was pioneered.

existent at worse. Arab-Jewish tensions provided fuel for far-reaching fires. Riots in the mellahs and haras (ghettos) panicked refugees into flight to the newly emerged State of Israel. A refuge was needed to which the terror-stricken could escape, and Israel's open door provided that refuge. Israel as a nationally defined reality had newly appeared onto the horizon of Iraqi Jewry, and the bitter Arab-Jewish fighting which preceded and followed its existence created new terror which made it necessary for Iraqi and other Oriental Jews to change their physical dwelling from an Oriental feudal state to a western-type democratic nation.

Protected minorities.--Until the breakup in 1917-18 of the vast Ottomon empire into separate states, the social structure of the Middle East rested on a firm and unyielding foundation of Islamic feudalism. The impact of Western thought on non-Arab Turkey and Iran have influenced their acceptance in part of the idea of the nation-state.¹ However, to some degree in the two above-mentioned countries and to an overwhelming extent in Moslem states, there exists the orthodox Moslem concept of the majority² group (Moslem) holding a position of superiority over certain "protected"

¹A national consciousness unified by culture, language, and historical tradition. For elaboration of concept, see S. A. Morrison, Middle East Tensions (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954).

²Refers to religious majority or minority, not the Euro-American concept of national majority or minority.

groups of non-Moslems. These minorities are a characteristic part of the feudal order.¹ Theirs is a marginal existence, never achieving full integration into the social system. The members of this minority occupy the lowest stratum in a rigid caste system and are permitted to engage only in those occupational activities and perform those services which are considered degrading by the members of the valued occupations. This latter characteristic seems to have become more relaxed as the society has stronger contact with Western thought.

The mil-lah.--Islamic society is organized on the mil-lah² system and divided into religious communities³ led by their spiritual heads and answerable to the ruler who is of the majority group (Moslem). The superiority and control of the majority group extends to every department of public life. The "Ottoman Law of Personal Status" places questions of marriage, divorce, alimony, testaments, succession, and guardianship under the control of the spiritual leaders of the mil-lah. Thus, the social framework of the Moslem state is primarily personal and religious rather than territorial and secular.

Totalitarian government.--Whereas Israel reflects

¹Gideon Sjoberg, "Folk and 'Feudal' Societies," The American Journal of Sociology, November 1952, pp. 231-239.

²Mil-lah (مِلَّة) --Arabic word from which "millet" is derived.

³Jewish, Christian, Moslem, etc.

the western patterns of representative government which encourages and provides mass education and social and medical services, the Islamic weltanschauung is permeated with a fatalism¹ that strengthens the authoritarianism of the ruling hierarchy which maintains its position on the status quo existence of illiterate and diseased masses.

Important contacts, family connections, bribes and lavish gifts pave the way for appointment to high positions in government, military, and religious realms. The principle of equal rights does not exist. A young Oriental girl, new immigrant to Israel, when threatened with jail sentence by an unscrupulous Palestinian lawyer who desired that she perform domestic chores in lieu of monetary obligation, simply could not comprehend that she had the right to say "no" and that her refusal would not endanger her physical freedom. Democratic process had never existed for her, and it was intellectually and emotionally difficult for her to accept its reality.

Fatalism nullifies social service.--The concept of fatalism (docile acceptance of all circumstances as Allah's will) is seen most vividly in the realm of hygiene, sanitation, and medical art. Sanitation is almost non-existent

¹Kulu min Allah is the Arabic expression, "Everything comes from God." This phrase accompanied by a shrug of the shoulders expresses an Allah-determinism and means that it is impossible to change any circumstance of life unless Allah desires it. And if Allah desires it, he will change it. If Allah does not change it, then we do not desire that it be changed!

in a primitive culture whose rulers and leaders do not assume the responsibility for providing any sewage disposal other than a half-foot-deep, overflowing open gully down the middle of the streets. Water is brought from the village well in earthen jars balanced skillfully on the heads of graceful women. This scene provides a striking picture to a visitor from the West, but does not result in an improved standard of cleanliness.

Despite the firm belief in the predetermination of health even to the point of life or death, medical aids derived from a combination of tradition and magic are applied by individuals reputed to have a special gift of healing. For bronchial or lung inflammations, suction cups will be applied to the chest and removed with quick jerks (sometimes tearing the skin) in order to provide heat to the afflicted area. A sprained limb is bathed in a salt solution whose proper saline content is tested by the ability of an egg to float. An herb brew is given for an attack of dysentery which the eating of hot peppers has failed to forestall.

