

# A Comparative Reflection on the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* in the Works of Hugo Herrmann and Alfred Wiener

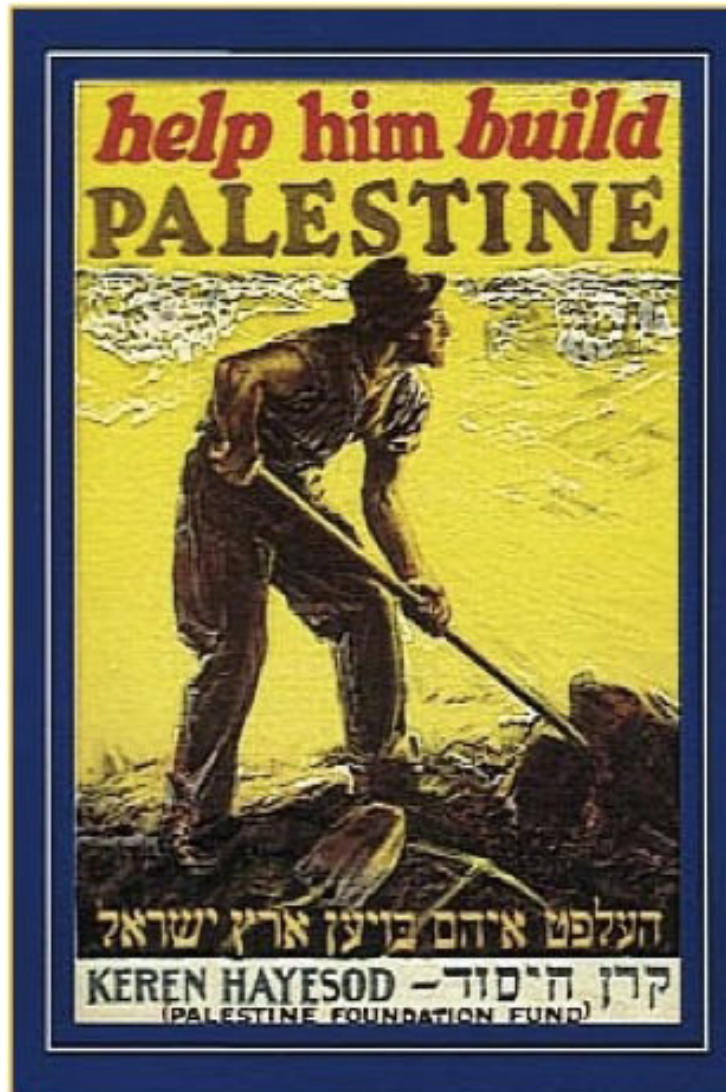


Figure 1 Modest Stein. "Help him build Palestine." Around 1946. Published by Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod). Accessed on May 29, 2014. <http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/help-him-build-palestine>.

Hadil Ali

S1454900

Modern Middle East Studies

Faculty of Humanities

Leiden University

July 2014

## Content

1. Introduction .....	3
2. Jewish Emancipation, Zionist Discourse and Historical Backdrop .....	8
2.1 Discourse on Emancipation in Jewish Culture in Germany .....	8
2.2 Zionist Discourse and Critique on Zionism.....	10
2.3 Modernization Theory in Zionist Discourse.....	15
2.4 Historical Backdrop.....	17
2.4.1 Question of Palestine.....	17
2.4.2 Rise of Anti-Semitism in Central and Western Europe .....	20
2.4.3 Alfred Wiener and Hugo Herrmann.....	21
3. A Comparative Reflection on the <i>Jüdisches Aufbauwerk</i> in the Works of Hugo Herrmann and Alfred Wiener.....	22
3.1 Jewish Colonization Authorities.....	23
3.2 Arab Question.....	26
3.3 Question of Land .....	32
3.4 Features of Colonization.....	36
3.5 Cultural Build-Up: Fostering Education and Identity .....	39
4. Conclusion.....	42
Table of Figures .....	44
Content of Alfred Wiener's <i>Kritische Reise durch Palästina</i> (1928 <sup>3</sup> ).....	44
Content of Hugo Herrmann's "Jüdisches Aufbauwerk" (1934) .....	46
Bibliography.....	48

## 1. Introduction

The spiritual father of the Zionist movement, Theodor Herzl, saw the European Jewry was at risk given the increasing anti-Semitic sentiments in Europe. After considering the tenuous situation of Jewish community in central and western Europe and, above all, in eastern Europe and Tsarist Russia, he concurred that the Jewish people should immigrate to Argentina amongst others.<sup>1</sup> From the 1880s onwards, when the first *aliya*<sup>2</sup> arrived in Palestine, the number of Zionist settlements grew in Palestine, which, at that time, was part of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>3</sup> Although the situation for the Jews in the German Empire amongst others worsened, not all Jewish citizens opted for emigration. Since its emergence in the 1880s, the Zionist movement was highly debated among anti-Zionists<sup>4</sup> because of contradicting positions regarding the understanding of a Jewish identity and it also raised critique in Zionist circles.<sup>5</sup> Besides, the increasing immigration to Palestine was discussed by the League of Nations. In the 1920s William Rappard, deputy chairman of the Palestine mandate, considered the Palestine question as a problem *sui generis*.<sup>6</sup> One of the reasons was the establishment of Mandatory Palestine under British administration in 1920. After World

---

<sup>1</sup> See Theodor Herzl, *Der Judenstaat. Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1920<sup>8</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> *Aliya* means the Jewish immigration to Palestine. The first large-scale immigration wave to Palestine took place in 1882-1903, following the second in 1904-1914, the third in 1919-1923, the fourth in 1924-1929 and the fifth in 1929-1939.

<sup>3</sup> A *sanjaq* is an independent administrative province of the Ottoman Empire with a special status. During the late Ottoman Empire Palestine consisted of three *sanjaqs*: *sanjaq* of Jerusalem, *sanjaq* of Accre and *sanjaq* of Nablus.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* (Central Association of German citizens with Jewish faith) aimed to combine German and Jewish identity. Hence, its position contradicted with the national Jewish movement because the loyalty of German Jews to the German Reich was in question, see Reiner Bernstein, *Zwischen Emanzipation und Antisemitismus Die Publizistik der deutschen Juden am Beispiel der „C.V.-Zeitung“, Organ des Centralvereins deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, 1924-1933*, (PhD diss. Free University Berlin 1969), 63-66.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Martin Buber approached Zionism from a different angle and opposed the idea of Zionism as a national Jewish movement and advocated a bi-national Jewish-Arab state.

<sup>6</sup> William E. Rappard, "Mandates and Trusteeships with particular reference to Palestine," *The Journal of Politics* 8, 4 (1946): 526.

War I Allied victors of Great Britain, France, Russia and Japan decided in the 1920 San Remo conference to divide the Ottoman Empire, and that Great Britain would take charge over Palestine. However, this decision broke the engagement, which was to guarantee independence to the Arabs and consequently, the majority of the Arab inhabitants rejected the Mandate. Moreover, there was another problem surrounding the Palestine issue: the land's sanctity in Christianity, Judaism and Islam.<sup>7</sup> The question arose as to how Palestine should be ruled or divided, and how was it possible to preserve religious plurality? Both of these issues led to one of the most important conflicts in the region today.

Subsequently, the political implications of the Palestine issue were heavily discussed in the British press during the British civil administration in Palestine in 1920-1948. Additionally, authors from Great Britain dealt with the problems of "their" mandate, while researchers from other countries such as Germany also dedicated themselves to this topic.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, various studies investigate the cultural and religious impact of Christian missionaries in Palestine and the ideological influence of the Arab and/or Palestinian national movement.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, Yuval Ben Bassat elaborates the conflict of early Zionist settler

---

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed account on the sanctity of Palestine in Jewish, Christian and Muslim tradition, see Gudrun Krämer, *Geschichte Palästinas. Von der osmanischen Eroberung bis zur Gründung des Staates Israel* (München: C.H.Beck, 2002<sup>2</sup>), 29-52.

<sup>8</sup> For British research on the Palestine issue, see, for example, Ronald Storrs, "Zionism and Palestine," in *Lawrence of Arabia ; Zionism and Palestine*, ed. Ronald Storrs (Harmondsworth [a.o.]: Penguin Books, 1943<sup>3</sup>), 31-96; J.M.N. Jeffries in *Palestine: the Reality*. Longmans, Green and co. London [a.o.] 1939.; for German scholarship, see Erich Topf, *Die Staatenbildungen in den arabischen Teilen der Türkei seit dem Weltkriege, nach Entstehung, Bedeutung und Lebensfähigkeit*, (Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter, 1929); Michael Traub, *Jüdische Wanderbewegungen vor und nach dem Weltkriege*, (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1930); Georg Schwarzenberger, *Das Völkerbunds-Mandat für Palästina*. Tübinger Abhandlungen zum öffentlichen Recht, 21 (Stuttgart: Enke, 1929).

<sup>9</sup> For Christian missionaries in Palestine, see Roland Löffler, *Protestanten in Palästina – Religionspolitik, Sozialer Protestantismus und Mission in den deutschen evangelischen und anglikanischen Institutionen des Heiligen Landes, 1917 1939*, (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008); on the Arab national movement, see Rashid Khalidi et al., *The Origins of Arab Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); on the Palestinian national movement, see Yehoshua Porath, *The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement 1918-1929* (London: Cass, 1974).

with Palestinians.<sup>10</sup> However, works on the Jewish debate in Germany on the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk*, the Jewish colonial project in Palestine, concentrate on the critiques of the practice and/ or ideology of the Zionist movement. For example, Lilo Stone, in her 1997 article examined how German Zionist emigrants in Palestine debate the Jewish colonization.<sup>11</sup> She contends that they reconsidered the Zionist colonial project in terms of who and which way were suitable to build up Jewish Palestine.<sup>12</sup> Besides, Maurus Reinkowski argues that since the establishment of the state of Israel until the 1970s Israeli research on the Palestine issue neglected the perspective of anti-Zionist views.<sup>13</sup> For instance, the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* (Central Association of German citizens with Jewish faith, hereafter *CV*)<sup>14</sup> opposed the national Jewish movement because this particular association aimed to combine German and Jewish identity;<sup>15</sup> hence, its goal to emancipate the status of German Jews in the German Reich contradicted with Zionist politics.<sup>16</sup> However, studies on this organization investigate its struggle against anti-Semitism in the German Reich rather than on the discussion of the Palestine issue.<sup>17</sup>

The purpose of this study is to analyze the works of two Jewish authors, a Zionist and an anti-Zionist, from 1920s and 1930s central Europe and investigate how they evaluated the

---

<sup>10</sup> See Yuval Ben Bassat, "Rural Reactions to Zionist Activity in Palestine before and after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 as Reflected in Petitions to Istanbul," *Middle Eastern Studies* 49, 3 (2013): 349-363, accessed on January 7, 2014, DOI: 10.1080/00263206.2013.783823.

