1

Herzl, Weizmann and the Balfour Declaration

> If you will it, it is no dream;
> and if you do not will it,
> a dream it is
> and a dream it will stay.
> Herzl

There is no certainty to the historical time of the Patriarchs described in Genesis, scholarly estimates range between the sixth and tenth centuries BCE, but since the fourth century CE this place on the Hebron road has been the favored location for Rachel's Tomb. It is befitting that here, on the Way of the Patriarchs – the path, according Genesis, taken by Abraham and Isaac from Jerusalem to Hebron – lies the tomb of the great Matriarch. Rachel is the most revered matriarch in the Hebrew tradition; she was the favorite of the two wives of the Jacob and the mother of Joseph and Benjamin from whom two of the 12 tribes of Israel descend. It is a place of profound veneration for Jews across Israel and beyond. And this Matriarch of Judaism is of particular significance to women; those seeking to conceive wear a red string that has been previously tied seven times round the actual tomb. The tomb is respected by Christians, but within Muslim tradition it is also the site of a mosque built very early in the Arab conquest and dedicated to Bilal ibn Rabah, a revered teacher and companion of the prophet.

In 1996 Israel declared the tomb henceforth to be part of Jerusalem, began to fortify the site and in 2002 incorporated it into the Israeli side of the West Bank barrier. An access road was built and enclosed by two parallel walls 13 feet high.

The first major restoration of Rachel's Tomb was initiated by the British financier Moses Montefiore. The Ottoman government gave him permission in 1841 after Montefiore and his wife Judith visited the tomb; she was overwhelmed by the sense of being the presence of the "mother of Israel." (Such was the significance of the tomb to the Montefiores that they chose to create a replica in England as their final resting place.) Two decades later it was Montefiore who took the decisive step in the construction of a Jewish reality in

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Figure 1.1 Three photographs: The first (Figure 1.1) shows someone walking down the protected passage to the Tomb within Jerusalem. The tomb is behind the arcades on the right. (Photo, Sege Attal/Flash 90)



Figure 1.2 The second (Figure 1.2) shows the same wall from the Bethlehem side, covered in graffiti; Rachel's Tomb is securely imprisoned on the other side. Note the little apartment building on the left from the first decades of the last century.



Figure 1.3 The third (Figure 1.3) has the caption "Palestine disturbances 1936. Scottish soldiers stopping Arab camel-men in search for arms, near Rachel's Tomb on Bethlehem road." It was taken more than 80 years ago from almost the same location; note the same little apartment building on the left and the dome of Rachel's Tomb on the right. It illustrates not only how close the Tomb is behind the wall, but also how long this place and these peoples have been in the midst of seemingly permanent conflict.

Jerusalem. He was appointed the executor of the estate of his friend the American philanthropist Juda Touro who died in 1854; Touro's will bequeathed monies to be used to establish a Jewish residential settlement in Palestine.

Montefiore used the money for projects that encouraged productive labor, particularly agriculture. In 1857 he build a windmill (its mechanism designed and fabricated in England) on the barren slopes opposite Mount Zion to provide cheap flour for the poor. Its significance is that in this very first construction two ambitions were evident: that Jews, when they came, should be self-sufficient, and that their labor should be tied, bonded, to the land. (The mill has had a fateful existence, but now restored it is a symbol of a founding act reasserting a Jewish presence in Palestine.) Montefiore attempted to acquire arable land for Jewish cultivation, but was hampered by Ottoman restrictions on land sale to non-Muslims. In 1860 he organized the construction of a residential settlement and almshouse on the west side of Jerusalem outside the old walls, Mishkenot Sha'ananim (a reference to Isaiah 32:18, "My people shall dwell in peaceful habitation, and in sure dwellings and in quiet resting places.")

The project appears in the beginning to have been aimed attracting Jews – the old *Yishuv* – living in often-squalid homes in the old city, but such was their fear of leaving the protection of the ancient walls that money had to be offered to encourage the move. This was a simple brick terrace of small homes, looking much too English, exposed on a hillside known for bandits; within a short time it was secured behind a wall and gate.



Figure 1.4 *Plan of the Town and Environs of Jerusalem in 1866*. (*Source:* British Ordinance Survey conducted by Charles Wilson RE, Southampton 1865.) Jerusalem in 1866 is a city still contained within 2000-year-old walls and dominated by the great rectangular enclosure of Temple Mount, for Islam Ay Haram al Sharif, the Noble Sanctuary. For Jews it will always retain the memory of Solomon's Temple and its destruction by the Romans in CE 70.

The old *Yishuv* (*Yishuv* – Hebrew for settlement) were the Jewish communities that had for centuries lived in the southern provinces of what was then Syria, including Jerusalem, and it was Montefiore who commissioned an annual census from 1839 till 1875, which not only gave numbers, age and gender of the Jewish population, but attempted to document place of origin, family structure and – significantly – the degree of poverty. This was a very poor population. The *Yishuv* followed Montefiore's example and from 1860 onwards began building homes outside the walls of Jerusalem. From this point on there was a gradual rise in immigration into Palestine, driven by a succession of pogroms (literally "to wreak havoc") which started in Russia in 1881 in "The Pale of Settlement" – the area of Eastern Russia in which Jews were allowed to settle. The practice of pogroms spread into Eastern Europe and persisted until 1919.[1] Most who fled the persecution made for America, but those who came to Palestine appear from the earliest records to have had a vision and a purpose in mind.

In October 1882 Ben-Yehuda and Yehiel Michael Pines, who had arrived in Palestine in 1878, wrote to Rashi Pin, in Vilna, then part of the Russian Empire:

> We have made it a rule not to say too much, except to those … we trust … the goal is to revive our nation on its land … if only we succeed in increasing our numbers here until we are the majority…

From the earliest days this was a plan for conquest:

> There are now only five hundred [thousand] Arabs, who are not very strong, and from whom we shall easily take away the country if only we do it through stratagems [and] without drawing upon us their hostility before we become the strong and populous ones.[2]

A much more gentle, and some might say civilized, view was being shaped in the comfort of bourgeois Vienna.

1.1 Theodor Herzl

Though each of the founding creators framed their vision of a Jewish homeland in their own way Theodor Herzl brought the most richly informed intellect and imagination to the task. His writing, it can be claimed, changed the course of history.

An elderly Moses Montefiore apparently knew of Herzl's activism and approved, however his great nephew, Claude, founder of what would become liberal Judaism, did not. He viewed the rise of Zionism as divisive. Resenting criticism, Herzl noted to Claude that Montefiore was an Italian name to which

Montefiore replied that he had "more sympathy with his British gardener than with Polish Jews."[3]

In rereading Herzl's *The Jewish State*, what impresses is not only the power of argument, but a tangible sense of the vision that was driving it. He saw this future nation not as some abstract proposition, but as a compelling reality that would attract all the Jews, rich and poor, from the great cities of Europe and the countless thousands in servitude in eastern Europe and Russia – those beyond the Pale.

Theodor Herzl was born in 1836 in what is now Budapest. The family was wealthy and cultured with a particular respect for all things German. They moved to Vienna in 1878 where Herzl entered the university to study law, and soon after graduation he decided to become an author. Beginning as a journalist in Vienna he became correspondent for the *Neue Freie Presse* in Paris and subsequently its literary editor. From Paris he wrote dramas and comedies for the Viennese stage, with some success. He excelled in the production of what were then called *feuilletons* (from the French for leaf, witty literary sketches). In France they could deal with a variety of fashionable topics, but in Germany they tended to be sober reviews on literature and art. Herzl's *feuilletons* were rarely political and never dealt with Jewish issues.

He would have known that the assassination of Czar Alexander II of Russia in 1881 was blamed on the Jews, and that this had led anti-Jewish pogroms across western Russia, resulting in the rise of groups advocating and arranging migration to Ottoman Palestine. He would have been witness to the violent anti-Semitism in Paris during the trial of the French army captain Alfred Dreyfus, which began in 1894. In 1899, he wrote:

> The Dreyfus case embodies more than a judicial error; it embodies the desire of the vast majority of the French to condemn a Jew, and to condemn all Jews in this one Jew. Death to the Jews! howled the mob, as the decorations were being ripped from the captain's coat…. Where? In France. In republican, modern, civilized France, a hundred years after the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The French people, or at any rate the greater part of the French people, does not want to extend the rights of man to Jews. The edict of the great Revolution had been revoked.[4]

Anti-Semitism was like a virus and Herzl watched with alarm as it spread from city to city and then from nation to nation. He would have been deeply troubled by the defeat of the liberal government of Austria by the explicitly anti-Semitic Christian Social party, led by the mayor of Vienna Karl Lueger, (who, despite his politics, helped inspire the creation of the glorious spectacle of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna). The rise of anti-Semitism produced a profound dilemma. Herzl, the gifted, erudite creation of Viennese literary culture, whose family had long since believed in the complete assimilation of Jews within Europe culture, who saw his work and his literary ambition within that great

tradition, was forced to acknowledge that so virulent a hatred of the Jews could never be defeated. And projecting into the future, his intense imagination began to see clearly that the only solution would be the creation of a land welcoming all Jews.