Almsgiving.--The Five Pillars of Religion (fundamental religious duties) enjoin the faithful Moslem to Witness, Prayer, Fasting, Pilgrimage, and Almsgiving.¹ This latter obligation, almsgiving, is the Oriental equivalent of the Western concept of social services and discharges all

¹J. Christy Wilson, Introducing Islam (New York: Friendship Press, 1954), pp. 34-40.

further obligations to the needy, the underprivileged, the aged, the orphaned. Begging is not considered dishonorable, and even tiny tots dart about the streets of Cairo, Bagdad, Algiers with hands outstretched for baksheesh.¹

Education: Religious.--Education, on the whole, is limited to a rudimentary understanding of the three R's and the rote learning of sacred and traditional writings. This very elemental educational process does not extend to the masses but rather is engaged in only by the sons of townfolk within a physical and emotional frame of reference alien to Western schools whose emphasis also includes healthful surroundings, self-expression, and creative individuality in contrast to the dark dank rooms, regimented learning, and harsh physical discipline of Oriental education. The son of the fellah (peasant) is taught the trade of his father and engages in that trade or occupation alongside his father, and/or brothers, uncles, and cousins. Verbally, he may learn sacred charges and traditions from his father who so learned it before him from his father.

It is not deemed necessary or fitting that a girl learn anything other than domestic arts and crafts--baking, preparation and preservation of foods,² gardening, gathering of thistles and other wild edibles, herding of camels,

¹Something for nothing, literally; alms.

²Cheeses put up in brine or oil; drying of fruits; roasting of seeds; grinding of grains.

milking of goats, etc.

Extended family.--The family in Oriental lands is the primary social unit. Social relationships, therefore, do not occur on an individual basis but on a family basis.

The typical Middle East Oriental family is the extended family whose household may include husband, wife, children, sons' families, uncles, aunts, cousins, possibly grandsons and their wives and children. Sheik Suleiman in the Palestinian desert is head of a family of some 5,000 souls with perhaps forty-two wives at this writing and seventy-four sons. He represents the nomadic Beduin. Settled families would be much smaller, ranging from fifteen, twenty-five to seventy-five or thereabouts. Children are taught to respect and obey their elders, and harsh punishment is meted out for any deviation from the established customs and traditions.¹ Marriage is arranged between families, with marriage of cousins most desirable if the bride-price is acceptable. The marriage age of girls is between thirteen and sixteen with a much larger variation in the marriage age of the male.

The extended family of the Middle and Near East is likewise the basic economic unit. Agricultural occupations comprise a majority of the economic activity with all members of the family participating. Oriental Jewry, in most

¹Family dishonor may be wiped out by death of offending party at the hands of an appointed member of the family; e.g., killing of sister by brother. See Moshe Smilansky, Bnei Arav (Tel Aviv: Davir, 1945).

cases, is found in the cities employed in occupations such as metalsmithing, woodworking, leathercrafting, and merchandising. These occupations are usually carried on by the same family generation after generation.

Human and animal motive power.--Western technology is noticeably absent from the Middle Eastern scene. In agricultural pursuits the donkey, camel, or man furnishes the motive power supplied in Israel and other Western-type areas by bulldozers, cranes, tractors, and other machines. The treading of grapes by bare feet and the crushing-out of olive oil with huge stones rotated by human strength are a far cry from the power of electricity and machine specialization.

Aesthetic appreciation.--The mass production made possible by the industrial revolution in the West, however, precludes any aesthetic appreciation of produced goods. The good green oil from tended olive groves elicits an appreciation in the Middle East while going unnoticed in the West as a bottle of refined (weaker) oil is taken from the well-stocked shelves of a super-market and tossed carelessly into a wire-basket on wheels to become as anonymous as the other fifteen or twenty items similarly prepared by the modern factory system. An Oriental copper-smith contemplates the symmetry of the long, gracefully curved spout of a coffee urn although it be destined to boil fragrantly on the coals of a Pasha's (nobleman) charcoal brazier.