<sup>11</sup> See Lilo Stone, "German Zionists in Palestine before 1933," *Journal of Contemporary History* 32, 2 (Apr. 1997): 171-186.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> For Israeli historiography since 1948 on the late Ottoman Empire, see Maurus Reinkowski, *Filastin, Filistin und Eretz Israel: Die späte osmanische Herrschaft über Palästina in der arabischen, türkischen und israelischen Historiographie*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 186, (Berlin: Schwarz, 1995), 75-83.

<sup>14</sup> According to Bernstein, the *CV* (1883-1938) was founded after the rise of anti-Semitism in the German Reich in order to protect Jewish rights, see Bernstein, 52-54.

<sup>15</sup> Bernstein, 63-66.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

*Jüdisches Aufbauwerk*. In the center of my research are the works of Alfred Wiener (1885-1964) and Hugo Herrmann (1887-1940). Wiener was the syndic of the *CV*, which was in 1926 the strongest and most influential Jewish organization in Germany and had approximately 60.000 members.<sup>18</sup> He stands in contrast to the Zionist Herrmann because Wiener represents the *CV* that rejects national Jewish goals in Palestine. The Zionist activist Herrmann worked as a journalist, for example, for the *Jüdische Rundschau*<sup>19</sup> which was among Germany's high-circulation Jewish newspapers and the central mouthpiece of the Zionist association in the German Reich. Both published their research on the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk*. Wiener issued his pamphlet in 1927 and in 1934 Herrmann released his textbook. Far from reflecting on the "Jewish public opinion" of the 1920s and 1930s in central and western Europe on the Palestine issue, however, this study suggests that their views contributed to the public outlook of European Jewry during this particular period.

In this comparative study I will investigate their different stances on the nature of the Zionist project. I inquire: How did they evaluate the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk*? Is it a question of Zionists versus anti-Zionists? Which topics were discussed on the Zionist settlement? How did they reflect on the impact of Zionists on different sectors in mandatory Palestine? This interdisciplinary study contributes to Middle East studies because it reflects on the Palestine issue from a perspective of two Jews living in the European diaspora<sup>20</sup> during the interwar period. Furthermore, the thesis is beneficial for Jewish studies because it advances the

---

<sup>18</sup> On the *CV*, see "CV-Zeitung," <http://www.compactmemory.de/>, accessed on May 20, 2014.

<sup>19</sup> The newspaper *Jüdische Rundschau* (1902-1938) was along with the *C.V.-Zeitung*, which belonged to the *CV*, among the high-circulation Jewish newspapers in the German Reich; both the *C.V.-Zeitung* and the *Jüdische Rundschau* are accessible online on <http://www.compactmemory.de/>.

<sup>20</sup> Since the displacement of the Jewish people from the Land of *Yisrael*, Jews lived in the diaspora, predominantly in Eastern Europe and Russia such as in Lithuania, Galicia, Bukovina and Poland. By 1933, the largest Jewish population lived in Poland (more than 3 million and 10% of the population), see David Aberbach, "Zionist Patriotism in Europe 1897–1942: Ambiguities in Jewish Nationalism," *The International History Review* 31, 2 (2009): 269, accessed on February 16, 2014. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2009.9641156>.

predominantly Zionist reflection on the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk*<sup>21</sup> and integrates a Jewish, anti-Zionist position. This matter is important because it reflects the Jewish discourse on the Zionist colonial program after the Balfour Declaration guaranteed a legal basis for immigration, at times of persecution of eastern European Jews. Furthermore, the evaluation of the current Jewish build-up in Palestine reveals the particular stance of the author on the Zionist colonial project rather than on the actual issue.

This research project does not attempt to examine the Zionist settlement in Palestine; rather, it depicts the contemporary reflection of Jewish authors in central and western Europe on the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* in Palestine by engaging in a comparative study of two guidebooks. I contextualize Wiener's and Herrmann's analyses into historical developments and interpret their personal outlook in order to classify their particular stance on the Zionist colonial scheme. First, I will provide a theoretical and historical overview for the purpose of framing their studies into the events and discourse of the 1920s and 1930s. Furthermore, I will survey the work of Herrmann and Wiener on the common themes, such as the authorities of the Jewish build-up in Palestine in order to show their positions towards Zionist activities and, then, investigate to what extent they evaluate the Arab question. By discussing their positions on the Jewish land purchases, I determine their stance towards Jewish-Arab relations as being a supporter of a respective side or a neutral author. Thereafter, I ascertain their particular position on the features of colonization and the cultural build-up in order to evaluate their reflection on colonial attitude. Finally, I will conclude the results and review my findings in order to answer the above-mentioned questions.

---

<sup>21</sup> For example, see Stone.

## 2. Jewish Emancipation, Zionist Discourse and Historical Backdrop

The era of Enlightenment constitutes a breach in the intellectual production of Europe such as in the fields of philosophy, medicine and science. The *haskala*, the Jewish Enlightenment,<sup>22</sup> had impacted fundamentally on the Jewish community particularly in central and western Europe by claiming that human affairs need to be lead by ratio rather than religion.<sup>23</sup> The emancipation of Jews triggered Jewish culture and discourse from the 18<sup>th</sup> until 20<sup>th</sup> century in Europe and Russia by challenging traditional belief with critical reasoning. In the eighteenth century Immanuel Kant, a proponent of the history of Enlightenment, questioned the universal claim of religion and tradition in answering human matters. According to him, reason and science constitute the source of Enlightenment which is the condition of independent thinking.<sup>24</sup> The notions of emancipation and modernization of traditional ways of life became leading currents, which I will discuss with regard to the discourse on modernizing Jewish culture. Then, Zionist ideas emerged in response to increasing anti-Semitic sentiments in Europe and Russia. I will survey different approaches on Zionism and investigate the notion of modernization concerning the ratio of modernizing Palestine.

### 2.1 Discourse on Emancipation in Jewish Culture in Germany

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the ideas of the German Jew Moses Mendelssohn challenged Jewish traditional scholarship when he asserted that there were no contradiction between religious belief and critical reason in Judaism.<sup>25</sup> During Mendelssohn's life, social and cultural

---

<sup>22</sup> For a good general study of Jewish emancipation, see Laqueur, 3-8.

<sup>23</sup> Walter Laqueur, *The History of Zionism*. (London: I.B. Tauris, 1972<sup>s</sup>), 9.

<sup>24</sup> Immanuel Kant, "Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?," in *Immanuel Kants Werke. Band IV. Schriften von 1783–1788*, ed. Artur Buchenau and Ernst Cassirer, 167–176 and 538–539. (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1913); Project Gutenberg 2009. Accessed on May 20, 2014, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/30821/30821-h/30821-h.htm>. Originally published in *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, 481-494. December 1784.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.



assimilation started in Jewish culture and visual differences blurred with the increasing social intercourse with Christian neighbors. For example, “They [males Jews] shaved their beards and wore periwigs, while young [Jewish] ladies adopted the crinoline and other such fashionable garments.”<sup>26</sup> The traditional Jewish appearance vanished in central and western Europe. Furthermore, many Jewish parents began to send their children to non-Jewish schools—an act which supported the rise of an educated Jewish middle class. However, orthodox Jewry condemned assimilation as decline of traditional Judaism and claimed that the *haskala* led to an increasing de-Judaization.<sup>27</sup>

Another outcome of the Enlightenment is the principle of equality before the law which had changed the status of the Jews in western and central Europe and raised the demand of full legal equality of Jews. For example, in 1893 the *CV* was founded with the aim to foster equal civic rights for Jews in Germany. This association represented the majority of the assimilated, liberal Jews in Germany and its members struggled against the increasing racial anti-Semitism.<sup>28</sup> Racial theories of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries are based on the belief that Jews belong to a specific folk group which was considered as a “race.”<sup>29</sup> The main tenor contends that Judaism is a “state within a state,” stresses national exclusivity and holds devoutly on the inferiority of other races.<sup>30</sup> The new form of anti-Semitism shifted from a religious to a racial discrimination of Jews such as in the Dreyfus-affair in France. In 1894 the French high-ranking Jewish major Alfred Dreyfus was wrongly convicted of treason in favor of the

---

<sup>26</sup> Laqueur, 6.

<sup>27</sup> Gotthold Weil, “Der Zionismus,” *Die Welt des Islams*, 4, 1/2 (Sep. 25, 1916): 2, accessed on November 16, 2013. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1569348>.

<sup>28</sup> Bernstein, 52-54.

<sup>29</sup> For example, the French anthropologist Georges Vacher de Lapouge and his racial theories on eugenics, see Eduard Seidler and Günther Nagel, “Georges Vacher de Lapouge (1854-1936) und der Sozialdarwinismus in Frankreich”, paper presented at the meeting for the *Biologismus im 19. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main, October 30-31, 1970, (1973): 94-107.

<sup>30</sup> Laqueur, 20f.

German Reich. The judicial error became a nationwide scandal since the highest officers in the army tried to prevent the rehabilitation of the Jewish officer and the condemnation of the actual traitor.

In contrast to western and central European Jewry, “Jews in eastern Europe were able to retain their national identity because there were so many of them and it was therefore much easier to preserve their way of life and folklore of their own.”<sup>31</sup> However, the first large-scale wave of anti-Semitic riots in eastern Europe and Russia, notably the Kiev, Warsaw and Odessa pogroms in 1881-1884, forced many Jews to flee to the United States, Canada, Argentina, and Palestine.<sup>32</sup> Trude Maurer explains that the German Reich was foremost a transit country for the Jewish refugees.<sup>33</sup> Immigration restriction such as in the United States in 1921 and 1924 limited the entry of refugees, however. Consequently, the majority of eastern European and Russian Jews had to stay in central and western Europe. Although their means of existence was not protected by law in the German Reich, a return to their homeland was unthinkable.<sup>34</sup>

## **2.2 Zionist Discourse and Critique on Zionism**

The developments in eastern Europe and Russia together stemming from a tough economic situation led to a massive immigration wave of *Ashkenazi*<sup>35</sup> Jews to North America.<sup>36</sup> However, a minority of the eastern European and Russian Jews did not opt to

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>32</sup> For Jewish migration to the United States, Canada, Argentina and Palestine, see Traub.