He aligned himself with emerging Zionist political activity and must have begun to form his vision for a Jewish homeland early in 1895. His editors at the *Neue Freie Presse* refused to publish his writing on Jewish issues and in February 1896, at the age of 36, he published in pamphlet form *Der Judenstaat: Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage*, "The Jewish State: Proposal for a modern solution to the Jewish question." Originally called "Address to the Rothschilds," the work had been intended to be presented by Herzl in a speech to the Rothschild banking family. However, Baron Edmond de Rothschild rejected Herzl's plan, feeling that it threatened Jews in the Diaspora. He also thought it would put his own settlements in Palestine at risk. It was eventually published in Leipzig and Vienna.[5]

It was and remains a work of passionate advocacy. It is can be seen as an economic and political treatise, but it is much more than that. It offered a remarkably precise vision not only of the need to act but also the means by which a new nation could be founded. He sees in his imagination the homes, neighborhoods and towns and the culture that will result.

The passion and the advocacy:

> The idea which I have developed in this pamphlet is a very old one: it is the restoration of the Jewish State. The world resounds with outcries against the Jews, and these outcries have awakened the slumbering idea…
>
> The Jewish question exists wherever Jews live in perceptible numbers. Where it does not exist, it is carried by Jews in the course of their migrations. We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted, and there our presence produces persecution. This is the case in every country, and will remain so, even in those highly civilized – for instance, France – until the Jewish question finds a solution on a political basis. The unfortunate Jews are now carrying the seeds of Anti-Semitism into England; they have already introduced it into America…
>
> I think the Jewish question is no more a social than a religious one, notwithstanding that it sometimes takes these and other forms. It is a national question, which can only be solved by making it a political world-question to be discussed and settled by the civilized nations of the world in council.
>
> We are a people – one people.
>
> We have honestly endeavored everywhere to merge ourselves in the social life of surrounding communities and to preserve the faith of our fathers. We are not permitted to do so. In vain are we loyal patriots, our

> loyalty in some places running to extremes; in vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow-citizens; in vain do we strive to increase the fame of our native land in science and art, or her wealth by trade and commerce. In countries where we have lived for centuries we are still cried down as strangers and often by those whose ancestors were not yet domiciled in the land where Jews had already had experience of suffering…
>
> Oppression and persecution cannot exterminate us. No nation on earth has endured such struggles and sufferings as we have gone through. Jew-baiting has merely stripped us of our weaklings; the strong among us were invariable true to their race when persecutions broke out against them.[6]

And as he ponders the magnitude of his proposition he writes "No human being is wealthy or powerful enough to transplant a nation from one habitation to another." And in the following sentence reveals his confidence and his conceit: "An idea alone can achieve that and this idea of a State may have the requisite power to do so,"

He concludes:

> The Jews have dreamt this kingly dream all through the long nights of their history. "Next year in Jerusalem" is our old phrase. It is now a question of showing that the dream can be converted into a living reality.

On the Jewish question he recognized that Jews have been successful within European aristocracy but doubted if this would ever work for the bourgeois classes:

> The Jewish Question
>
> No one can deny the gravity of the situation of the Jews. Wherever they live in perceptible numbers, they are more or less persecuted. Their equality before the law, granted by statute, has become practically a dead letter. They are debarred from filling even moderately high positions, either in the army, or in any public or private capacity. And attempts are made to thrust them out of business also: "Don't buy from Jews!"
>
> Effects of Anti-Semitism
>
> The oppression we endure does not improve us, for we are not a whit better than ordinary people. It is true that we do not love our enemies; but he alone who can conquer himself dare reproach us with that fault. Oppression naturally creates hostility against oppressors, and our hostility aggravates the pressure. It is impossible to escape from this eternal circle.

> "No!" Some soft-hearted visionaries will say: "No, it is possible! Possible by means of the ultimate perfection of humanity."[7]

He then offers all the elements – step by step – of that will come together to create this new *modern* Jewish state; a self-sufficient mercantile state:

> The whole plan is in its essence perfectly simple, as it must necessarily be if it is to come within the comprehension of all.
>
> Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation; the rest we shall manage for ourselves.
>
> The creation of a new State is neither ridiculous nor impossible. We have in our day witnessed the process in connection with nations which were not largely members of the middle class, but poorer, less educated, and consequently weaker than ourselves. The Governments of all countries scourged by Anti-Semitism will be keenly interested in assisting us to obtain the sovereignty we want.[8]

In the decade before the publication of *Der Judenstaat* a liberal government had tried to encourage Jews to migrate to Argentina: there had been discussion of the possibility of some degree of political autonomy. Though this came to nothing it was still on Herzl's mind as he wrote the passage entitled "Palestine or Argentine?" He was in no doubt that this new state must be in Palestine:

> Palestine is our ever-memorable historic home. The very name of Palestine would attract our people with a force of marvelous potency.

And it would be a deal, Palestine in exchange for managing the finances of Turkey and in so doing help protect Europe from Asia:

> If His Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine, we could in return undertake to regulate the whole finances of Turkey. We should there form a portion of a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism. We should as a neutral State remain in contact with all Europe, which would have to guarantee our existence. The sanctuaries of Christendom would be safeguarded by assigning to them an extra-territorial status such as is well-known to the law of nations. We should form a guard of honor about these sanctuaries, answering for the fulfillment of this duty with our existence. This guard of honor would be the great symbol of the solution of the Jewish question after eighteen centuries of Jewish suffering.[9]

At no point does he mention or consider the impact of his plan on the many thousands of non-Jews who had for many centuries lived in this land. He presumably would have known that among the earliest Jewish migrants arriving in Palestine after 1880 there were many who sought to merge with Arab culture (in all its aspects save religion) in the romantic belief they in so doing they were recovering the Hebrew culture lost when they were exiled. (One group founded in 1909 learned Arabic and assumed traditional dress.)

He continues:

> The Plan
>
> … will be carried out by two agencies: The Society of Jews and the Jewish Company.
>
> The Society of Jews will do the preparatory work in the domains of science and politics, which the Jewish Company will afterwards apply practically.
>
> … Those Jews who agree with our idea of a State will attach themselves to the Society, which will thereby be authorized to confer and treat with Governments in the name of our people. The Society will thus be acknowledged in its relations with Governments as a State-creating power.
>
> The Jewish Company will be the liquidating agent of the business interests of departing Jews, and will organize commerce and trade in the new country.
>
> And further it is a strictly business undertaking and must be carefully distinguished from the Society of the Jews…[10]

He adds that it will be modeled on the lines of a great land-acquisition company by which the "Society of Jews" will have privately acquire land according to international law.

He is most concerned to define the business of the new state in a way that is both honorable and lawful. He lists and describes in detail the businesses of the Jewish Company – commerce, liquidation, securities raising capital, promotion of industry, and he shows particular interest in architecture. Here he offers a picture of the character of this new reality:

> What is to be the principle of construction?
>
> Workmen's Dwellings
>
> The workmen's dwellings (which include the dwellings of all operatives) will be erected at the Company's own risk and expense. They will resemble neither those melancholy workmen's barracks of European towns, nor those miserable rows of shanties which surround factories; they will

> certainly present a uniform appearance, because the Company must build cheaply where it provides the building materials to a great extent; but the detached houses in little gardens will be united into attractive groups in each locality.

He continues:

> The Company's architects will build for the poorer classes of citizens also, being paid in kind or cash; about a hundred different types of houses will be erected, and, of course, repeated.[11]

In only one sentence does he mention the structure that he clearly imagined would dominate "The Temple" he writes, "will be visible from long distances, for it is only our ancient faith that has kept us together."