Aesthetic appreciation is found not only in the realm of the material but is manifested most vividly in story and song. The pauper is rich in folk-lore. The seller-of-coffee ambles the labyrinthine streets of the bazaars clicking his cups in rhythm as he invites in riddles and rhymes the purchase of his ware. At weddings, two or three hired musicians will compete in the composition of verses to entertain the wedding guests. Arab literature is rich in riddles, proverbs, poetry, and narration.¹ This aesthetic impenetration of oriental life reaches high into the sky where slender minarets² resemble fantastic towers out of the fairy tales of many cultures.

Religious tradition.--However far-reaching the aesthetic tradition, there is no identification for the Oriental outside of religious tradition. In fact, as well as in fiction, the social, cultural, and political scope of the Middle East is enclosed by and permeated with religious tradition. One is born into a legally defined religious community and thereby exists as a "homo religiosus" whose nationality has a religious definition quite apart from his citizenship which is defined nationally.

In the East, in contradistinction to the West, the great majority of people is religious, and everyday con-

¹Images from the Arab World, trans. and ed. by Herbert Howarth and Ibrahim Shukrullah (London: The Pilot Press, Ltd., 1944).

²Towers encircled near the top by a balcony upon which the Muezzin stands to give the "call to prayer."

versation is liberally interspersed with religious phrases. Social pressures compel complete conformance with religious tradition. There is no question of religious choice or religious denial. Oriental religious freedom in Moslem states means the right of a non-Moslem to become a Moslem.¹

Culture Comparison

The foregoing discussion has made discernable comparable differences between the culture complexes of the Western-type established Israeli and the new Oriental immigrant. These differences may be summarized.

Motivation.--Modern Israel was founded by a pioneer mentality infused with strong principles of social equality and justice. These bands of idealists had divested themselves of the "millet" in all its ramifications. Jewish ethnocentrism had become a secular one.

The Oriental immigrants were motivated by religious fervor and/or the need for physical asylum rather than a politico-nationalistic awakening. They knew only the "millet" and desired its perpetuation. Jewish ethnocentrism continued to be a religious one as defined by the religious community.

Social patterns.--Israel's social framework is characterized by the immediate family, increasing technology, equality of sexes, religious freedom, democratic process,

¹Elwyn Lee Means, World Within a World (Nashville, Tennessee: Convention Press, 1955), p. 88.

labor unions, collectivism, public health and education, diversified political opinion, intellectual life.

The Oriental immigrants brought patterns of feudalism, authoritarianism, patriarchy, extended family as social and economic basal unit, Allah-determinism which negates need for planned and directed public health and social service, religious fervor, secular illiteracy.

Personality traits.--The Israeli temperament may be described as individualistic, creative, uninhibited, independent in thought, religiously free, self-assured, idealistic, activist.

The temperamental complexion of the Oriental immigrant is characterized as authoritarian, tradition-bound, submissive, fatalistic, passivistic, and contemplative. Individualism appears only in the realm of aesthetics.

Religion.--Israel is a secular state with religion limited to its own sphere or field. The great majority of people is non-religious.

For the Oriental, there is no definition outside of a religious one. He is accustomed to a complete religious pervasion of life.

Crises and Adjustments

Emotive framework.--The coming of the Biluim to Israel (then Palestine) began a westernizing process which, when fortified by overwhelming numbers of European immigrants, resulted in a cultural mutation not far removed from the

European social and technological environment. Soon after its establishment, the western-type State of Israel experienced the invasion of a widely different culture carried by such large numbers of people so as to assume engulfing proportions. The threat of Orientalism brought into sharp focus the picture of two conflicting cultures, each threatening the values of the other.

The Yishuv¹ stood firm in the position as the established group, despite the fact that its position was also that of an immigrant but with the standing of longer inhabitancy. They spoke of absorption, not of mutual interaction. After all, went their attitude, Israel was the result of their dreams and their labors. The Oriental immigrants, if they thought of return at all, considered it within a religious context--the Messiah would redeem His People and return them to their land. They even played no part in the glorious experience of bloodshed which actuated its existence into a state.

This attitude was colored too by the emotions that crowded in upon them as they saw in the Oriental immigrant the attitudes and mores of the rejected "millet" (ghetto)--attitudes and mores whose rejection was implicit in theories of Jewish enlightenment. Ghetto-rejection was inherent in the politico-nationalistic impetus to achieve an Israeli state and to consolidate that state within the framework of the ideals of European enlightenment.