<sup>33</sup> Trude Maurer, *Ostjuden in Deutschland, 1918-1933*. Hamburger Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Juden, 12 (Hamburg: Hans Christian Verlag, 1986), 17-26.

<sup>34</sup> Maurer, 760f.

<sup>35</sup> For the different traditions in Jewry, Sephardim and Ashkenazim, see Hirsch Jakob Zimmels, *Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Their Relations, Differences, and Problems as Reflected in the Rabbinical Responsa*. London: Marla Publications, 1976<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Traub, 21-24.

emigrate to western Europe and North America because of the threat of anti-Semitism and instead chose settling to their “original” home, the Land of Israel or *Eretz Yisrael*.<sup>37</sup> Another reason for their decision was the perception that Jewish emancipation would not solve the role of the Jews as mavericks in a civilization.<sup>38</sup>

The first immigration wave to Palestine in 1882 marks the beginning of the Zionist settlement to Palestine. From a Zionist viewpoint, diaspora Judaism had a right of return to the Land of Israel. Maurus Reinkowski contests that this term is not simply a Hebrew idiom for Palestine but rather a “counter expression” to the word Palestine and must be understood as “homeland Israel.”<sup>39</sup> Abraham B. Yehoshua elaborates on the definition of a Zionist which is a person not necessarily of Jewish faith who supports and agrees with the above-mentioned right of return.<sup>40</sup> Nathan Birnbaum coined term “Zionism”<sup>41</sup> which is commonly used for the aim of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. It refers to *Zion*, the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, which is regarded in Judaism and in Islam as a holy place.<sup>42</sup> The Hebrew bible alludes that the Israelites, who are considered as the ancestors of the Jews, once inhabited this area which is referred as the “Land of Canaan,” which was promised to Abraham, the father of Judaism. After the displacement of the Jewish people from the Land of Israel, the Jewish

---

<sup>37</sup> For the history of the Land of Israel, see Krämer, 15-26.

<sup>38</sup> Eleonore Lappin, *Der Jude, 1916-1928: Jüdische Moderne zwischen Universalismus und Partikularismus*, Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts, 62. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000, 8.

<sup>39</sup> Reinkowski, 76.

<sup>40</sup> Abraham B. Yehoshua, “Defining Zionism: The belief that Israel belongs to the entire Jewish people,” *Haaretz*, May 21 2013, accessed on March 9, 2014), <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/defining-zionism-the-belief-that-israel-belongs-to-the-entire-jewish-people.premium-1.525064>.

<sup>41</sup> According to Jess Olsen, Nathan Birnbaum first used the term “Zionism” as early as the 1880s. See Jess Olsen, “Nathan Birnbaum and Tuvia Horowitz: Friendship and the origins of an Orthodox ideology,” *Jewish History* 17 (2003): 1, accessed May 29, 2014, <http://web.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=f4dc60ba-5198-4107-95b7-a647f9573389%40sessionmgr115&vid=3&hid=118>.

<sup>42</sup> For the sanctity of *Eretz Yisrael* in Jewish tradition, see Krämer, 30-39; for the meaning of Palestine in Muslim tradition, see *ibid.*, 45-52.

community lived in the diaspora. The Jewish population in Palestine is designated as *yishuv*.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the term “new *yishuv*” refers to the Zionist settlers in order to differentiate this population from the resident, “old *yishuv*.” However, the resident Jewish inhabitants were no homogenous group, just as the immigrants differed. Before the first *aliya*, *Mizrahi* and *Sephardi* Jews composed the Jewish population in Palestine. In contrast to the *Mizrahi* who had their origin in the Middle East, *Sephardi* Jews emigrated in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries from the Iberian Peninsula. *Ashkenazi* Jews established communities in central and eastern Europe and constituted the lion share of the settlers. The sanctity of Palestine attracted many Jewish pilgrims and Jewish settlement in Palestine in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, not all settlers of the first *aliya* were Zionists and the majority immigrated because of religious motives.<sup>44</sup>

The discourse in Zionism generated various wings such as cultural, modern political socialist, and revisionist Zionism. The ideas of cultural Zionism, founded by Ahad Ha’am,<sup>45</sup> centered on Jewish cultural and historical heritage.<sup>46</sup> In contrast to the majority of assimilated western Jews, the eastern European Jew Ha’am received a traditional Jewish education. In 1889 he criticized the failure of the first *aliya*, which settled in Palestine; however, its colonies were economically not successful and depended on financial aid from the Jewish diaspora. In his opinion, the colonists had no proper cultural preparation such as the dedication for the Jewish collective and he advocated fostering a spiritual Jewish national

---

<sup>43</sup> *Yishuv* means “inhabited place” or population and refers to the Jewish population of Palestine.

<sup>44</sup> Krämer, 128.

<sup>45</sup> Asher Ginzberg or Ginzburg, better known by his pen name and Hebrew name Ahad Ha’am which means “one of the people.”

<sup>46</sup> Paul Mendes-Flohr, “Cultural Zionism's Image of the Educated Jew: Reflections on Creating a Secular Jewish Culture,” *Modern Judaism* 18, 3, 100 Years of Zionism and the 50th Anniversary of the State of Israel (Oct., 1998): 227f, accessed on February 16, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1396699>.

consciousness.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, Herzl believed that anti-Semitism prevented full emancipation and proposed an answer to the Jewish question in his ideas of modern political Zionism. Under the impression of the Dreyfus affair he wrote the book *Der Judenstaat. Der Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage* (1896)<sup>48</sup> and attempted to solve the Jewish question by establishing a state for Jews. In his utopia, Herzl held out the promise that an independent Jewish state would be founded in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Herzl's ideas found international support, and one year after his publication, the First Zionist Congress was held in Basel, Switzerland. Zionist leaders formulated the mission of the Zionist Organization<sup>49</sup> which came to be known as the Basel program: "Zionism aims at establishing for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine [...]."<sup>50</sup>

Modern political Zionism evaluated national elements as the most important, whereas the cultural Zionism aimed to establish a cultural center in order to establish a "Jewish state" rather than a "state of Jews."<sup>51</sup> The main idea in modern political Zionism intended to gain a charter which officially acknowledged Jewish settlement in Palestine. Hence, the debate about culture and discussion of colonization divided the Zionist movement into a "political" and "practical" wing, which focused on the build-up by colonization.<sup>52</sup> However, the fruitless German-Ottoman relations, and the ignoring of Zionist arguments on the part of the German Empire, led the leaders of the Zionist movement to turn to another great empire, the British.<sup>53</sup> In 1917 the British government under Prime Minister David Lloyd George granted the

---

<sup>47</sup> Lappin, 8.

<sup>48</sup> Herzl.

<sup>49</sup> The Zionist Organization (later World Zionist Organization) was founded at the initiative of Theodor Herzl at the First Zionist Congress which took place in August 1897 in Basel, Switzerland.

<sup>50</sup> For the Basel Program, see World Zionist Organization on [www.wzo.org.il](http://www.wzo.org.il).

<sup>51</sup> Laqueur, 162f.

<sup>52</sup> Lappin, 10.

<sup>53</sup> Francis R. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1985, 3.

Balfour Declaration and assured “[...] the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people.”<sup>54</sup> However, the negotiations which aimed to gain acknowledgment based on international law were unsuccessful did not bear fruit for around twenty years and modern political Zionism found itself in a crisis in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In this period another discourse in Zionism came up. Socialist Zionists such as Nahman Syrkin had the idea to solve the Jewish question in an autonomous state; however, they contemplated a Jewish state as an intermediate stage towards the ultimate goal of internationalism.<sup>55</sup> Notably, the second *aliya*, which constituted predominantly of eastern European immigrants, was influenced by socialist Zionist discourse.<sup>56</sup> For example, in 1909 some of its members founded the first *kibbutz*,<sup>57</sup> a collective community in Israel which was based on farming. The newcomers were in contrast to the settlers of the first *aliya* who mostly lived in cities. Finally, revisionist<sup>58</sup> ideas of Vladimir Jabotinsky challenged the Zionist discourse in the 1910s because he questioned the policy of the Zionist leadership. He doubted that Jewish colonization in Palestine would be practical without any military protection. Hence, he emphasized the need of a Jewish legion to defend the Jewish inhabitants in Palestine.<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> See the Balfour Declaration in Alfred Wiener, *Kritische Reise durch Palästina. Mit 13 Karten und Aufzeichnungen*. Jüdische Siedlung und Wirtschaft I, Berlin: Philo-Verlag, 1928<sup>3</sup>, 143.

<sup>55</sup> Laqueur, 272.

<sup>56</sup> Krämer, 128; for the second *aliya*, see *ibid.*, 133-135.

<sup>57</sup> For the *Kibbutz* movement, see Aryei Fishman, “Judaism and Modernization: The Case of the Religious Kibbutzim,” *Social Forces* 62, 1 (Sep., 1983): 9-31, accessed on February 16, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2578345>.

<sup>58</sup> Revisionism means the policy of revision or modification of principles, see “Revisionism,” <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/revisionism?q=revisionism>, accessed on May 23, 2014; Revisionism is the ideology of the center-right Likud-party in Israel, see Jonathan Rynhold and Dov Waxman, “Ideological Change and Israel's Disengagement from Gaza,” *Political Science Quarterly* 123, 1 (Spring, 2008): 12, accessed on May 23, 2014, <http://web.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=2&sid=645b1e00-c652-4d5a-b96e-ba2907b3dcc0%40sessionmgr4003&hid=4101>.

<sup>59</sup> Laqueur, 341-343.