He was particularly proud of the concept of a Seven-Hour Day:

> The seven-hour day is the regular working day. This does not imply that wood-cutting, digging, stone-breaking, and a hundred other daily tasks should only be performed during seven hours. Indeed not. There will be fourteen hours of labor, work being done in shifts of three and a half hours. The organization of all this will be military in character.

A surprising detail in the pamphlet is his proposal that the flag for the new nation should be not the six-pointed Star of David, but "a seven sided golden star symbolizing the seven hours day." There is more than a hint of socialist idealism in this.

In the section "Commerce," he quietly introduces the needs for a military presence:

> The army of the Company's officials will gradually introduce more refined requirements of life. (Officials include officers of our defensive forces, who will always form about a tenth part of our male colonists. They will be sufficiently numerous to quell mutinies, for the majority of our colonists will be peaceably inclined.)[12]

This would be an internal army; later in the pamphlet he states with utter confidence: "… the Jews, once settled in their own State, would probably have no more enemies."

When he describes what he calls "the exodus" you see the strength and completeness of his vision. He is imagining the reality of a process that he anticipates taking many years – decades. A process in which the vast majority of

Jews from across Europe and beyond – many millions – will remove themselves and their assets and their businesses to this promised land. He writes:

> Their exodus will have no resemblance to a flight, for it will be a well-regulated movement under control of public opinion. The movement will not only be inaugurated with absolute conformity to law, but it cannot even be carried out without the friendly cooperation of interested Governments, who would derive considerable benefits from it.
>
> Emigration in Groups
>
> Our people should emigrate in groups of families and friends…
>
> A group of travellers will be formed in each locality, large towns being divided into districts with a group in each district…
>
> The conditions of travel—regulated according to classes—will apply to all alike. Any sufficiently numerous travelling party can charter a special train and special boat from the Company.
>
> Our Rabbis
>
> Every group will have its Rabbi, travelling with his congregation. Local groups will afterwards form voluntarily about their Rabbi, and each locality will have its spiritual leader.[13]

And when they arrive:

> The local groups will delegate their authorized representatives to select sites for towns. In the distribution of land every precaution will be taken to effect a careful transfer with due consideration for acquired rights. The local groups will have plans of the towns, so that our people may know beforehand where they are to go, in which towns and in which houses they are to live. Comprehensive drafts of the building plans previously referred to will be distributed among the local groups.

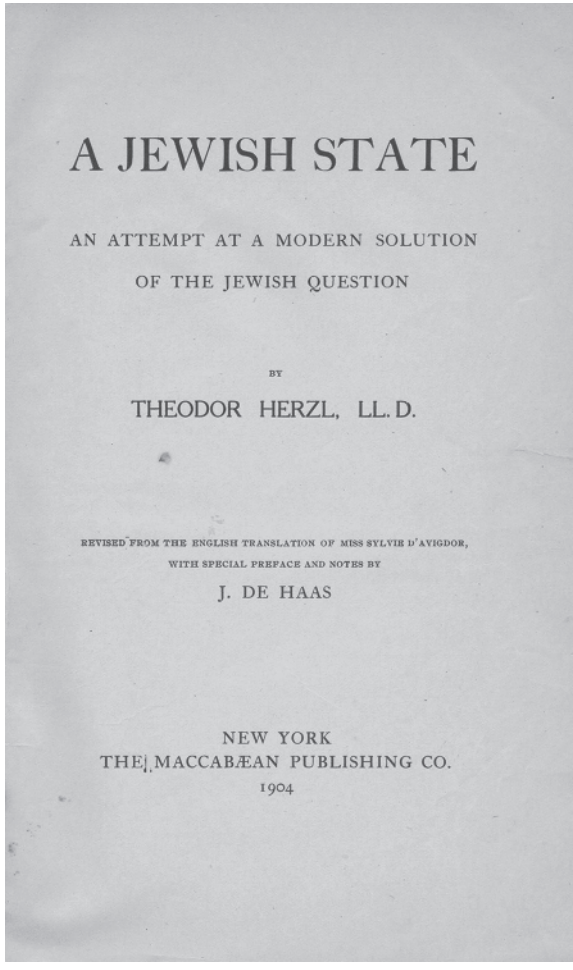
And on one question he was absolutely clear [emphasis added]:

> *Shall we end by having a theocracy? No, indeed. Faith unites us, knowledge gives us freedom*. We shall therefore prevent any theocratic tendencies from coming to the fore on the part of our priesthood. *We shall keep our priests within the confines of their temples in the same way as we shall keep our professional army within the confines of their barracks*. Army and priesthood shall receive honors high as their valuable functions deserve. But they must not interfere in the administration of the State which confers distinction upon them, else they will conjure up difficulties without and within.
>
> Every man will be as free and undisturbed in his faith or his disbelief as he is in his nationality. And if it should occur that men of other creeds

> and different nationalities come to live amongst us, we should accord them honorable protection and equality before the law. We have learnt toleration in Europe. This is not sarcastically said; for the Anti-Semitism of today could only in a very few places be taken for old religious intolerance. It is for the most part a movement among civilized nations by which they try to chase away the spectres of their own past.

He concludes:

> Let me repeat once more my opening words: The Jews who wish for a State will have it.



A JEWISH STATE

AN ATTEMPT AT A MODERN SOLUTION

OF THE JEWISH QUESTION

BY

THEODOR HERZL, LL. D.

REVISED FROM THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF MISS SYLVIE D'AVIGDOR,

WITH SPECIAL PREFACE AND NOTES BY

J. DE HAAS

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Figure 1.5 *A JEWISH STATE An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question*. (The American Edition, 1904. From the collections of the University of Michigan: Google Books.)

> We shall live at last as free men on our own soil, and die peacefully in our own homes.
>
> The world will be freed by our liberty, enriched by our wealth, magnified by our greatness.
>
> And whatever we attempt there to accomplish for our own welfare, *will react powerfully and beneficially for the good of humanity*.[14]

The English edition, titled *The Jewish State*, was published in May 1896. The work was widely reviewed across Europe and America, drawing Jewish intellectuals everywhere into the project and into debate. One of England's great wits and foremost cultural Zionist, Israel Zangwill, wrote in the *Daily Mail* that in Herzl's scheme "the Messiah comes almost in the shape of a joint stock company and the return to Palestine would be not only a political move but one that would pay in the long run."[15] Nonetheless, he later became a close associate and supporter of Herzl.

1.2 First Zionist Congress

Publication of the *Judenstaat* and the commentary it had stimulated led to the meeting of the First Zionist Congress in August 1897 in Basle, Switzerland. Two hundred men and women from as far afield as New York were summoned by the proposition "Zionism aims at the creation of a homestead [*Heimstatte*] for the Jewish people in Palestine secured by public law."

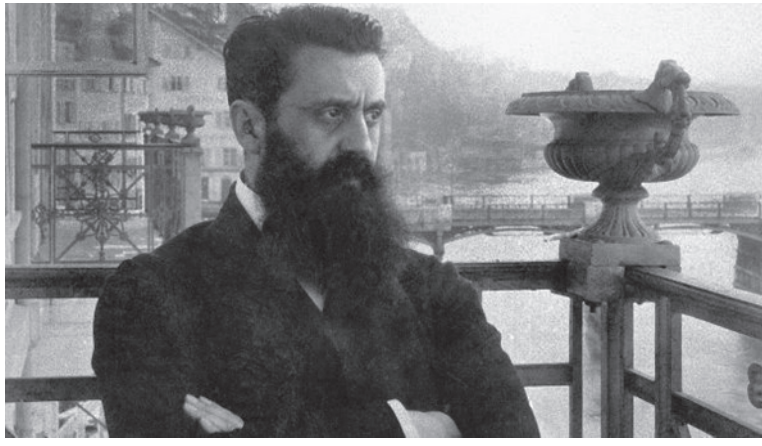


Figure 1.6 Theodor Herzl in Switzerland in 1901. Unwittingly, the photographer displays the urbane world that Herzl was at home in. (*Source:* Central Zionist Archive.)