¹The established population.

Various complaints were leveled at the Oriental immigrants in general. They were spoken of as lazy, irresponsible at work--particularly in the building trades and during the orange harvest¹--selfish, cunning, prone to use brute force in gaining their will. They were said to be idle and discontented, to exhibit complete lack of cooperative instinct and ability, to have archaic, primitive traditions stubbornly rooted in the social and family life.²

In turn, the Orientals looked upon the Ashkenazim as snobs, cold and unfriendly, amoral and irreligious, serving the god of efficiency, lacking in values, too activistic, given to discrimination, selfish, un-aesthetic.

Discrimination.--The immigrants complained of economic and social discrimination. In a radio series interpreting the various ethnic communities in Israel, an Iraqi participant spoke of the discriminatory use of phrases referring to Oriental Jews as having come from backward countries.³ In Beersheba, which is approximately two-thirds Oriental, the non-Orientals would tell their children not to play with the "blacks."⁴ However, the deliberate mixing of both groups in kindergarten and school

¹Two important aspects of Israeli industry.

²Written and spoken attitudes.

³Broadcast from Kol Yisrael (Voice of Israel), June 1954.

⁴Gerda L. Cohen, "Good Morning, Beersheba," Jerusalem Post, September 27, 1954, p. 9.

by the teachers has done much to alleviate this type of prejudice. There is a continual breaking-down of prejudicial feelings, and the blending of east and west has added to the uniqueness of life in Beersheba. The Romanians there love humus (typical oriental dish), and the Iraqis love goulash. Their speaking is spiced with expressions borrowed from each other's mother-tongues.

The immigrants have complained too that they could not obtain jobs because they were labeled as "untrained." They feel that this is often an excuse, however, and insist that even skilled Orientals come up against situations in which a Western employer would rather employ a man who has come from his own area of the world.

It is true that they were the objects of discriminatory treatment in the countries from which they came. However, there they developed a defense mechanism based on their Jewishness--their spiritual superiority over their Moslem neighbors, and their hope for redemption to Israel. Now that they have been "redeemed" and have their dwelling in a Jewish land, the mechanism cannot operate when they find themselves denied complete economic and social fusion. The resentment and bitterness resulting from this frustration vents itself in jealous bickering and sudden displays of open hatred, which in the Ashkenazi's eyes further justifies his opinion of the Oriental.

There has been an upsurge of Zionist educational

activity¹ in North Africa which is directed to better prepare the immigrant both ideologically and practically for his aliyah to Israel. While in Israel a new system, which was adopted early in 1954, attempts to transfer the immigrants directly from the ship to an established settlement or to development areas in which they can secure good housing and immediate employment.

Disintegrating aspects of the ma'abara.--The mass immigration that came on the heels of the establishment of the state gave rise to ma'abarot or transient camps--an emergency type of housing settlement for immigrants during the period of their absorption into the economy of the country. In general, they were a blight on the surrounding countryside, the housing ranging from tents to canvas frame huts to corrugated iron structures which were considered the best. Their slum-like quality perpetuated the mellah existence of North Africa:

. . . the tin hutted ma'bara huddled on the barren hillside, the littered dusty ground, the ragged tousled children playing money and card games in imitation of their elders, the bearded men with filthy striped rags wrapped turban-like around their heads, squatting idle all day long, the aggressive, quarelling women, the local tough guy, his dirty shirtsleeves rolled up as for a fight, sporting yellow suede shoes, while others trudged around apathetically in bare, horny feet, the mother arrayed in cheap finery, rings and beads, suckling her swollen-eyed baby while squatting on the ground--all of them ready to curse, to strike, to accuse one and all for not letting them have at once a fine shikun (type of dwelling) somewhere near town, for

¹Letter from Yedida Lahav, WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organization) social worker, Tunis, September 7, 1955.

bringing them here from their 'paradise' in Kurdistan or the mud hut in Azerbaijan, but unwilling to lift a finger to help themselves or part with a pruta of their hoarded savings to improve their children's condition, to join an agricultural settlement; unwilling as long as there was a chance of getting something for nothing from any public body.¹

The reporter who visited this ma'abara not only described vividly the deteriorating influences of the situation but also expressed the mixed feelings of disgust and revulsion felt rather generally by the Yishuv. Many people were most articulate about a situation they felt to be untenable in Israel; others justified the actions and attitudes of the immigrants; while others sublimated their feelings into a positive approach to a generally recognized and accepted problem.