## 2.3 Modernization Theory in Zionist Discourse

One influential ratio in Zionism was the notion of “bringing modernity” to Palestine. Consequently, the traditional ways of life would be improved through the colonial undertaking.<sup>60</sup> For instance, Gotthold Weil contests that Zionist settlers in Palestine introduced modern technology in agricultural cultivation amongst others, and not only Jews benefit from Zionist modernization.<sup>61</sup> “Modern” by definition refers “to the present or recent times as opposed to the remote past”<sup>62</sup> and hence, any contemporary society can be considered as modern. “Modernity” relates to a historical period which marks the breach between feudalism and capitalism, secularization, industrialization and refers to the modern era.<sup>63</sup> Mark Elvin defines this term amongst others as the transition of a “pre-modern” into a “modern” society.<sup>64</sup> In western philosophy, modernity refers to a specific movement which is connected to critical reasoning and the decline of traditional belief.<sup>65</sup> It is important to identify modernity as a western discourse and a construction and not to mistake it for a time epoch. In order to gain the condition of “modernity,” a society must undergo modernization.<sup>66</sup> Samuel

---

<sup>60</sup> For example, see Nathan Weinstock, “The Impact of Zionist Colonization on Palestinian Arab Society before 1948,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 2, 2 (Winter, 1973): 49-63, accessed on February 10, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2535480>.

<sup>61</sup> For example, see Weil.

<sup>62</sup> “Modern.” Oxford Dictionaries, accessed on May 20, 2014, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/modern>.

<sup>63</sup> Chris Barker, *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. London: SAGE, 2012<sup>4</sup>, 444.

<sup>64</sup> Mark Elvin, “A Working Definition of ‘Modernity’?,” *Past & Present*, 113 (Nov., 1986): 212, accessed on May 21, 2014, DOI:10.1093/past/113.1.209.

<sup>65</sup> On Jewish emancipation, see p. 8-10.

<sup>66</sup> On modernization theory, see Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1958. Lerner contends that industrialization and urbanization initiated a breach from the predominantly feudal and rural society in the Middle East. According to Lerner, the members of a traditional society became emancipated because of their economically and/ or politically participation, and their individuality was central to this transformation. He contests that in the modernization process the traditional society passes because it invokes its legitimacy from a non-modern, religious or tribal basis which cannot be applied anymore to the changing order; however, the modern society refers to reason and secular ideals and, therefore, gains support from their “enlightened” people and representatives. For a critique on the modernization theory, see Dean C. Tipps, “Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 15, 2 (Mar., 1973): 199-226.

P. Huntington defined modernization as “a multifaceted process involving changes in all areas of human thought and activity.”<sup>67</sup> Moreover, modernization can work through a top-down mechanism whereby the government seeks to modernize the society.<sup>68</sup> For example, Mustapha Kemal Atatürk, the first president of the Turkish Republic, abolished the sultanate and caliphate after its establishment and introduced laicism in 1923, a structure of control between state and Islam, as a governing principle in the new republic.<sup>69</sup>

Not only imperialist states used the ratio of modernization as an argument for colonization. But also the Zionists claimed that the Jewish settlement in Palestine would modernize the Palestinian standards and ways of life which were considered as “backward.” Following this argument, Ali A. Mazrui draws an analogy between modernization and social Darwinism and contested that in both persisted certain optimism about the progress in human race.<sup>70</sup> For example, Dafna Hirsch analyzes the discourse in Zionist newspapers which depicted the poor level of hygiene in Palestine in the 1920s and 1930s and brought up the slogan “We are here to bring the West, not only to ourselves.”<sup>71</sup> She contests that hygiene was synonymous for western progress.<sup>72</sup> However, only the Jewish community was considered to experience modernity in the form of enlightenment. Thus, Ahmad Sa’di adverts that the Zionist movement has never taken modernization seriously. He asserts that the fulfillment of its political task, the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, was its priority

---

<sup>67</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968, 32.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 140-147.

<sup>69</sup> Andrew Davison, “Turkey, a ‘Secular’ State?: The Challenge of Description,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102 (2003): 338, accessed on July 4, 2014. [http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/south\\_atlantic\\_quarterly/v102/102.2davison.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/south_atlantic_quarterly/v102/102.2davison.pdf).

<sup>70</sup> Ali A. Mazrui, “From Social Darwinism to Current Theories of Modernization: A Tradition of Analysis,” *World Politics*, 21, 1 (Oct., 1968): 82, accessed on March 14, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009746>.

<sup>71</sup> Dafna Hirsch, “We are here to bring the West, not only to ourselves: Zionist Occidentalism and the discourse of hygiene in Mandate Palestine,” *International Journal Middle East Studies* 41 (2009): 577-594, accessed on February 15, 2014. DOI: 10.1017/S0020743809990079.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 577.



while Zionist politicians viewed Palestinians as a hindrance which should be removed.<sup>73</sup> In other words, the Zionist modernization “mission” implied the construction of an infrastructure for a Jewish state.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, religious education or the increasing employment of Jewish workers fostered the idea of national exclusivity. Therefore, modernization split the “modern” Jewish community from the “traditional” Arab inhabitants instead of generating an intercultural Palestinian society.

## 2.4 Historical Backdrop

### 2.4.1 Question of Palestine

In their analyses, Herrmann and Wiener referred to the “Palestine question” as the “Arab question in Palestine.”<sup>75</sup> Their usage of the term shows the recognition of an Arab character but denies a specific Palestinian identity. However, Rashid Khalidi contends that a Palestinian self-view formatted in 1917-1923 through the Arabic-language press which helped to shape a corporate feeling of the people of Palestine and a broad community of interest.<sup>76</sup> The increasing Jewish immigration to Palestine had different impact on the Palestinians. Exceptionally with the second *aliya* from 1904-1914, the Jewish population in the country grew from about 30,000 to 60,000 in contrast to the slow growth of the total population.<sup>77</sup> As I have examined earlier, the majority of these particular settlers were impacted by socialist

---

<sup>73</sup> Ahmad H. Sa’di, “Modernization as an Explanatory Discourse of Zionist-Palestinian Relations,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 24, 1 (May, 1997): 44f, accessed on February 10, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/195667>.

<sup>74</sup> Ilan Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine. One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 87f.

<sup>75</sup> Hugo Herrmann differentiated between the Arab problem and the specific Arab problem in Palestine, see Hugo Herrmann, “Dritter Teil: Das Jüdische Aufbauwerk mit 11 Abbildungen,” in *Palästinakunde. Ein Leitfaden für Vortragende, Kurse und für den Unterricht. In vier Teilen, mit zahlreichen Karten, Diagrammen und Tabellen*. Wien: Fiba Verlag, 1934, 292; Alfred Wiener uses the same expression in his pamphlet, see Wiener, 77.

<sup>76</sup> Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity. The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, *Palestinian...*, 93f.

Zionism and the idea of “creating a new, purely Jewish society in Palestine.”<sup>78</sup> Khalidi argues that the increased land purchases and replacement of Arab wage-laborers on Jewish estates by Jewish workers during the years from 1908 to 1914 angered many *fellahin*, the Palestinian peasants.<sup>79</sup> Yuval Ben-Bassat provides a view on the rural reactions to Zionist activities by reflecting on the petitions sent by to the Ottoman authorities around 1908.<sup>80</sup> He ascertains that the first Zionist-Palestinian encounters highlighted the conflicting perception of land ownership between the rural population and the Jewish newcomers: “The latter bought the land, received legal title deeds and wanted to fully exercise their ownership. The former, however, often acted on the basis of notions of traditional rights, norms and practices that had existed for generations.”<sup>81</sup> Beside the Palestinian reaction towards Zionist activity, the opposition to British occupation of Palestine grew culminating in an Arab nationalist movement led by Amin al-Husaini.<sup>82</sup> George Antonius identified the basic elements of the Palestine problem in the pledges made by the British Empire to Palestinian Arabs and Zionists at the same time.<sup>83</sup> On the one hand, the mandatory system assured the Arabs their future independence, and on the other hand, the Balfour Declaration in 1917 promised Zionists the establishment of a “Jewish homeland” in Palestine.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, the Palestinian national struggle was part of the “Arab problem” at large because the establishment of mandates and colonies in the Middle East and North Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries destroyed pan-Arab

---

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., *Palestinian....*, 94.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., *Palestinian....*, 94.

<sup>80</sup> Ben-Bassat.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 359.

<sup>82</sup> Amin al-Husaini belonged to one of the most influential notable families in Jerusalem and was appointed Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in 1921 by the British High Commissioner Herbert Samuel.

<sup>83</sup> George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening, The Story of the Arab National Movement*. Transl. London: Hamish Hamilton. 1945<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 390-398.

nationalist ideas of a unification of Arab states.<sup>85</sup> Consequently, I will use the term “Palestine problem” in this analysis.

The early clashes between Zionists and Palestinians occurred predominantly in the countryside. After the establishment of the British Mandatory Palestine, the tensions between the newcomers and the Arab population increased. For example, during the *Nabi al-Musa* festival in 1920, Muslim pilgrims crossed on their way the Jewish quarter in Jerusalem. Al-Husaini amongst others called for resistance against the Balfour Declaration which was followed by clashes between Palestinians and Arabs and the death of nine people.<sup>86</sup> However, the 1921 Jaffa riots happened differently and nearly one hundred people were killed. The Jewish communist party *Mopsim* started a demonstration in Jaffa followed by clashes with the leftist Zionist movement *Ahdut ha-Avoda* in the Jewish-Arab neighborhood *Manshiyya*. After the unsuccessful intervention of the police, Arabs entered the fighting and then, however, they started to attack Jewish stores and facilities. This incident was new to that extent that Jewish settlement between 1880 until 1920 could develop untroubled. Gudrun Krämer contends, therefore, that these particular riots were not planned or religiously motivated<sup>87</sup> in contrast to the 1929 Palestine riots. They started with a dispute between Jews and Muslims concerning access to the Wailing Wall, the western wall of the *Haram*. It fomented turmoil which escalated through Palestine as a whole in 1929 and, in all, took the life of around 600 Jews and Arabs.<sup>88</sup> Shortly before Herrmann issued his Palestine textbook, another series of severe clashes occurred in Palestine in 1933. The events started with demonstrations in Jerusalem Jaffa, Haifa and Nablus of Arab protesters against the increasing influx of Jewish immigrants due to the fifth *aliya* which turned out violently.

---

<sup>85</sup> For a detailed study on Arab nationalism, see Khalidi [et al.] *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*.

<sup>86</sup> Krämer, 246.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>88</sup> Pappé, 91.