In his opening address Herzl was absolutely clear: "We are here, he said to lay the foundation stone of the house which is to shelter the Jewish nation." He wrote later in his diary, "Were I to sum up the Basle Congress in a word – which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly – it would be this: At Basle I founded the Jewish State."[16]

There would six more Congresses before Herzl's untimely death at the age of 44, in 1904. And he never stopped promoting the cause of a Jewish homeland. He knew that the only hope of advancing the project of Jewish homeland was to secure the strong support of a major power; there were only three – Germany Turkey and Britain – and, as with leaders of the movement who would follow him, he was not only effective politically but seemingly able to get access to the most powerful. In March of 1896 Herzl was visited by the Rev. William H. Hechler, chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna. Hechler had sought out Herzl after reading the *Der Judenstaat,* which he believed was a prophetic document; he had published his own prophecy in 1893 in a pamphlet entitled a *The Restoration of the Jews to Palestine according to the Prophecy*.[17] (Herzl viewed him as the first Christian Zionist.) Hechler, born in India was the son of a German father and English mother and in the 1870s had been the personal tutor to the son of Frederick I, the Grand Duke of Baden. He became a personal friend of the Grand Duke, and through this he had developed connections within the Kaiser's inner circle. Herzl must have known this and when Hechler asked how he could he help the cause, Herzl, according to his diary, was quite explicit:

> I said to him I must put myself into direct and publicly known relations with a responsible or non responsible ruler – that is, with a minister of state or a prince.
>
> *Then the Jews will believe in me and follow me*. The most suitable personage would be the German Kaiser. But I must have help if I am to carry out the task. Hitherto I have had nothing but obstacles to combat, and they are eating away my strength…. He wants to place my tract in the hands of some German princes. He used to be a tutor in the household of the Grand Duke of Baden, he knows the German Kaiser and thinks he can get me an audience.[18]

In June of 1896 Herzl traveled to Constantinople to meet the Grand Vizier of Turkey. On the train journey his diary recorded how shocked he was to see the impact of his book:

> A gripping scene awaited me in Sofia. Lining the platform, where our train drew up, stood a great throng – who had come on my account. I had completely forgotten that I had been responsible for all this. …Men and women, children were massed together, Sephardim and Ashkenazim, mere boys and white-bearded patriarchs. …I was hailed as Leader, as the

> Heart of Israel, etc. in extravagant terms. I stood there, I believe, altogether dumfounded: and the passengers of the Orient Express stared at the unusual spectacle with astonishment.[19]

Some called him their Messiah.

He proposed to the Grand Vizier that the Jews would absorb the Turkish debt and provide an annual payment to the Sultan in return for a national home under the Sultan. His proposal was ignored and he was given a token medallion for his efforts. Then the Sultan tightened security at the borders of Palestine specifically to control the entry of Jews.

By this time the promise of *Der Judenstaat* had made Herzl a heroic figure across Europe. In August 1897 *New York Times* reported,

> Political Zionism has been awakened and promoted chiefly by Dr. Herzl's book, "*Der Judenstaat*" (*The Jewish State*) a clever but rather Utopian book, which was translated into all European languages immediately after its publication. Dr. Herzl and Dr. Max Nordau in Paris are the chief literary exponents of this new movement. Dr. Herzl has told me that the leaders are endeavoring first of all to organize a wholesale migration of Jews from all countries. A "Society of Jews" is to be formed: in London there are already considerable funds at its disposal.[20]

It took more than two years, but in Constantinople in October 1898, a meeting with the Kaiser did take place. In reports of the meeting the Kaiser asked Herzl "tell me in one word: what should I demand from the Sultan?" Herzl replied: "A franchise company [The Jewish Company] with German backing."[21]

They met briefly during the Kaiser's official visit to Jerusalem later in the same month, however this time it was clear to Herzl that the Kaiser had no further interest in his project. (Presumably the Sultan had said no.)

The only published image of Herzl with the Kaiser is a fiction – it is a photomontage of Herzl, photographed on the roof of what appears to be a building in Jerusalem, which was cropped and superimposed on a picture of the Kaiser on horseback, evidence of how much he felt the need to have his vision for the *Judenstaat* authorized by an imperial power.

Having failed in Turkey and Germany Herzl turned to Britain, and found enthusiasm for the creation of Jewish homeland somewhere within the British Empire. Herzl had been active in London (aided presumably by the Reverend Hechler), and his project had been widely discussed and debated. A long article in the *Daily Mail* of July 30, 1897, entitled "London Good Enough" poses the question:

> Had Mr. Gladstone been solicited for an opinion yet? "Yes," he sent it on the usual postcard to the leaders of the Zionist movement. It read: "My

> inclination would be to view with favour any reassembling of Jews in Palestine under Ottoman suzerainty. But I assume there would be absolute religious liberty and equality."

The idea of a Jewish homeland remained dormant within the British Cabinet for several year but re-emerged through the writing of Israel Zangwill and the so called "territorial movement." Zangwill's goal was to establish a homeland wherever possible. Herzl put forward his proposal for a Jewish settlement within the British Empire (then covering one-quarter of the known world). The British rejected his request to occupy the Sinai Peninsula, offering instead land in their colony in Uganda. Probably exhausted by his failures, and by the persuasion of Zangwill, Herzl agreed to consider Uganda. This created violent opposition and was rejected at the Jewish Congress in 1903, his last.

This African suggestion quickly faded, but Herzl's lobbying had had planted the idea of British government support for the creation of a Jewish nation in the minds of senior figures in British establishment.

1.2.1 *Altneuland*

The Old New Land is a fascinating work of utopian imagining. It was written during the years Herzl wandered the world stimulating support for a Jewish state. It seems a direct reflection of his imagination's visions for the *Judenstatte*. Written very much in the manner of Jules Verne it is political science fiction. Published in 1902 it projects 20 years into the future and speculates on his decade-long concerns with citizenship for all, Jew and non-Jew, and the relationship between religion and the state.

The New Society of *Altneuland* would be an advanced society, shaped by science and technology and become *a light unto nations*. The two major characters – a Viennese intellectual and a Prussian aristocrat (a curious yet oddly predictable choice) – visit Palestine, seeking escape from the decadence of Europe. Herzl replays the experience of his own visit to Palestine in 1898, and describes a place that is backward, destitute and sparsely populated; this last was important. These same travelers return in 1923 and discover an astonishing transformation. A new nation has been created – The New Society – enriched by cooperative industries powered by advanced technologies, a cosmopolitan modern society in which Arabs have equal rights with Jews, equal roles in the leadership.

His awareness of the problems his Jewish State would face is evident in a passage in which the newly arrived visitors find themselves in the middle of a general election which pits secular candidates against a highly persuasive rabbi who argues that this New Society should belong exclusively to the Jews – all non-Jews to be stripped of the right to vote. The rabbi is defeated, which is

hardly surprising given the pleasure Herzl takes in describing a society drawing much of its character and culture from Europe – specifically Vienna.

His writing is at its most vivid in Book V as he describes the travelers' arrival in Jerusalem. The travelers are Kingscourt and Friedrich, returning after 20 years:

> Then she had been a gloomy, dilapidated city; now she was risen in splendor, youthful, alert, risen from death to life.
>
> They came directly from Jericho up to the top of the Mount of Olives with its wide views. Jerusalem and her hills were still sacred to all mankind, still bore the tokens of reverence bestowed upon her through the ages. But something had been added; new, vigorous, joyous life. The Old City within the walls, as far as they could see from the mountain top, had altered least. The Holy Sepulcher, the Mosque of Omar, and other domes and towers had remained the same; but many splendid new structures had been added. That magnificent new edifice was the Peace Palace. A vast calm brooded over the Old City.
>
> Outside the walls the picture was altogether different. Modem sections intersected by electric street railways; wide, tree-bordered streets; homes, gardens, boulevards, parks; schools, hospitals, government buildings, pleasure resorts. David pointed out and named the important buildings. Jerusalem was now a twentieth century metropolis. Fascinating indeed … but the Old City drew their eyes back ever and again. There she lay in the afternoon sunlight, on the farther side of the Kidron Valley… Kingscourt had put all sorts of questions, and David had answered them all. Now he asked, what was that wonderful structure of white and gold, whose roof rested on a whole forest of marble columns with gilt capitals? Friedrich's heart stirred within him as David replied, "That is the Temple!"… Throngs of worshipers wended their way to the Temple and to the many synagogues in the Old City and the New, there to pray to the God whose banner Israel had borne throughout the world for thousands of years.
>
> The spell of the Sabbath was over the Holy City, now freed from the filth, noise and vile odors that had so often revolted devout pilgrims of all creeds when, after long and trying journeys, they reached their goal. In the old days they had had to endure many disgusting sights before they could reach their shrines. All was different now. There were no longer private dwellings in the Old City; the lanes and the streets were beautifully paved and cared for. All the buildings were devoted to religious and benevolent purposes – hospices for pilgrims of all denominations. Moslem, Jewish, and Christian welfare institutions, hospitals, clinics stood side by side. In the middle of a great square as [sic] the splendid Peace Palace, where international congresses of peace-lovers and scientists were held, for Jerusalem was

now a home for all the best strivings of the human spirit: for Faith, Love, Knowledge.