It has long been realized that ma'bara dwellers have not yet "come home" either spiritually or as citizens. . . .most of those in the ma'barot are from Oriental Jewish communities, for since 1951 more than 90 per cent of our immigrants came from such areas. . . .The danger is psychological as well as sociological. So long as special conditions, such as being without permanent housing, attach to one community with the Yishuv, the Oriental community, members of that community will not feel themselves citizens of the country. Absence of equality between the various communities prevents a feeling of national unity, and aggravates the feeling of discrimination among those who already tend to a feeling of inferiority.²

The new method of transferring immigrants from ship to settlements and development areas prevents the influence of the ma'bara complex and eliminates this

¹Pearl Phail, "Gilboa Kibbutzniks Find That Immigrants Are People," Jerusalem Post, September 27, 1954, p. 11.

²Dr. G. Josephthal, Jerusalem Post, August 31, 1955, p. 2.

degenerative influence during the important months of settling and adjusting. Between August 1954 and August 1955 immigration totaled more than 32,000. Of this number some 25,000 came from Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria. Sixty per cent of the North African immigrants were settled in agricultural settlements, about 20 per cent went to townships in newly developed areas where they would be a part of the tradition of the town, and the remaining ones went to live with relatives or settled on their own.¹

Recognizing that social education must go hand-in-hand with agricultural education, scores of young instructors (madrichim) volunteered to leave their old established settlements and go with their families to live with the new and inexperienced immigrants and give them a helping hand. Enthusiastic, devoted to an ideal, they also had a highly developed social sense and years of experience in pioneering. A moshav in the Gilboa area of Galilee undertook the task of organizing and administering three new settlements of Orientals. They supplied each settlement with nurses, teachers, instructors. The madrich, who had had forty years of agricultural pioneering and was greatly experienced in the settling of immigrants, outlined his approach to the problem.

We cannot expect our settlers to change their outlook overnight; I have to tread gently, much as we are pressed for time and would like to see them organized

¹Dr. G. Josephthal, Jerusalem Post, August 31, 1955, p. 2.

into some form of moshav, with a self-chosen committee. I have to adapt myself to them, organize the voting system according to their formula, the lifelong rule of the family elder; unless I respect their habits and traditions, unless I know of all the rivalries and priorities among the various national groups . . . I might touch off a lot of trouble and never get them to trust me and work together.¹

Threatening aspects of the social structure.--The path of adjustment for the new immigrant involves revolutionary changes not only in the spiritual and economic realm and in employment and linguistic difficulties but in a social structure that is completely new.

The traditional role of the Middle Eastern family as the basic economic, social, and religious unit comes into realistic conflict with the individualism of the Israeli resulting many times in the rapid and often tragic disintegration of the extended family. In many instances the father or mother or child, as the situation demands, or all three find themselves in an individualistic role as worker in a factory, member of a labor organization, participant in a social situation alien to recognized forms. Great tension is built up during elections by certain types of party propaganda directed in particular to the new immigrants voting for the first time in their lives. Appeals are made in such a way as to arouse primitive instincts. The immigrants are urged to "cast off the yoke," "fight for your rights."

The Information and Civic Education Services which

¹Pearl Phail, op. cit.

aims at the creation of an Israeli democracy rather than an imported one has outlined a program which will familiarize the nation in general and the new immigrants in particular with the socially acceptable responses to the facets of a democratic social structure. That program includes the use of modern methods of mass education such as radio, press, films, travel, government liaison. Two most original projects are the conducted tours which will enable newcomers to see various aspects of the building-up of the land and thereby enlarge their vision and stimulate national pride, and provision for representatives of immigrant communities residential civics courses.¹

The free atmosphere of Israel with its emphasis on freedom of thought, will, and speech has occasioned the rejection of familiar values without adequate preparation for participation in new forms. A Moroccan immigrant felt that he was more and more losing his influence over his family: his daughter was openly flirting with a taxi-driver, his son ran away to join a kibbutz, and his wife insisted that their hut was too small to also house her husband's mother and father and that they must be turned out. An amusing incident is that of a Turkish immigrant who became quite active in a political organization. He was expelled from the party for using the occasion of a rather moving political address given by him to sell

¹Editorial, "Informing the Nation," Jerusalem Post, July 9, 1954, p. 4.

undergarments to his audience.