#### 2.4.2 Rise of Anti-Semitism in Central and Western Europe

While waves of riots between Jews and Arabs overshadowed the atmosphere in Palestinian cities, the notion of racial anti-Semitism<sup>89</sup> spread increasingly throughout central and western Europe during the interwar period and, eminently in Germany. For example, the *Oberste Heeresleitung*, the German army command, planted the rumor of the *Dolchstoßlegende*<sup>90</sup> and alleged an enemy amongst the German people had caused the military defeat of the German Reich in World War I. Afterwards anti-Semites exploited this conspiracy theory in order to blame German Jews as instigator for the setback. However, Jews in Europe suffered not only from verbal attacks, such as in the German Reich, but they were also targets of assassination. For instance, members of the right-wing movement *Organisation Consul*<sup>91</sup> shot the German-Jewish foreign minister Walther Rathenau in 1922. Meanwhile, in Europe, especially the German economy suffered due to war debts amongst others imposed by the 1919 Treaty of Versailles<sup>92</sup> and Great Depression in the interwar period. In 1933, Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party seized total power in Germany and the German government enacted anti-Jewish laws such as the 1933 Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service<sup>93</sup> which barred amongst others Jews from civil service. Beginning in 1929, the fifth *aliya* was again determined by eastern European Jews. However, after the ratification of this particular law, also German professionals immigrated to Palestine.

---

<sup>89</sup> On racial theories, see chapter 2.1, 9.

<sup>90</sup> The *Dolchstoßlegende* contests that the military defeat of the German Reich was caused by an enemy within the German people which referred German-Jewish soldiers and the notion of the Jews as a “state within a state.”

<sup>91</sup> The 1921 formed *Organisation Consul* was an ultra-nationalist movement lead by Hermann Ehrhardt and was also responsible for the assassination on the German Minister of Finance Matthias Erzberger.

<sup>92</sup> The 1919 Treaty of Versailles was one of the peace treaties at the end of World War I between the German Reich and the Allied Powers.

<sup>93</sup> The 1933 Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service declared persons from “non-Aryan” descent and opponents of the Nazi regime as not reliable for state service. According to this law, they were not allowed to perform their professions such as teachers, professors and judges.

### 2.4.3 Alfred Wiener and Hugo Herrmann

In the 1920s and 1930s central and western Europe witnessed the rise of racial anti-Semitism and encountered the displacement of persecuted Jews from Eastern Europe and Russia. Against this background, I will introduce the two central figures of this thesis: Alfred Wiener and Hugo Herrmann. The German-Jewish Arabist Wiener was born in Potsdam in 1885. As a high-ranking official of the *CV*, he documented the development of National Socialism in the German Reich. The *CV* represented the majority of the assimilated Jews in Germany. According to its name, Central Association of German citizens with Jewish faith, the *CV* emphasized the German citizenship of German-Jews. The association as well as Wiener rejected the political goals of the Zionist movement. Wiener also published texts in the weekly newspaper *C.V. Zeitung*<sup>94</sup> in order to fight the anti-Semitic propaganda and to make non-Jewish readers aware of it. After the Nazi takeover in Germany he flew first to the Netherlands and established the documentation center Jewish Central Information Office in 1933. He continued his work on keeping records about the anti-Semitic and nationalist developments in Germany and across Europe.<sup>95</sup> The center moved to London in 1939, and after the end of the War it was named after him, the Wiener Library,<sup>96</sup> which continues his documentary research to this day. Alfred Wiener died in London in 1964.

Another central figure in this thesis is the journalist and Zionist activist Hugo Herrmann. He was born in Mährisch-Trübau<sup>97</sup> in 1887 and grew up in an assimilated German-speaking

---

<sup>94</sup> The *C.V. Zeitung* (1922-1938) was a weekly journal and the mouthpiece of the *CV*.

<sup>95</sup> References to Alfred Wiener's biography are based on a large extent on Christa S. Wichmann, see Christa S. Wichmann, *Die Wiener Library London 1933-1985. Stationen der Tyrannei*. Wolfenbüttel: Heckners Verlag, 1985, 5.

<sup>96</sup> The 1939 founded Wiener Library in London is a documentation center for the rise of anti-Semitism and its opposing groups in the German Reich and Europe.

<sup>97</sup> The town Mährisch-Trübau (cz. Moravská Třebová) was mainly inhabited by Germans until their expulsion in 1945/1946 and belongs today to the Czech Republic.

family.<sup>98</sup> Herrmann studied German and Romance philology and joined the Zionist student union *Bar Kochba* Association<sup>99</sup> of which he was the chairman from 1909-1910. He served as secretary of the Zionist organization of Bohemia from 1909-1912 and was the editor in chief of the *Jüdische Rundschau* from 1913 until the outbreak of World War I. After his trip to Palestine in 1925, he published several books and brochures on Palestine, among them the textbook *Palästinakunde*<sup>100</sup> which constitutes one of the main sources in this thesis. Herrmann dedicated himself to Jewish education which, in his view, should call attention to moral purity, unselfishness, and the rejection of materialism.<sup>101</sup> In 1934, Herrmann moved to Palestine and died six years later in Jerusalem.

### **3. A Comparative Reflection on the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* in the Works of Hugo Herrmann and Alfred Wiener**

The events in Europe and in Palestine, as I have inquired in the previous chapter, impacted the two studies on the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* of Wiener and Herrmann. Wiener wrote his pamphlet during the Great Depression and documented a high unemployment rates in Palestine. In contrast, Herrmann issued his textbook shortly after he witnessed the seizure of power of the Nazi party, the enactment of anti-Jewish laws and, notably, the following large-scale emigration of German Jewish professionals. Against this background, I will classify their stances on the Palestinian *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* in due consideration of the particular context of each book. First, I investigate the stances of each author toward the Jewish

---

<sup>98</sup> Wilma Iggers, "Hugo Herrmann," accessed on April 13, 2014, <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/printarticle.aspx?id=373&print=auto>).

<sup>99</sup> The *Bar Kochba* Association was a Zionist student organization in Prague. Its philosophy was based on cultural Zionism and the members of this particular movement had a great impact on the character of Zionism in Czech lands, see Kateřina Čapková, "Bar Kochba Association," accessed on April 13, 2014 <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/printarticle.aspx?id=158&print=auto>.

<sup>100</sup> Herrmann's textbook *Palästinakunde* consists of four parts which were published in 1934 and 1935; this thesis refers to the third part "Das Jüdische Aufbauwerk" (1934).

<sup>101</sup> Iggers.

colonization authorities for the purpose of determining their support or rejection of the settlement project. Then, I discuss to what extent Wiener and Herrmann dealt with crucial issues in Palestine such as the Arab question, Jewish land purchases and the displacement of Palestinian peasants in order to ascertain their attitude towards the resident inhabitants. Thereafter, I examine how Wiener and Herrmann evaluated the integral components of the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk*, such as features of colonization and the cultural build-up. Finally, I sum up my findings aiming to provide a new perspective on the reflection on the Zionist colonial scheme from a view of two Jews living in the European diaspora in the 1920s and 1930s.

### 3.1 Jewish Colonization Authorities

Both handbooks investigate in the developments of the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* and review the work of the Jewish colonization authorities such as the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA)<sup>102</sup> and the Zionist Colonization Organization (also Zionist Palestine executive),<sup>103</sup> which settled the land of the *Keren Kajemeth Leyisrael* (Jewish National fund, hereafter KKL).<sup>104</sup> Alfred Wiener and Hugo Herrmann discuss this topic in the beginning of their pamphlets.<sup>105</sup> The different viewpoints of both men become apparent in their criticism on the national Jewish colonization authorities and the PICA. The first part of this chapter treats their opinion on the PICA. Then, I will discuss how Wiener and Herrmann evaluate the Zionist colonial authorities.

---

<sup>102</sup> The 1923/1924 established Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA) assisted the *yishuv*, the Jewish community in Palestine, in all questions of colonization in Palestine. In 1925 the PICA merged with the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA). The ICA was founded by Baron Moritz de Hirsch and was in charge of the colonies of Baron Edmond Rothschild who transferred them in 1898.

<sup>103</sup> Zionist Palestine executive was founded at the Zionist conference in London in 1920. The 1929 established Jewish Agency undertook the tasks of the executive.

<sup>104</sup> The *Keren Kajemeth Leyisrael* (KKL; Jewish National fund) was founded in 1901 and purchased land in Palestine to foster Jewish settlement.

<sup>105</sup> On the particular contents of Wiener's and Herrmann's pamphlets, see figures 1-4, 44-47.

The PICA played a crucial role in the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* because it purchased land for the Jewish settlement scheme. Wiener dealt with the Jewish share of Palestinian soil in the second chapter which includes “basic principles on Palestine.”<sup>106</sup> He stated, “In Wirklichkeit ist es demnach so, daß heute noch die *PICA* bei weitem mehr Boden besitzt als die Zionistische Organisation. Die *PICA* arbeitet großzügig weiter und ist mit der wichtigste Faktor beim Aufbau des Landes.”<sup>107</sup> In this quote he asserted that the land of the PICA constituted the largest share of Jewish soil in Palestine and, thus, was a crucial element of the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk*. Wiener considered the PICA as more important for the colonial project because the quantity of the land enabled an extensive Jewish settlement and a home [but no state] for Jewish immigrants to Palestine. Wiener was convinced that the work of the PICA supported Zionism to that effect that its activities contributed to the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* in general.<sup>108</sup> However, he emphasized the position of the PICA, arguing that it did not clearly express its ideas propagandistically as the Zionist organization did after the First World War because the PICA had no political department.<sup>109</sup> Wiener suggests the possibility that the work of the PICA facilitates Jewish colonization in Palestine and would be able to gain acceptance from the Arab population because its actions would not interfere with the Arab eagerness for independence. Whereas Wiener was convinced that this authority played a key role for the Jewish immigration to Palestine, Herrmann questioned its role in this particular issue. He agreed with the large share of the PICA but contended that in contrast to the lands of the KKL the soil of the PICA were not populated sufficiently.<sup>110</sup> However, in his view, the task of the PICA was valuable since the purchase of land is indispensable for

---

<sup>106</sup> On the content of Wiener’s book, see figures 1-2, 44-45.

<sup>107</sup> “In reality, it is, thus, that today the PICA has yet far more ground than the Zionist Organization owns. The PICA continues working generously and is the most important factor in rebuilding the land.” Wiener, 38.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> Herrmann, 288.



settlement. Herrmann had doubts on the work of the PICA to foster further immigration because its missing political character prevented recognition of its activities.