[…]

They reached the Temple. The times had fulfilled themselves, and it was rebuilt. Once more it had been erected with great quadrangular blocks of stone hewn from nearby quarries and hardened by the action of the atmosphere. Once more the pillars of bronze stood before the Holy Place of Israel. "The left pillar was called Boaz, but the name of the right was Jachin." In the forecourt was a mighty bronze altar, with an enormous basin called the brazen sea as in the olden days, when Solomon was king in Israel.

[…]

Suddenly, as Friedrich listened to the music and meditated on the thoughts it inspired, the significance of the Temple flashed upon him. In the days of King Solomon, it had been a gorgeous symbol, adorned with gold and precious stones, attesting to the might and the pride of Israel. In the taste of those days, it had been decorated with costly bronze, and paneled with olive, cedar, and cypress-a joy to the eye of the beholder. Yet, however splendid it might have been, the Jew could not have grieved for it eighteen centuries long. They could not have mourned merely for ruined masonry; that would have been too silly. No, they sighed for an invisible something of which the stones had been a symbol. It had come back to rest in the rebuilt Temple, where stood the home returning sons of Israel who lifted up their souls to the invisible God as their fathers had done upon Mount Moriah.

The words of Solomon glowed with a new vitality:

"The Lord hath said that he would dwell in
the thick darkness. I have surely built
Thee a house of habitation,
A place for Thee to dwell in forever."[22]

There seems to an implicit contradiction between his vision for Muslim, Jewish and Christian welfare institutions, hospitals and clinics standing side by side. And the city centered on a great square and a splendid Peace Palace, "where international congresses of peace-lovers and scientists were held, for Jerusalem was now a home for all the best strivings of the human spirit: for Faith, Love, Knowledge," and the dominance of the Temple, built, one presumes, in his imagination in the place of the Dome of the Rock.

Herzl was not without his critics, and *Altnueland* seems to epitomize what they most resented in who he was. The harshest attacks came from the Russians: they asked what the Viennese *haut bourgeois* culture which permeated his writing had got to do with Jewish nationalism. Asher Ginsberg, one of Zionism's major intellectuals, was calling for a new Jewish

national identity based on Jewish ethics and values. Under the pen name Ahad Ha'am he wrote:

> Anyone examining this book will find that in their state the Jews have neither renewed nor added anything of their own. Only what they saw fragmented among the enlightened nations of Europe and America, they imitated and put together in their new land.[23]

While the civilized Herzl believed sincerely in the possibility of a multicultural, urbane, and secular modern state for world Jewry, the Russians, having escaped the serfdom of aristocracies, would have none of it – this new society must be built on Jewish history, Jewish faith and the cultures of the Diaspora, and must be ruled by Jews alone.

Herzl did not live to see the rejection of the Uganda plan; he died of heart failure early in the morning of July 3, 1904, in a village in Lower Austria. Reverend Hechler was at his bedside; his parting words were "Greet Palestine for me. I gave my heart's blood for my people."[24]

1.3 Chaim Weizmann

Despite criticism, Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* had laid strong foundations upon which a vision of a Jewish state could be built. Herzl's dream was carried forward by the brilliant and tenacious Chaim Azriel Weizmann, equally bourgeois but with one crucial difference: he was Russian. The 22-year-old Weizmann had tried but been unable to attend the first Zionist conference in 1897: he was however an increasingly significant presence at all subsequent gatherings. There may have been polite respect for Herzl, but Weizmann was immediately popular.

He was born 1874 in Imperial Russia, (now Belarus,) into a family of successful timber merchants. His biography claims that as a child of 11 he had written to his teacher:

> I am sending you one of my ideas ... AND THAT CONCERNS HEVRAT HOVEVEI ZION [The Society of Lovers of Zion] AND JERUSALEM WHICH IS IN OUR LAND. How lofty and elevated the idea which inspired our brethren the sons of Israel to establish the Hovevei Zion Society. Because by this we can rescue our exiled, oppressed brethren who are scattered in all corners of the world and have no place where to put up their tents ... Let us carry our banner TO ZION AND RETURN TO OUR FIRST MOTHER UPON WHOSE KNEES WE WERE BORN. – For why should we look to the kings of Europe for compassion that they should take pity upon us and give us a resting place? In vain! All have decided: THE JEWS MUST DIE, but England will nevertheless have mercy upon us. In conclusion to Zion! – Jews – to Zion! let us go.[25]

This sounds to be too good to be true, but such thoughts must have been in his mind from an early age. The reference to England is a surprise; it can only reflect the sense that England alone was free from anti-Semitism.

He studied chemistry first in Germany, in Darmstadt then in Berlin before completing his Ph.D. at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, in 1899. He was viewed as a brilliant research chemist, and in 1901 was appointed lecturer at the University of Geneva. Also in 1901, he presented a document at the Fifth Zionist Congress arguing that the new state would have to give particular emphasis to the sciences and engineering. Around this time he formed a lasting friendship with Asher Ginsberg, who guided him in the direction of practical Zionism and shaped his criticism of Herzl. After the Sixth Congress Weizmann wrote:

> Obviously, Herzl is a clever operator, and "the great leader" will be able to force all decent people out of the movement … We have but one thing to do in order not to find ourselves overboard: unite the small group of people who still think and feel in a Zionist way, and who have not yet sunk into the mire of Viennese diplomacy.[26]

Apart from his by then total commitment to Zionism Weizmann's immediate goal as an academic was to get to England. And he wanted a place in England's most distinguished universities; in 1904 at age of 30 he accepted the position of senior lecturer at the University of Manchester. (Such an appointment must/reflect the fact that chemistry research in Germany was much



Figure 1.7 At the Fifth Zionist Congress, in Basle, 1901. Thought to be the only picture of Theodor Herzl, in the center, with Chaim Weizmann, in the second row on the left. (*Source:* Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael Jewish National Fund.)

more advanced than in England.) Though it may not have been his ideal, he found stronger and more sustained support for the Zionist cause in Manchester than would have been present in either Oxford or Cambridge. He was also able to make the acquaintance of a local Member of Parliament for Manchester East, one A. J. Balfour. Weizmann became a British citizen in 1910 and would remain British for 30 years.

The enthusiasm stimulated by Herzl had convinced many that a homeland in Palestine could be achieved quickly; however, Herzl's death ended the sense of immediacy that had so energized the early congresses. In the aftermath so-called practical Zionism emerged. This was not only a pragmatic movement; importantly it recognized that a homeland could be built on the existing Jewish community in Palestine the *Yishuv*. Since 1880 there had been a continual increase in migration and purchase of land. In its second wave (second *aliyah* – Hebrew for migration) rural cooperatives had been founded, land purchased and new towns planned and developed. It was guided by an idealism that came from Russia, (shaped by Aeron David Gordon among others, and much influenced by Leon Tolstoy, who was said to have made a religion of labor). It was out of such socialist romanticism that the *Kibbutzim* movement emerged in 1909.[27]

After visiting Palestine in 1907, Weizmann saw the possibility of uniting the aims of Herzl's *Judenstatte* with the confident new *Yishuv* – the Jewish communities formed from by the waves of migration into Palestine since the 1880s. He called it Synthetic Zionism. The idea was formalized at the 8th Congress – increasing Jewish settlement was the clearest path to achieving a political charter for a national homeland.

In a speech the same year Weizmann stated:

> The governments of the world will pay attention to us only as they will become convinced that we are capable of conquering Palestine through persistent practical work… Political Zionism means: to make the Jewish question an international one. It means going to the nations and saying to this: "We need your help to achieve our aim; but we ourselves are doing all in our power to strengthen our position in the land, because we regard Palestine as our homeland." We must explain Zionism to the governments in such a manner that they shall understand it as the Jews understand it.[28]

For Weizmann Judaism was not just the religion it expressed the totality of Jewish culture. In Manchester he found strong support among a small of group of influential and wealthy individuals, most significantly C. P. Scott, editor of the *Manchester Guardian* newspaper, Simon Marks and his partner Israel Seif, then chairman and managing director of the retail merchants that was to become widely known as Marks and Spencer.