Disregard of parental authority, rejection of religious values, freedom from controlling influences of mores has resulted in many instances in the irresponsible behavior termed delinquency. In the fall of 1954, Israelis were horrified by the murder of a sixteen-year-old in front of a youth club to which he belonged. This incident climaxed a series of clashes stemming out of "undercurrents of hatred between immigrant youth and the children of the vatikim (established settlers).¹

It is felt that the effects of extreme ethnic and social differentiation will be eliminated largely by compulsory education, youth movements, and club programs whose activities are heavily concentrated in the area of immigrant slum youth. However, these agencies have not been completely welcomed by the new immigrants. They fear the secularizing effect of the general schools upon their children. They are suspicious of clubs and other organizations in which participation tends to lessen parental control and inculcate ideas which are alien and threatening to the security of established norms. Too, compulsory education deprives the family of earnings derived from the working-power of school-age children.

The Youth Aliyah Department and the Absorption

¹Lisa Loewenberg, "Delinquency: Result of Split Society," Jerusalem Post, October 29, 1954, p. 4.

Department of the Jewish Agency¹ investigated the possibility of giving special consideration to the developing of work-skills among immigrant youth aged fourteen² and over. This was particularly directed toward youngsters who were already past the age of primary schooling when they came to Israel and also those who came from countries where the conditions were such that they did not get even a minimum of education. In order to persuade parents to permit their children to take advantage of this opportunity for training, payments were given to make up for the financial loss accrued to the family when the working-power of the youngster or youngsters was withdrawn.

The Jewish Agency also distributes scholarships among the children of new immigrants who have completed primary school. Eighty per cent of the scholarships go to children of Oriental communities in order that they might continue their studies in secondary schools, technical schools, agricultural schools, or teachers' seminaries.³ During the year August 1954-August 1955, 2,140 boys and girls were the recipients of such scholarships, and plans for 1955-56 call for some 3,200 scholarships to be given.⁴

¹Active in the fields of immigration, absorption, and agricultural settlement.

²Compulsory education is through age thirteen.

³Free education extends only through primary school.

⁴Dr. G. Josephthal, op. cit., p. 2.

These programs are based upon the recognition of certain facts, among them the knowledge that the gap that exists between the social and educational position of the Yishuv and that of the new immigrants will continue unless it becomes possible for all children to have the same opportunities for study. In other words, a necessary precondition for the fusing of the different peoples from various parts of the world into a new generation is the development of definite opportunities for secondary schooling, technical training, secondary training, and higher studies.

Religious insecurity.--The implementation of the compulsory education law as well as others¹ will depend upon factors that have no direct connection with the legislation. The placing of a national conscription bill upon the agenda for parliamentary debate evoked impassioned speeches and fantastic parades by the orthodox religious elements of the population as they sought to nullify those clauses dealing with the conscription of Orthodox young women. United, the Orthodox elements of both the Yishuv and the new immigrants constitute a grave threat to a secular government endeavoring to divest itself of the few remaining vestiges of religious influence.²

Religion, which in Oriental lands permeates every

¹Also laws dealing with monogamy, etc.

²Franz Borkenau, "Toynbee's Judgment of the Jews," Commentary, May 1955, p. 427.

aspect of life, in Israel plays a rather déclassé role. Professor Ernest Simon, Israeli philosopher and educator, deplures the "negative manifestation of modern western culture"¹ which places little importance on the positive values of Oriental culture, such as

the immediate and intensive character of their religious belief . . . the strength of their affective response to the manifestations of the good, the beautiful, the holy and the real heartiness of their interpersonal contacts . . . and their developed artistic expressions.²

Professor Simon fears that the wholesale imposition of these "negative manifestations of modern western culture" will result in "a complete lack of values."³

In Israel, where religion can be questioned and even ignored, it rapidly loses its hold upon the immigrant in whose original home it exists unquestionably. To add to the immigrants' confusion is the existence of so many types of liturgy and traditions. The various national communities attempt to cope with this by establishing each its own house of prayer. A Jew from one national community visiting in the synagogue of another has great difficulty in following the service. Centuries of different backgrounds have created differences in worship forms which seem primitive and repelling to some and cold and alien-embellished to others.