Other than the PICA the Zionist colonization authorities was a major contributor to the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk*. Herrmann regarded the Zionist Palestine executive as an autonomous organization and contested:

So übernahmen die Zionistische Kommission und später die Zionistische Palästinaexekutive die moralische und finanzielle Verantwortung nicht nur für die auf den Böden des Keren Kayemeth [KKL] begründeten landwirtschaftlichen Siedlungen, sondern auch für das gesamte hebräische Schulwerk, für das öffentliche Gesundheitswesen des Jischuv, für die Versorgung der gesamten Einwanderung und für eine ganze Reihe weiterer Aufgaben, die in einem normalen Staatswesen Aufgaben der Regierung sind, in Palästina aber für die durch Einwanderung rapid wachsende jüdische Bevölkerung von Seiten der Regierung nicht im erforderlichen oder erwünschten Ausmaß erfüllt wurden.<sup>111</sup>

In this quote, Herrmann asserted that the Zionist Palestine executive dealt with all matters of Jewish immigration such as education, health care and supply because the British mandate could not sufficiently provide for the rapid Jewish immigration. As demonstrated in this passage, Herrmann found this particular colonization authority useful for the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* because it fostered Jewish autonomy. However, Wiener assessed that the Zionist Palestine executive was financially dependent on Zionist support and stated, “Die Palästina-Exekutive ist also in der Verwaltung, im Schulwerk und sonst vollkommen und ausschließlich auf dem Keren Hajessod basiert.”<sup>112</sup> According to him, this organ was based exclusively on the *Keren Hajessod*,<sup>113</sup> a Zionist foundation fund in various matters. He criticized its

---

<sup>111</sup> “Thus, the Zionist commission, and later the Zionist Palestine executive, took on the moral and financial responsibility not only for the agricultural settlements on the grounds of the Keren Kayemeth [KKL] but also for the entire Hebrew school system, for the public health of the yishuv, for the supply for the entire immigration and for a number of other tasks that are functions of a government in a normal political system, in Palestine, though, because of the rapidly growing Jewish population due to immigration, they are not being met in the required or desired degree on behalf of the government.” Ibid., 287.

<sup>112</sup> Wiener, 40.

<sup>113</sup> The 1920 established *Keren Hajessod* is the central fundraising organization for building of the Land of Israel.

dependency because the executive organ, apparently, has to follow Zionist goals in its practice.

In this section, I have ascertained the particular stances of Herrmann and Wiener towards the Jewish colonization authorities. The critique and support of particular colonization authorities reveal the author's acceptance of Jewish or Zionist settlement in Palestine. Wiener's positive evaluation of non-political organizations and his critical view on the Zionist executive conveys his anti-Zionist stance. While Herrmann regards the PICA as useful, he evidently expresses his support for the Zionist Palestine executive. Both Wiener and Herrmann accepted Jewish immigration because according to Jewish belief Palestine or *Eretz Yisrael* is the "home" of the Jewish community. However, the riots against the Jewish population, as shown above,<sup>114</sup> expose the tense atmosphere in Palestine. Nevertheless, neither Herrmann nor Wiener answer to what extent Jewish immigration would improve Jewish-Arab relations in Palestine.

### **3.2 Arab Question**

Among the most important issues of the *yishuv* was the question of how to deal with the resident Palestinian population. Herrmann and Wiener covered this problem mostly in each of their sections on the "Arab question;"<sup>115</sup> however, compared to other parts of their books, it takes a marginal place. Furthermore, Wiener distinguished this problem from the "British question," which he elaborated in the following chapter in his pamphlet. Moreover, Herrmann treated the problem of land, in a separate section and, thus, he disconnected the purchasing of land from the displacement of Palestinian peasants from the Arab question. Herrmann referred in this context to two additional anti-Jewish riots because Wiener wrote his

---

<sup>114</sup> On anti-Jewish riots in Palestine, see chapter 2.4.1, 18-19.

<sup>115</sup> On the "Arab question," see chapter 2.4.1, 17-18; On the content of their particular works, see appendix, 44-47.

book prior to the 1929 and 1933 riots. He defined the issue as the “specific Arab question of Palestine” which has an economical and political aspect.<sup>116</sup> Furthermore, he differentiated between the general Arab question and the specific question of Palestine, explaining, “Die politische Araberfrage geht davon aus, daß schon seit einigen Jahrzehnten eine *arabische Nationalbewegung* besteht, die in den verschiedenen von Arabern bewohnten Ländern verschieden weit fortgeschritten ist, Palästina als eines der letzten Länder erreicht hat, aber auch hier auf dem besten Wege ist, eine volle Umgestaltung der Grundlagen des arabischen Gemeinschaftsleben herbeizuführen.”<sup>117</sup> In this passage, Herrmann said that the Arab national movement reaching Palestine was en route to overthrow Arab communal life. He amplified that feudal property and patriarchal relationships characterized Arab agriculture which experienced a crucial change by modern industrialism, financial capitalism and wholesale trade.<sup>118</sup> Palestine, in Herrmann’s view, was confronted with modernization, and Palestinian peasants saw their opportunity to live in freedom and to prosper. He therefore argued, “Es liegt nahe zu sagen, daß der Jude, der im Besitz aller technischen Errungenschaften Europas und Amerikas, zugleich durchdrungen von den sozialistischen Ideen, die das 19. und 20. Jahrhundert geschaffen hat, nach dem Orient kommt, der beste Führer für die bisher unterdrückte und verelendete Bauernmasse zur Freiheit und Wohlstand sein müßte.”<sup>119</sup> Referring to the technological advancement in Europe, the Jewish newcomer must have been the best guide for the oppressed and poor peasants. Here, the notion of “bringing modernity”

---

<sup>116</sup> “The specific Arab problem of Palestine has a twofold aspect, an economical and a political.” Herrmann, 292.

<sup>117</sup> “The political Arab question assumes that for several decades there exists an *Arab national movement* which is in various countries that are inhabited by Arabs advanced differently, has reached Palestine as one of the last countries but is also here [in Palestine] on the best way to bring about transformation of the basis of Arab communal life.” Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 293.

<sup>119</sup> “It is obvious to say that the Jew, who is in possession of all the technical achievements of Europe and of America, at the same time infused with the socialist ideas that are created the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, is coming to the Orient, ought to be the best guide for the up to now oppressed and impoverished peasants masses to freedom and prosperity.” Ibid.

comes clear because Herrmann considered the Jewish community as a pioneer and capable of leading the modernization of the traditional society in Palestine. However, he created a paradoxical situation when he assumed that Palestinian peasants would accept Zionist leadership, although they claimed national Arabic goals of an Arab state in Palestine. This argumentation exposes his chauvinist stance because he indirectly excluded that Palestinian society would be capable of dealing with modernization. Furthermore, according to his ratio, the Jews served as a role model which implied their superiority in contrast to the inferiority of the “underdeveloped” Palestinians. However, Herrmann argued that the Arab elite denied Jewish leadership and stated, “Die arabische Herrenklasse hatte ein zu großes Interesse daran, den Aufstieg der arabischen Länder selbst zu führen und zu gestalten, und für diesen Zweck war die Erzeugung einer Feindseligkeit gegen den jüdischen Eindringling weit nützlicher als etwa eine Verständigung jüdischer und arabischer arbeitender Massen hätte sein können.”<sup>120</sup>

In this quote, Herrmann contested that the Arab elite had a great interest in developing Arab countries, which was why they needed to create an enemy which was found in the Jewish “infiltrators.” He showed the consequences of Arab propaganda, arguing “So sehen wir, wie schon Anfang 1920 eine *systematische Verhetzungskampagne* gegen die Juden unter den arabischen Massen Palästinas eingeleitet wird, die zu wiederholten Malen, im Februar 1920, im Mai 1921, dann nach längerer Pause im August 1929 und, mit gewissen Modifikationen, wiederum im Oktober 1933 zu heftigen Zusammenstößen und Unruhen führte.”<sup>121</sup> Here, he blamed the Arab elite to lead an incitement campaign against Jews which resulted in many violent clashes. Herrmann used the ratio that Arabs have created an enemy in order to draw a connection to the role of the Jews as a maverick in German society, amongst others. This

---

<sup>120</sup> “The Arab ruling class had too much interest to lead and shape the rise of Arab countries themselves, and for this purpose the creation of hostility against the Jewish intruder was far more useful than as an understanding of Jewish and Arab working masses may be.” Ibid., 294.

<sup>121</sup> “Thus, we see, as already in the beginning of 1920 a systematic incitement campaign against the Jews was initiated among the Arab masses of Palestine, which repeatedly in February 1920, March 1921, then after a long break in August 1929 and, with certain modifications, in turn in October 1933 led to violent clashes and unrest.” Ibid.

time, however, the Jews were the victims of an anti-Semitic campaign in their “original” homeland. He intended to recall Jewish memory in order to “legalize” the return of the Jewish community and its means to *Eretz Yisrael*.

Alfred Wiener had a different view on the Arab question and evaluated the political role of the Arab national movement as weakened which is caused by a conflict within the Palestinian leadership, concluding “[...] die arabische Front ist zweifellos gelockert und der Widerstand im Augenblick nur gering.”<sup>122</sup> He explained that the Arab front was loosened and, consequently, the opposition was currently marginal. In his opinion, the political threat of the Arab national movement would become seriously with the politicization of the next generation which would emphasize its national Arabic character and would resist any foreign influence.<sup>123</sup> Furthermore, Wiener proposed to improve Jewish-Arab relationship and argued, “Ein Volk, das eine so reiche Geschichte hat, ein Volk, dessen Länder noch heute mit den schönsten Denkmälern unvergänglicher Baukunst, glänzenden Kunsthandwerks geschmückt ist, [...] dieses Volk sollte man nicht ignorieren oder gar verachten, sondern man sollte mit ihm möglichst in Freundschaft zu leben versuchen.”<sup>124</sup> He was admiring Arab history and heritage and favored fostering a Jewish-Arab friendship. Also Herrmann realized the need for a Jewish-Arab settlement and advocated a *modus vivendi*.<sup>125</sup> Both Herrmann and Wiener promoted a peaceful relationship between Jews and Arabs in Palestine as a strategic alliance in order to handle future national discrepancies. In contrast to Herrmann, Wiener respected the cultural of achievements the Arabs.

---

<sup>122</sup> “The Arab front is undoubtedly loosened and the resistance at the moment only small.” Wiener, 77.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 78f.

<sup>124</sup> “A nation [the Arab nation] that has such a rich history, a people whose country is still adorned with the most beautiful monuments of everlasting architecture, brilliant arts and crafts, [...] you should not ignore or even despise this people but you should try live with it as possible in friendship.” Ibid., 79.