Weizmann's first meeting with A. J. Balfour was in 1906, lasting more than an hour the conversation afforded Weizmann ample time to present the vision for a Jewish state. In an oft-told exchange, Balfour asked why Jews being persecuted in Russia refused to accept asylum in the West. "Because they will accept no other home but Jerusalem," replied Weizmann. He continued, "Suppose I offered you Paris instead of London." "But, Dr. Weizmann, we have London," Balfour replied. "That is true," Weizmann quickly said, "but we had Jerusalem when London was a marsh."[29]

In comparing Weizmann with Montefiore, whom he had known, Balfour saw a great difference between them. "Weizmann does not ask, he demands," said Balfour, adding "and people have to listen to you because you are a statesman of a morally strong state." As the meeting ended Balfour said, "Mind you come again to see me, I am deeply moved and interested, it is not a dream, it is a great cause and I understand it."[30]

During these Manchester years Weizmann, was as energetic in his scientific research as he was in advancing the cause of a Jewish state. In 1915 the British War office invited British scientists to report any discoveries that could benefit the war effort. Weizmann sent a description of his work on a fermentation process that could produce acetone, butanol and ethanol in large quantities.[31] In a prompt reply, the War Office asked how quickly could this process produce 30 000 tons of acetone. Weizmann replied with caution describing the technical problems that had to be overcome, but agreed to proceed. The process was successful and the British War Office rapidly converted many distilleries to its production. The new material allowed Britain to rival Germany in the production of cordite, maintaining British artillery and naval guns' equality with Germany's in range and power. Some in government believed that without Weizmann's help Britain and its allies could have lost the war.

In the postwar years a legend[32] arose in which the British Foreign Secretary, A. J. Balfour, is said to have asked Weizmann what payment would he want for the use of his process. Weizmann was said to have responded that there was only one thing he wanted: a national home for the Jews. No such conversation occurred.

By the time the process that led to the Balfour Declaration was working its way through the senior echelons of the government Weizmann's contribution to the war effort was well known.

1.4 The Balfour Declaration

Britain declared war on Turkey on the November 5, 1914 and the future of Palestine was discussed in the British cabinet on November 9. In December that year, realizing that a British victory would raise the question of who would administer the the Middle East after the defeat of Turkey, Weizmann met with

Herbert Samuel, a member of the British Cabinet. And just two days later he met with Balfour; it was their first meeting since 1906.

Weizmann drew Herbert Samuel, a Jew and influential figure within the cabinet (Postmaster General at the time), into his concept for the creation of a British protectorate that could support Jewish migration and eventually lead to some form of autonomous state. In 1915, independent of any involvement by Balfour, Samuel proposed the idea to the then Prime Minister Herbert Asquith. Then in January 1916 he presented a memorandum to the British Cabinet entitled "The Future of Palestine." The opening statement reads:

> The course of events opens a prospect of a change at the end of the war in the status of Palestine. Already there is a stirring of among the twelve million Jews scattered throughout the countries of the world. A feeling is spreading with great rapidity that now, at last, some advance may be made, in some way, towards the fulfillment of the hope and desire, held with unshakeable tenacity for eighteen hundred years, for the restoration of the Jews to the land to which they are attached by ties almost as ancient as history itself.

To avoid what he described as "a series of squalid conflicts with the Arab population" he proposed:

> … the solution of the problem of Palestine which would be much the most welcome to the leaders and supporters of the Zionist movement throughout the world would be the annexation of the country to the British Empire.

He concluded:

> let a Jewish centre be established in Palestine; [and] let it achieve … some measure of spiritual and intellectual greatness.[33]

In preparing the memorandum Samuel drew on a map of the Middle East the land such a possible Jewish "centre" could occupy, and gave it in the utmost secrecy to diplomat Sir Mark Sykes, then working with his French counterpart François Georges-Picot to produce a mutually agreed plan for dividing up the lands in the southern part of the Ottoman Empire after the hoped-for defeat of the Ottomans. The result was the "Sykes–Picot Agreement."[34] Although ostensibly promising to support Arab leadership in the region, it defined all the lands across the Middle East as being within either Britain's or France's spheres of influence, naming Palestine as an Allied Condominium under international control.

The Sykes–Picot Agreement:

> It is accordingly understood between the French and British governments:
>
> 1) That France and Great Britain are prepared to recognize and protect an independent Arab State or a Confederation of Arab States in the areas (A) and (B) marked on the annexed map, under the suzerainty of an Arab chief. That in area (A) France, and in area (B) Great Britain, shall have priority of right of enterprise and local loans. That in area (A) France, and in area (B) Great Britain, shall alone supply advisers or foreign functionaries at the request of the Arab State or Confederation of Arab States.
> 2) That in the blue area France, and in the red area Great Britain, shall be allowed to establish such direct or indirect administration or control as they desire and as they may think fit to arrange with the Arab State or Confederation of Arab States.
> 3) That in the brown area there shall be established an international administration, the form of which is to be decided upon after consultation with Russia, and subsequently in consultation with the other Allies, and the representatives of the Shereef of Mecca…[35]

That most forceful supporter of the Zionist cause in the British Cabinet, the Home Secretary, Herbert Viscount Samuels, had given Sykes a memorandum with a map attached (a memorandum that Sykes viewed as being of such extreme sensitivity he immediately destroyed it). It is reasonable to assume that this map delineated the same proposal for the land to be assigned for a Jewish homeland that Samuels had presented to the Cabinet in 1915. There is no way of knowing how closely, if at all, Sykes applied the suggestions in the memo from Samuels, but in none of the surviving drafts of the partition does the border of the proposed international zone cross the Jordan. It is remarkable, however, that the international zone defined by Sykes–Picot corresponds almost exactly to the ancient boundaries of Judea and Samaria. Defining the land for a future homeland within the borders of the ancient lands of Judea and Samaria has an elegance that typified Samuels.

Of the boundaries marked on a map attached to the memorandum Samuels wrote:

> By excluding Hebron and the East of the Jordan there is less to discuss with the Moslems, as the Mosque of Omar then becomes the only matter of vital importance to discuss with them and further does away with any contact with the Bedouins, who never cross the river except on

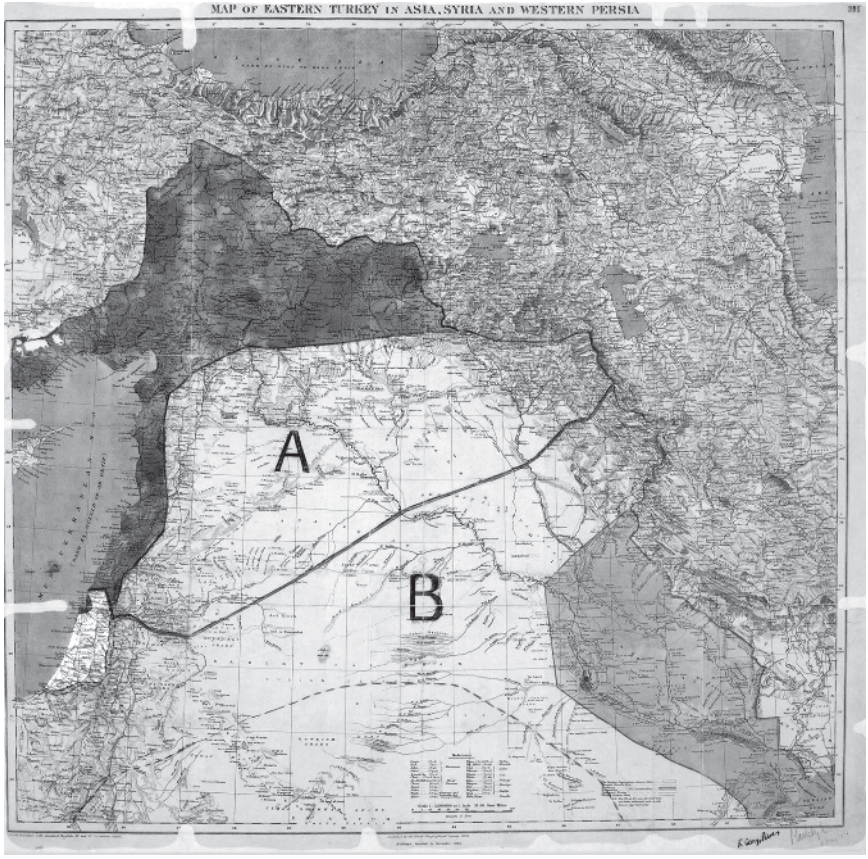


Figure 1.8 Sykes-Picot Agreement: boundaries/ recommendations, titled *Map to Illustrate the Agreement of 1916 in regard to Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, &c that included a basic descriptive text: "A& B – INDEPENDENT ARAB STATE, A: being in the French, and B: being in the British sphere of Influence".* Copy signed by Mark Sykes and Francois George-Picot. Most significant is the area in yellow (at the left edge of area B) showing the definition of the area that could be assigned to a Jewish "Homeland". (*Source*: Royal Geographical Society (Map), Mark Sykes & François Georges-Picot with annotations.)