¹"Letters from Readers," Commentary, November 1953, p. 488.

²"Letters from Readers," Commentary, November 1953, P. 488.

³Ibid., p. 488.

It has been suggested that there is a need to formulate a new liturgy which would unite all the peoples of Israel. Remnants of the temple liturgy of Solomon's time have survived in the Gregorian Chant. The prayer cantillations of the Samaritans, an isolated community in Palestine, are freer of foreign influences than the other groups in the diaspora whose prayer tunes have been greatly changed by the influence of the lives lived among different races and cultures. Such differences could be bridged by the creation of a unified service which would contain a synthesis of all the richest treasures of the religious lore of every community.

Summary

The Euro-western culture base of Israel is reflected in its repudiation of the ghetto (millet) complex, ideas of secular scholasticism and humanism, application of socialistic principles, dominance of collectives and cooperatives and unions, emphasis on growing industrial urbanization, diversity of political opinion and expression, increasing social services, individualistic personality traits, secularism.

The tide of immigration which began to flood the shores of Israel in 1948 rolled in from Oriental countries bringing with it a definite threat to Euro-western Israeli culture. Oriental culture reflects a feudalistic structure which is defined by the existence of a folk society, religious motivation, "protected" minorities, the millah--a religiously

defined community, totalitarianism, a predeterminism which nullifies social services, almsgiving, limited education, extended family as basic social and economic unit, human and animal motive power, a high degree of aesthetic appreciation, dominant influence of religious tradition.

Cultural crises arising out of close contacts between Oriental and Israeli culture carriers threatened the continued existence of the Euro-western culture base. These crises arose within an emotive framework in which complaints of economic and social discrimination were leveled against the Yishuv by the Oriental immigrants whose personality traits were criticized by a Yishuv who saw the Orientals as representatives of the rejected ghetto. The overcrowded transient camps (ma'abarot) proved to be a deteriorating factor in the lives of the Orientals, and its slum-like quality promoted anti-social behavior which disgusted and revolted the non-ma'abarot-dwelling Yishuv.

Various aspects of Israeli social structure were foreign to the Orientals and often came in conflict with their basic values. Their lack of adequate response resulted in delinquent and socially unacceptable behavior. The absence in Israel of the all-pervading religious influence and the emphasis on secularism wiped out the basic security factor in the lives of the Orientals and left them confused and floundering, insecure and unstable.

The planners of Israel, recognizing the serious threat of possible deculturation unless a fusion of peoples

was accomplished, planned a series of integration programs some of which have already been brought into reality:

Elimination of the ma'abarot complex, mass interpretation of the ethnic communities, clubs, scholarships for higher education and attainment of skills, synagogues to serve the various ethnic communities, possible formulation of a "fused" liturgy to unite people in worship, good housing and immediate employment for new immigrants, social and agricultural education by Yishuv families with a highly developed social sense living in Oriental settlements, stimulation of national pride based on tours to see the workings of all aspects of the Israel "we" are building, all of us together.

Underlying the planning structure is the theory that fusion can best be attained within the situation of a common level of development. To this end are programs planned and plans programmed.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: FUSION

The Jerusalem Post, which fairly well represents the planning opinion of Israel, summed up Israel's "greatest domestic problem"¹ in one of its pungent editorials:

Gathering from all the lands to which they were dispersed, the new population of the young state comprise a bewildering variation and gradation of levels of development and degrees of culture. The welding of the returning tribes into one nation is a gigantic task. Will the Ingathering of the Exiles develop out of diversity into a unity, both basic and creative, or will it indeed become 'a Levantine melting pot of dubious value.'²

The tone of the editorial reveals the object of the nation's planners--that Israel will "develop out of diversity into a unity, both basic and creative," that a purposeful blending will achieve a new and distinct culture.

There are those among the very literate population who disagree with the concept of "creation out of fusion." They regard the Oriental immigrants as primitive people, not as products of a parallel culture. Dr. N. Rottenstreich represents this view. He warns Israel against any attempt to fuse these "primitive" Oriental values with Israeli values. He divides Israel into two cultural realities,

¹Address of Ben Gurion, June 1954, Tel Aviv, Israel.