<sup>125</sup> Herrmann, 297.

The Arab problem constituted not only a political issue between the claims of the Arab national movement and the *yishuv*; it had also a socio-economic aspect. At the end of his chapter on the “Arab question,” Herrmann integrated an insertion.<sup>126</sup> He quoted a paragraph of his essay “Die Araberfrage” which addressed the Arab issue and proposed approaches to solving the problem, arguing “Kein jüdischer Aufbau ohne Aufbau Palästinas. Das sogenannte Araberproblem Palästinas ist ein Agrarproblem. Seine Lösung setzt eine bewußte, großangelegte Aktion zur Befreiung der Fellachen Palästinas von Feudalknechtschaft, von ihrem wirtschaftlichen und kulturellem Elend voraus.”<sup>127</sup> Herrmann contested in this quote that Palestine as a whole needed to be developed for the sake of the Jewish settlement undertaking. Reviewing the Arab question as an agricultural problem, he concluded that the Palestinian *fellahin* needed to be liberated from their feudal slavery and their economical and cultural misery. Therefore, Herrmann explained that the Arab question could not be solved by political means but by an all-encompassing reform of agriculture.<sup>128</sup> Evidently, Herrmann promoted the Jewish colonial project in Palestine as a mission to save Palestinian *fellahin* from their landlords. This ratio implies the moral superiority of the Jewish immigrants and puts them in contrast to the ruthless Arab landlords and the ignorant Palestinian peasants.

Moreover, Wiener realized the socio-economic dimension within the Arab question. In his view, the *fellahin* benefited from Jewish immigration. He wrote, “Die jüdische Einwanderung hat ihnen sicher Vorteile gebracht. Die Löhne haben etwas angezogen, und vor allem hat eine Anzahl Fellachen, die wirklichen Nutznießer der jüdischen Einwanderung,

---

<sup>126</sup> Herrmann integrated explanatory insertions, usually of the length of a paragraph, which included details or historical backdrops of a certain issue.

<sup>127</sup> “No Jewish build-up without a build-up of Palestine. The so-called Arab problem in Palestine is an agricultural problem. Its solution requires a deliberate, large-scale action to liberate the fellahin of Palestine of their feudal bondage, their economic and cultural misery.” Herrmann quoted his text “Die Araberfrage” (no date or publisher) in “Jüdisches Aufbauwerk”, 298.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

ihren Grund und Boden äußerst vorteilhaft an die Juden verkauft.”<sup>129</sup> Wiener argued in this quote that Palestinian peasants profited from lucrative land sales and their wages had increased. According to Wiener, they nevertheless objected their “liberator” because Arabs in general tended to fanaticism.<sup>130</sup> Wiener picked up the motif of “saving the fellahin from their landlords” and equaled colonization with liberation. However, he concluded that the anti-Jewish riots must have been the consequence of the chauvinistic stance of the settlers, stating “Besonders bedenkliche Folgen hatte die chauvinistische Hochstimmung im jungen hebräischen Palästina. Man [Zionisten] fühlte sich als die Herren im Hause. Das Echo bei den Arabern blieb nicht aus. Schließlich hatten die Araber 637 das Land im blutigen Kampfe erobert, während die Zionisten kaum 50 Jahre im Lande saßen. [...]”<sup>131</sup> In this passage, he argued that the chauvinist attitude of the Zionist colonizers who recently immigrated to Palestine provoked the Palestinians whose ancestors conquered this country and had lived there for centuries. Furthermore, Wiener contested national Jewish politics claims of establishing a Jewish majority in Palestine which naturally would raise opposition in the Arab national movement.<sup>132</sup> In this context, he revealed his anti-Zionist stance because he indirectly acknowledged the claim of the Palestinians on “their” land. Realizing that national Jewish politics would increase tensions between Arabs and Jews, Herrmann explained that the Jewish claim to gain majority in Palestine would, at this particular time, cause crucial political harm, little political benefit and provide Arab opposition with propaganda against Jews.<sup>133</sup> This was

---

<sup>129</sup> “The Jewish immigration has certainly brought them [the Palestinians] advantages. Wages have risen slightly, and most notably, a number of fellahin, the real beneficiaries of Jewish immigration, had sold their land extremely beneficial to the Jews.” Wiener, 78.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> “The chauvinist elation had particularly serious consequences for the young, Hebrew Palestine. They [the Zionists] felt as the masters in their own houses. The echo among the Arabs was inevitable. After all, the Arabs had conquered the country in 637 in bloody struggle, while the Zionists were barely 50 years in the country.” Ibid., 75.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 79f.

<sup>133</sup> Herrmann, 297f.

way he favored avoiding a discussion of this issue because it would inevitably jeopardize the strategic consolidation with the Arabs.

Regarding the Palestine issue, Wiener and Herrmann had significant differences in their position towards the problem and its causes which determined their particular writing. I have shown that both men distinguished between the political and the socio-cultural “Arab question in Palestine.” Where the political issue is concerned, their respective assessments showed that they treated the Arab national movement as marginal but considered the Palestinian opposition as anti-Jewish. With regards to the socio-cultural issue, though, I have demonstrated that both brought the argument of the oppressed and disaffected Palestinian peasant who, on account of his misery, opposed the Jewish settlers. Nonetheless, referring to Wiener’s suggestion of a Jewish-Arab dialogue shows that he had a pro-Arab stance; indeed, he appreciated Arab culture and respected Palestinian opposition. However, Herrmann did not share his optimism. He proposed a *modus vivendi* between the two sides in order to appease the animus atmosphere. Although Wiener assessed the Palestine issue differently than Herrmann, both suggested an agreement between Arabs and Jews.

### **3.3 Question of Land**

The Arab question as a political and socio-economic issue necessarily involves a discussion on the distribution, ownership and purchases of land which is why it needs to be analyzed in a separate chapter. In addition, Herrmann detached this problem from the Arab question. In contrast, Wiener dealt with this topic in the second chapter and assigned this issue an important position in his pamphlet.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, he integrated several tables and figures questioning the size of Palestine and its role for immigration.<sup>135</sup> Herrmann explained that the

---

<sup>134</sup> On the particular content of their works, see appendix, 44-47.

<sup>135</sup> For example, Wiener included a chart on Jewish settlement ownership and compared the large property in Argentina to the Jewish possessions in Palestine. See Wiener, 32, “Jüdischer Siedlungsbesitz,” (“Jewish settlement ownership”). Another example is that Wiener demonstrated in a figure the size of Palestine compared to countries in central and southern Europe and southwest Asia. See Wiener, 26, “Palästinas Größe im Verhältnis



purchases of land constituted an indispensable pre-condition for the creation of a Jewish national home and only agriculture can safeguard a national home.<sup>136</sup> He referred to the principles of the Zionist organization as formulated in the Basel program; furthermore, he adverted to the Balfour Declaration which I have examined earlier in the second chapter.<sup>137</sup> According to Herrmann, the Jewish immigrants had a right to the land because this particular international agreement granted to establish a national home for the Jews in Palestine. Furthermore, he argued that the act of purchasing also proceeded on legal and mutual basis and contested, “Zu jeder Zeit war in Palästina ein erhebliches Maß von Bereitwilligkeit seitens arabischer Bodenbesitzer festzustellen, ihre Böden oder einen Teil davon an Juden zu verkaufen.”<sup>138</sup> Moreover, he contended that until 1929, the question of land meant that the *yishuv* could not purchase sufficient land because financial troubles of the KKL prevent further investment.<sup>139</sup> Since 1929, however, Arab opposition raised the question of land and, most notably, the increasing shortage of space, as the primary reason for the riots of that particular year.<sup>140</sup> In stating “Die bisherigen Bodenkäufe der Juden hätten zur Folge gehabt, daß eine große Anzahl arabischer Pächter von den Böden, die seit Jahrhunderten von der gleichen Familie bearbeitet worden waren, verdrängt wurden. So sei eine *unzufriedene landlose Klasse* geschaffen worden, viele dieser Fellachen seien verkommen, manche seien zur Auswanderung gezwungen gewesen, [...]”<sup>141</sup> According to Herrmann, the Arab

---

zu Mittel- und Südeuropa sowie Vorderasien,” (“Size of Palestine in proportion to central and southern Europe and southwest Asia”).

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 298.

<sup>137</sup> On the Balfour Declaration and the Basel program, see chapter 2.2, 12-13.

<sup>138</sup> “At any time in Palestine a considerable degree of willingness was determined on the part of Arab landowners to sell their grounds or part thereof to Jews.” Herrmann, 299.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 299f.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 300f.

<sup>141</sup> “The recent purchase of land of the Jews would have had the consequence that a large number of Arab tenants were displaced from the soil that had been processed by the same family for centuries. Thus, a *disgruntled landless class* was created, many of these fellahins were degenerated, and some were forced to emigrate.” Ibid., 301.

opposition argued that in the course of the Jewish land purchasing Palestinian peasants were displaced which had created a “disgruntled landless class.” In the following explanation Herrmann put the term “displaced” in quotation marks. He used this particular expression in order to contradict the accusation that the Jewish land purchases caused a displacement of Palestinian *fellahin*. In other words, he did not consider the consequences of these land sales as a dispossession because they were based on a legal and mutual agreement. Furthermore, according to him, neighboring Arab villages benefited from Jewish settlements. He wrote, “Die arabischen Bauern, die in der Nähe jüdischer Siedlungen wohnen, haben einerseits lukrative Arbeitsgelegenheiten in diesen jüdischen Siedlungen, lernen andererseits von den jüdischen Nachbarn zweckmäßige und erfolgreiche Wirtschaftsmethoden.”<sup>142</sup> Here, he argued that Palestinian peasants had not only lucrative work opportunities in the Jewish neighbor village, but also the chance to learn effective methods of farming from their Jewish abutter. By justifying land purchases as beneficial for a group of Palestinian peasants at a price of the displaced, Herrmann revealed his full support for Zionist activities.

In contrast to Herrmann, Wiener seized the notion of shortage of space in Palestine, asked how large Palestine actually was and criticized the misperception regarding the size of Palestine.<sup>143</sup> Therefore, he compared Palestine amongst others with the dimension of the German Reich and with neighboring countries in the Arabian Peninsula.<sup>144</sup> In this context he also questioned the size of Jewish land property in Palestine in relation to the arable crop, concluding “Die Rheinprovinz ist demnach fast dreimal so groß als der gesamte kulturfähige

---

<sup>142</sup> “The Arab farmers who live nearby Jewish settlements have, on the one hand lucrative job opportunities in these settlements, on the other hand learn from the Jewish neighbors expedient and successful economy techniques.” *Ibid.*, 303.