> business. I imagine that the principal object of Zionism is the realization of the ideal of an existing centre of nationality rather than boundaries or extent of territory.[36]

Samuel believed he could persuade the British government to offer a formal statement in support of Jewish homeland. The process involved preparing a text to be submitted by the 2nd Lord Rothschild, unofficial leader of the British Jewish community, to the British Foreign Secretary, A. J. Balfour. Balfour was

known to be supportive and agreed to present the statement for the approval of the War Office. In consultation with a few sympathetic officials, including Mark Sykes, they worked on the language for such a statement.

The contribution to the text from Weizmann and others,[37] harked back to the central element of the Herzl plan, the formation of a Jewish Company:

> Palestine to be recognized as the Jewish National Home, with liberty of immigration to Jews of all countries, who are to enjoy full national, political and civic rights; a Charter to be granted to a Jewish Company; local government to be accorded to the Jewish population; and the Hebrew language to be officially recognized.[38]

The final language was more elliptical:

> His Majesty's Government accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the National Home of the Jewish people.
>
> His Majesty's Government will use its best endeavours to secure the achievement of this object and will discuss the necessary methods and means with the Zionist Organization.[39]

In a memorandum he wrote before a meeting on October 31, Lord Curzon, leader of the House of Lords asked what would happen to the Arabs who had occupied [Palestine] for the best part of 1500 years "They will not be content either to be expropriated for Jewish immigrants or to act merely as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the latter." In a discussion on the future of Palestine with British Foreign Secretary Edward Grey, Samuels suggested "it might be possible to neutralize the country under international guarantee … and to vest the government of the country in some kind of Council to be established by the Jews."[40]

The final statement, which constituted a declaration of British policy, was not finalized until November 1917. It was in the form of a short letter from Foreign Secretary Balfour to Rothschild as leader of the Jewish Federation:

> Foreign Office,
> November 2nd, 1917.
>
> Dear Lord Rothschild,
>
> I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet:
>
> "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, it being

clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely
Arthur James Balfour[41]

The Sykes–Picot Agreement remained secret until it was leaked by the Russians after the Bolsheviks seized power, with the aim of embarrassing both France and Britain. The English text was printed in the by the *Manchester Guardian* soon thereafter.[42] And, as intended, it caused great embarrassment to the allies and provoked the profound distrust of the Arabs, who had suffered many casualties in fighting with the British to defend what they believed was their land – a distrust that only deepened three weeks later with the announcement of The Balfour Declaration, Britain's commitment to support a homeland for the Jews.

This was a Declaration without detail, neither on the political or the administrative nature of this "national home" nor, most significantly any indication the land it would occupy. However, there was from the earliest days a general view within the Zionist community that boundaries had been set. Maps began appearing in 1919 defining an area of land that to the present day many Zionists believe was promised in the Balfour Declaration.

The Balfour Declaration has glorified the name of A. J. Balfour, who was a sincere Christian Zionist, and though there is some uncertainty as to who actually drafted the final version, the plan belongs to Weizmann and Samuel. But the British had other more compelling reasons for accepting the declaration than this sympathetic gesture to the Jewish community. Even late in 1917 the war and its outcome was far from clear; the declaration, it was thought, would make two immediate contributions to the British war effort: it could be used to raise funds from world Jewry, and secondly and importantly, it might encourage American Jews to bringing pressure on a reluctant US President, Woodrow Wilson, to join the Allies in the war against Turkey (although the US had declared war on Germany in April 1917 it had not declared war on Turkey). There was also apprehension that Germany was courting its Jewish leaders and might make a similar declaration.

The Declaration was so general and imprecise that by necessity it would be followed for the next 100 years by many other "White Papers," reports, resolutions and declarations in an attempt to give some clarity to what some called the greatest policy blunder in the twentieth century.



Figure 1.9 Sykes–Picot Agreement: boundaries/recommendations, detail of the area in yellow (dotted area) showing the definition of the area that could be assigned to a Jewish homeland. (*Source:* Royal Geographical Society (Map), Mark Sykes & François Georges-Picot with annotations.)

1.5 Allenby

On the December 9, 1917, two days after Jerusalem surrendered, the British General Edmund Allenby, Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force (EEF) rode to the Jaffa Gate outside the walls of Jerusalem, dismounted and entered on foot through the gate to show his respect for the city. Then he proclaimed martial law:

> To the Inhabitants of Jerusalem the Blessed and the People Dwelling in Its Vicinity:
>
> The defeat inflicted upon the Turks by the troops under my command has resulted in the occupation of your city by my forces. I, therefore, here now proclaim it to be under martial law, under which form of administration it will remain so long as military considerations make necessary.
>
> However, lest any of you be alarmed by reason of your experience at the hands of the enemy who has retired, I hereby inform you that it is my desire that every person pursue his lawful business without fear of interruption. Furthermore, since your city is regarded with affection by the adherents of three of the great religions of mankind and its soil has been consecrated by the prayers and pilgrimages of multitudes of devout people of these three religions for many centuries, therefore, do I make it known to you that every sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment, pious bequest, or customary place of prayer of whatsoever form of the three religions will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faith they are sacred.
>
> Guardians have been established at Bethlehem and on Rachel's Tomb. The tomb at Hebron has been placed under exclusive Moslem control.
>
> The hereditary custodians at the gates of the Holy Sepulchre have been requested to take up their accustomed duties in remembrance of the magnanimous act of the Caliph Omar, who protected that church.[43]

Entering into the city behind Allenby were the soldiers of the British Army's 38th Division of the Royal Fusiliers, the Jewish Division which included in their ranks Ze'ev Jabotinsky and David Grun – later to be renamed David Ben-Gurion. After Herzl and Weizmann their imaginations will be the next in the palimpsest of visions that gave form to a Jewish State.

1.5.1 Jüdischer Hochschule

The urgency with which Weizmann's sought to make his vision for a Jewish State concrete became apparent just months after the British took the city.



Figure 1.10 *A dismounted General Sir Edmund Allenby entering the Holy City of Jerusalem on foot in 1917 to show respect for the holy place* (Library of Congress's Prints and Photographs Division). The symbolism of this image would have been understood at time, Allenby had respectfully entered through the Jaffa Gate on the right, the void on the left is where the wall was torn down to allow the entry of the German Kaiser and his carriages twenty years previously.

Weizmann formally requested Allenby's approval to lay the foundation stone of a new institution, the Hebrew University. Realizing a dream he had shared with Herzl, it would he argued symbolize the spirit of a National Home. With the war continuing north and east of the city Allenby was astonished, "we might be rolled back [by the enemy] at any moment," he said. Weizmann replied "This will be a great act of faith – faith in the victory which is bound to come and faith in the future of Palestine."[44]

It was not a spontaneous act by Weizmann; land had been purchased on Mount Scopus before the outbreak of the war. The concept of creating a Hebrew University had been discussed at the First Zionist Congress; it was seen as a fundamental step in laying the foundation for a new Jewish culture in Palestine. Herzl had made it the dominant topic of the Fifth Congress, and though Weizmann disagreed with Herzl on many matters creating a first Hebrew University had his strong support. (At first it was called *Jüdischer Hochschule*, a Jewish Higher Education Institute.) Immediately the opportunity arose he seized it and Allenby reluctantly concurred.