²Jerusalem Post, July 9, 1954, p. 4.

essentially differing:

1. West European, "which enables the person to develop his individual potential,"¹ and
2. Oriental, "which does not include in its value structure the right of realizing this potential."²

Dr. K. Frankenstein, journalist, deplores this culture snobbery. He defines the culture base in Israel as Euro-western but suggests that the receiving group [Euro-western] should arrive at a "self-knowledge and a relativization of the values which in their eyes seem established."³ Having done so,

the receivers should give up their aggressive belief in the absolute superiority of their own principles of life . . . and that the different [Oriental] should be honored inasmuch as it is different, on the assumption that only such an honoring can save the originality which is contained in it."⁴

Four discernable possibilities for Israel are:

1. Deculturation of the Oriental population. The great numbers of Orientals as an immediate immigration potential plus their higher rate of natural increase could make the Oriental group numerically an overwhelming majority. The numerical strength of a culture is an important factor in cultural contact.
2. Levantism in which the Orientals would take on the physical aspects of Israeli culture, maintaining the Oriental mentality, and at the same time viewing all things Oriental with undisguised snobbery. Theirs would be a sort of marginal existence.

¹"Letters From Readers," Commentary, November 1953, pp. 487-488.

²Ibid., pp. 487-488.

³Ibid., pp. 487-488.

⁴Ibid., pp. 487-488.

3. Total absorption based on complete rejection of everything Oriental and complete acceptance of all things Western. It would mean a deculturation of the Oriental.
4. Assimilative fusion, a consolidation and unification with an adequate and encouraging social, physical, and economic framework to produce a culture uniquely Israeli containing the rich treasures of all cultures.

In practice, the acculturative process is in progress. No one denies the existence of ethnic differences. Recognition of these differences are furthering their fusion. The police, whose responsibility is to keep the peace, often take advantage of Oriental customs to dissolve a feud between families which manifests itself in quarrels and fights. They arrange a sulha--a peace-making ceremony in which the participants swear to forget past enmities.

In Beersheba, local bread is a compromise between the European loaf and the Oriental flat disk. A popular song about cowboys, a decidedly Western complex, has a haunting Oriental flavored melody. Menus posted outside cafes featuring Oriental foods also add U. S. W., the German Und So Wider. Shops feature feminine apparel in copies of Paris models with the additional adornment of embroidered Oriental patterns centuries old. An Iraqi immigrant, conscious of the rich cultural values of Iraqi Jewry, expressed his determination to foster and impart them.

The Ministry for Social Welfare, the Ministry of Education, the Department of Sociology of the Eliezar Kaplan School of Social Science of the Hebrew University, UNESCO, and the Ford Foundation have taken the first steps in country-

wide survey, inquiry, and research. Dr. S. N. Eisenstadt of the Sociology Department,¹ Hebrew University, has suggested definite factors that will determine the extent of success in the integration of the Orientals.

1. Level of education.
2. Technical skills in relation to the activities of modern industry.
3. Propensity
 - a. for learning,
 - b. for changing vocational ways,
 - c. for properly educating the children.

The above calls forth participation by the immigrant. However, the Yishuv too must play its part in the drama of fusion. It is predicted that certain conditions are appropriate to a fairly rapid adjustment by the Oriental immigrant to semimodern or even modern conditions. These conditions will have to be provided by the Yishuv.

1. Consistent and continuous attitudes and policies in dealing with the Orientals.
2. Various minimal facilities to be adequately provided. E.g., work, school, decent housing.
3. Stimulation of self-action among the Orientals, a democratic approach, encouraging and moulding of indigenous leadership, the acceptance by the Yishuv of this autochthonous leadership.

Thus the Oriental, who knew no loyalty to a national boundary or a secular state, whose fatherland was custom, tradition, and culture, moves into a planning framework

¹S. N. Eisenstadt, "Factors of Absorption," Jerusalem Post, September 27, 1954, p. 9. These findings along with others are based on material collected for Dr. Eisenstadt's book, The Absorption of Immigrants, which is to be published sometime this year.

directed toward the acclimitization of the various and diverse groups, both old and new. Their integration into a unit that will be organic and productive is based on the ideals of the ingathering of the exiles, the rebuilding of the land, transmission of Israeli culture, and national security.

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