On July 24, 1918, the foundation stone was laid before an audience of several thousand. Weizmann alone spoke:

> Within the precincts of these schools political strife and division cease and all creeds and races will, I hope, be united in the great common cause of searching for truth, in restoring to Palestine the thriving civilization which it once enjoyed, and in giving it a place of its own in the world of thought and learning.[45]

Weizmann was in Jerusalem with the consent of the British government. He was part of the Zionist Commission on Palestine, instructed to study the condition of Jews in the country and to help repatriate those exiled by the Ottoman authorities during the war. But effectively the Commission became the de-facto Jewish agency in Palestine. Acting like a government, its office established departments of agriculture, education, land, finance and, most significantly, immigration and Jewish resettlement. It provided Weizmann with a context within which he could influence British actions in the immediate postwar years. And the Zionist Commission was re-designated as "the Jewish Agency"



Figure 1.11 Laying the Foundation Stone for the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, July 24, 1918. (*Source:* Library of Congress's Prints and Photographs Division.)



Figure 1.12 Allenby, Balfour and Samuels. (Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.)



Figure 1.13 The arrival of Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner of Palestine, 1920, being greeted by General Allenby and Emir Abdullah of Trans-Jordan (*Source:* © 2017 World History Archive/fotoLibra.)



Figure 1.14 Heads of the administration and of Churches, Jerusalem, 1922. From left to right (standing): Captain R. F. C. Monkton, ADC; S. S. Davis, Treasurer; Sir Gilbert Clayton; Archdeacon Stacy Waddy; Dr. MaInnes, Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem; Norman Bentwich, Attorney-General; Ronald Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem; Harry Lake, Assistant Governor of Jerusalem. (sitting) Superior of the Coptic Convent; Jacobite Bishop; Orthodox Patriarch; Sir Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner; Armenian Patriarch; Abbot of the Abyssinian Convent. (*Source:* Wikimedia Commons.)

for the purpose of Article 4 of the British Mandate, the structure sanctioned by the League of Nations for the future administration of Palestine.

In 1920 the Right Honorable Herbert Samuel was appointed the first High Commissioner to Palestine. Knowingly, he arrived in Jerusalem in the week of Tish B'ay, the date in the Jewish calendar when both the first and second Temples were believed to have been destroyed. He publicly announced "I am the first Jewish leader of Palestine since Hyrcanus II, the last Maccabee leader in 40 BC."[46]

Notes

1 The First *Aliyah* (also the farmers' *aliyah*), the immigration to Ottoman Palestine, occurred as part of the mass emigrations from Eastern Europe of approximately 2.5 million people that occurred towards the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century.

2 Eliezer Be'eri (Heb.), *The beginning of the Israeli–Arab conflict, 1882–1891*. Haifa, Sifriyat Po'alim/Haifa University Press, 1985, pp. 38–39 (cited in Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A history of the Zionist–Arab Conflict, 1881–2001*. London, Vintage Books, 2001).

3 Colin Shindler, "Zionism's Hated Hero," *The Jewish Chronicle*, April 28, 2010.
4 Herzl, *Neue Freie Presse*, June 1899, quoted in Alex Bein, *Theodor Herzl: A Biography*. New York, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1941.
5 *Der Judenstaat*, first published in February 1896 in Leipzig and Vienna by M. Breitenstein's verlagsbuchhandlung. English translation, *The Jewish State*, produced by the American Zionist Emergency Council in 1946 to mark the work's 59th anniversary, and translated from the German by Sylvie d'Avigdor.
6 This and subsequent extracts are from the Project Gutenberg e-book reprint of *The Jewish State*, the 1946 English translation of *Der Judenstaat*: https://www.gutenberg.org/files/25282/25282-h/25282-h.htm Accessed July 2, 2018.
7 *The Jewish State* (*Der Judenstaat*), op. cit.
8 *The Jewish State* (*Der Judenstaat*), op. cit.
9 *The Jewish State* (*Der Judenstaat*), op. cit.
10 *The Jewish State* (*Der Judenstaat*), op. cit.
11 *The Jewish State* (*Der Judenstaat*), op. cit.
12 *The Jewish State* (*Der Judenstaat*), op. cit.
13 *The Jewish State* (*Der Judenstaat*), op. cit.
14 *The Jewish State* (*Der Judenstaat*), op. cit.
15 [London] *Daily Mail*, July 10, 1896, quoted in Jerry Klinger, "Reverend William H. Hechler – The Christian minister who legitimized Theodor Herzl," *The Jewish Magazine*, July 2010. (Klinger is president of the Jewish American Society for Historic Preservation.)
16 Raphael Patai (ed.), *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, translated by Harry Zohn and Thomas Yoseloff. New York, Herzl Press, 1961.
17 Klinger, "Reverend William H. Hechler," op. cit.
18 *Herzl Diarie*s, op. cit.
19 *Herzl Diarie*s, op. cit.
20 Quoted in Klinger, "Reverend William H. Hechler," op. cit.
21 The Jewish Agency for Israel, Chapter 2 "The Seven Years of Herzl," http://www.jewishagency.org/israel/content/23395 Accessed July 4, 2018.
22 Theodor Herzl, Alt Neuland (1902), translated from the German by Dr. D. S. Blondheim. New York, Federation of American Zionists, 1916. Jewish Virtual Library, Essential Texts of Zionism. https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/quot-altneuland-quot-theodor-herzl Accessed July 5, 2018.
23 Ahad Ha'am, *The Jewish State and the Jewish Problem*. Translated from the Hebrew by Leon Simon. Philadelphia, PA, Jewish Publication Society of America, c. 1912. Jewish Virtual Library, Essential Texts of Zionism. https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/quot-the-jewish-state-and-jewish-problem-quot-ahad-ha-am Accessed July 5, 2018.
24 Wikipedia, "William Hechler."
25 Norman Rose, *Chaim Weizman: a Biography*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson. Web edition, Endevour Press 2105, London, 1987.

26 Weizmann to Catherine Dorfman, September 2, 1901, Weizmann Letters, volume 1, p. 176. Quoted in Ruth Kozodoy, David Sidorsky and Kalman Sultanik (1989) *Vision Confronts Reality: Historical Perspectives on the Contemporary Jewish Agenda*. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, p. 157.

27 Jewish labor would build the new society in Palestine. Though many who came then left (mainly to America), by 1914 the Jewish population was showing the effects of several years of steady growth. Estimates vary widely, but Jews may have been up to 12% of the population of Palestine. Modern social and financial practices were established dealing with insurance, banking and medicine; labor exchanges, unheard of elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, were set up.

28 Laurence Krane, "Chaim Weizmann, Builder of Israel." *The Jewish Magazine*, October 2002.

29 Mary Grey, *Chaim Weizmann (1874–1952)*. The Balfour Project. http://www.balfourproject.org/427 Accessed July 4, 2018.

30 Jonathan Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab–Israeli Conflict*. London, Bloomsbury, 2010.

31 Before the outbreak of war, Britain imported nearly all its acetone from Germany and Austria.

32 Encouraged by the Prime Minister, Lloyd George.

33 Herbert Samuel, *The Future of Palestine,* 1915, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d3/Future_of_Palestine_Herbert_Samuel_memorandum_1915_CAB_37_123_43.jpg Accessed July 5, 2018.

34 Sykes–Picot biographies, Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mark_Sykes and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/François_Georges-Picot Accessed July 3, 2018.

35 The Sykes–Picot Agreement: 1916. Source: Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library: The Avalon Project. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/sykes.asp Accessed July 5, 2018.

36 Ronald Sanders, *The High Walls of Jerusalem: A history of the Balfour Declaration and the birth of the British mandate for Palestine*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984, p. 347.

37 Nahum Sokolow was the lead author.

38 Grey, *Chaim Weizmann*, op. cit.

39 Jonathan Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration*, op. cit.

40 , Wikipedia, "Sykes–Picot Agreement." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sykes–Picot_Agreement Accessed July 4, 2018.

41 The Balfour Declaration. Source: Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library: The Avalon Project. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/balfour.asp Accessed July 2, 2018.

42 One of the most clearly stated goals of ISIS or ISIL, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, is to reverse the effects of the Sykes–Picot Agreement.

43 Source:*Records of the Great War*, Vol. V, edited by Charles Francis Horne. London, National Alumni, 1923. https://archive.org/details/sourcerecordsofg03horn Accessed July 4, 2018.

44 Levi Soshuk, and Azriel Louis Eisenberg (eds.), *Momentous Century: Personal and Eyewitness Accounts of the Rise of the Jewish Homeland and State 1875–1978*. Plainsboro, NJ, Associated University Presses.

45 *The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann: August 1898–July 1931*. New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction Publishers.

46 Jewish History Blog, "Sir Herbert Samuel." www.jewishhistory.org Accessed July 4, 2018.