<sup>143</sup> For the “imagined and real size of Palestine,” see Wiener, 23-33.

<sup>144</sup> On Wiener’s comparison of the size of Palestine with the German Reich, see 28; see his comparison with Arab neighboring countries, 27.

Boden des Heiligen Landes überhaupt.”<sup>145</sup> He displayed that the Rhine Province, a region within the German Reich, was thrice as large as the cultivatable soil in Palestine. Moreover, he compared the Jewish land property in Palestine with the ones in Argentina, for example, and contended, “Der Bodenbesitz der *ICA* in Argentinien übertrifft mit seinen 5960 qkm nun noch, vorerst wenigstens, an Größe das russische Siedlungsgebiet und ist etwa sechseinhalbmal so groß wie das palästinensische.”<sup>146</sup> In this passage, he showed that the land property of the *ICA* in Argentina was almost as large as the Jewish settlement in Russia but six and a half times the size of the Palestinian land under Jewish ownership. Finally, Wiener criticized national Jewish propaganda to settle Jews in Palestine in order to solve the Jewish question of eastern Europe. He wrote:

Wenn hier durch eine Reihe von sinnfälligen Bildern und schlagenden Zahlen die meist unbekannteste Kleinheit Palästinas und des jüdischen Anteils daran wie die für national-jüdische Bestrebung bisher wenig günstige Bevölkerungsgliederung mit einer gewissen Ausführlichkeit vorgeführt wurden, so ist damit neben allgemeinen Aufklärungszwecken die Warnung beabsichtigt, von einer Besiedlung Palästinas nach weit verbreitetem und propagandistisch genährtem Glauben gegenwärtig auch nur bescheidene Teillösung östlicher Judennot zu erwarten. Abgesehen davon, daß nach nun schon abgestandener Erkenntnis die Not der Juden des Ostens im wesentlichen großzügig nur im Osten selbst gemildert werden kann, vermag Palästina an Aufnahmeländern Amerikas (Vereinigte Staaten, Kanada, Südamerika) nicht standzuhalten und selbst infolge der Einwanderungsbeschränkungen Nordamerikas nach Palästina gerichteten Einwanderungsstrom vorläufig nicht zu verdauen.<sup>147</sup>

---

<sup>145</sup> “The Rhine Province, is therefore almost three times as large as the entire arable soil of the Holy Land at large.” Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> “The soil held by the *ICA* in Argentina surpasses with its 5960 square kilometers still, for the time being at least, to size the Russian settlement area and is approximately six and a half times as large as the Palestinian [soil].” Ibid., 33.

<sup>147</sup> “When here the mostly unknown smallness of Palestine and the Jewish share of it as well as the for national Jewish aspirations hitherto little favorable population structure were presented in some detail by a number of obvious images and resounding figures, so is a warning in addition to general education purpose intended to expect from the settlement a modest partial solution of the question of eastern European Jews despite of the propagandistic statements. Apart from that, after the knowledge that the plight of the Jews can only be mitigated substantially only in the East itself, Palestine cannot keep up with immigration countries of America (United States, Canada, South America) and for the present, cannot even cope with an immigration wave directed to Palestine due to immigration restriction in North America.” Ibid., 36f.

According to Wiener, the misperception of the actual size of Palestine was a strategy of national Jewish politics that claimed to solve the Jewish question by immigration to Palestine. Then, he contested that the current accommodation capacity of Palestine was too low compared to large countries such as the United States. Wiener, if at all, encouraged immigration to North America amongst others because Jewish immigrants would have a realistic chance of creating their “home” there than in Palestine although it would not be their “national home.” Furthermore, in this quote he exposed his support for political activism, as a member of the *CV*, by arguing that actual Jewish question for eastern European Jews needed to be solved in eastern Europe itself.

In this chapter I have examined that Wiener and Herrmann perceived the question of land in two different ways. Whereas Herrmann argued that the land purchases in Palestine were too insufficient, Wiener questioned the reason for settling in Palestine in the first place, given its shortage of space. Here, Wiener revealed his rejection of the idea of a “national home” in Palestine. Regarding the displacement of particular Palestinian peasants, I have exposed Herrmann’s chauvinist attitude because he viewed Jews as superior to the “oppressed” *fellahin*. Conclusively, the position of Wiener stands in stark contrast to the view of Herrmann in this issue.

### **3.4 Features of Colonization**

The problem of land is intimately tied to the question of how to colonize and develop the land. The success of the form of society was decisive for the Jewish settlement scheme. However, this chapter does not focus the details of agricultural and urban colonization but rather on its social implications. The first part of this chapter discusses the features of the *chaluzim*,<sup>148</sup> the group of pioneers of the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk*, in the works of Herrmann

---

<sup>148</sup> *Chaluzim* refers to Zionist pioneers who organized Jewish immigration to Palestine.

and Wiener. The second section deals with the question of the employment of Arab workers in Jewish settlements.

The composition and the features of the corporate form of the agricultural colonization are essential for the future development of the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk*. Herrmann explained the teething troubles of settlers from foremost the second *aliya*. He specified that this particular group faced immense troubles at the beginning of their settlement because they were not sufficiently trained in agriculture, having no guidance or financial means to establish their agricultural holding. Moreover, he emphasized that they managed these initial problems because of their idealism and dedication, amongst others.<sup>149</sup> In contrast to Herrmann, Wiener held the idealism in high regards, but said that their idealistic national claims would bring more financial disadvantages, for instance. Wiener showed by way of example the financial troubles of the workers and construction cooperative *Solel Boneh*.<sup>150</sup> In this context he stated that this case “[...] ist charakteristisch für den *Eigensinn* und den *Fanatismus*, mit denen jahrelang an der Durchführung gewisser sozialistischer und nationaler Forderungen in Palästina festgehalten wird. [...] Und kein dauerhafter Erfolg erblühte.”<sup>151</sup> He contended that this example was representative of the obstinacy and fanaticism of this group who held on to socialist and nationalist claims for years although they had no success. Besides, Wiener wrote his report against the background of the Great Depression which had caused a high rate of unemployment in Palestine.<sup>152</sup> Wiener understood that in times of economic crisis the few work opportunities were preferably left for Jews;<sup>153</sup> however, he promoted the employment of

---

<sup>149</sup> Herrmann, 318f.

<sup>150</sup> On the workers and construction cooperative *Solel Boneh*, see Wiener, 47-49.

<sup>151</sup> “[...] is characteristic of the *obstinacy* and *fanaticism*, which is being held for years in the implementation of certain socialist and national demands in Palestine. [...] And no durable success is achieved.” Ibid., 49.

<sup>152</sup> Wiener cites the journal “Palästina” (1/2, p. 66, no date) which reports about the stop of issuing visa for workers in 1927 for Palestine due to the high unemployment rate, Wiener, 148.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 59.

Arab workers for financial and health reasons, stating that Arab employees cost less and were accustomed to harsh conditions.<sup>154</sup> Wiener preferred to hire Arabs because he thought pragmatically—hiring Arabs would save money and protect Jews from “bearing the brunt.” Moreover, the Arab contribution to the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* would strengthen the Jewish settlement but seriously weaken the claims of national Jewish politics.

Also Herrmann discussed the problem of the “national” build-up of Jewish settlers, by arguing that they needed to employ Arab workers because there was not enough Jewish labor. Hence, Jewish settlements of the first *aliya* were constructed mostly by Arabs. Consequently, this group of newcomers could not establish a bond to the Palestinian soil.<sup>155</sup> Herrmann realized how problematic this situation could be but, as a cultural Zionist, he considered fostering cultural education as more important in order to create a tie between Palestine and the Hebrew culture. Hence, employing Arab workers would not necessarily jeopardize the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* because it contributed to the general colonization. Moreover, cultural education and the creation of a Jewish identity would establish a bond to Palestine.

I have ascertained that their opinions differed on various issues such as the idealist attitude of the *chaluzim*. Referring to the employment of Arab workers, Wiener’s pragmatic suggestion exposed again his rejection of national Jewish practice because of its discrimination based on race and national loyalty. With regard to this question, I have demonstrated that Herrmann preferred the employment of Jewish workers though primarily in the case of the agricultural colonization in order to establish an inner bond with Palestinian soil. However, he favored another form of creating an inner bond with Palestine through cultural education. In conclusion, Wiener’s position towards the idealistic attitude and practice of Zionist settlers differed profoundly from the view of Herrmann.

---

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>155</sup> Herrmann, 308f.

### 3.5 Cultural Build-Up: Fostering Education and Identity

Another decisive part of the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* was the cultural education of Jews in Palestine. Various languages such as Russian, German and Hebrew clashed within the group of new arrivals but triggered also disputes with the old *yishuv*. Hence, the need for a homogenous cultural character arose by means of a construction of a Jewish identity.<sup>156</sup> While Herrmann devoted this topic to a separate chapter, Wiener dealt with education and identity in several sections, such as in “exaggerations of the nationalism” and “Hebrew research institutes.”<sup>157</sup>

Language was a key factor in the cultural *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk*. The various tongues of the settlers and the dialect of the Palestinian *Sephardim* aggravated the communication between Jews in Palestine. However, Herrmann considered only Hebrew as the national language of the Jews which came into being as a vernacular and in popular speech in Palestine.<sup>158</sup> He explained its special feature, writing “Das Hebräische ist die erste orientalische, semitische Sprache, die das moderne Weltbild in sich aufgenommen und sich die Mittel geschaffen hat, Gedanken modernster Prägung auszudrücken.”<sup>159</sup> In this passage, Herrmann referred to the renewal in Hebrew language which, according to him, formerly applied to Biblical phrases and made an active communication impossible.<sup>160</sup> He argued that Hebrew was the first Semitic language which (linguistically) absorbed the modern world view and was able to express modern thoughts. Hence, Herrmann showed that Hebrew was

---

<sup>156</sup> For more on the Zionist discourse on constructions of Jewish identity, see Axel Stähler, “Constructions of Jewish Identity and the Spectrum of Colonialism: Of White Skin and Black Masks in Early Zionist Discourse,” *German Life and Letters* 66, 3 (July 2013): 254-276, accessed on January 7, 2014. DOI: 10.1111/glal.12015. Wiener and Herrmann referred to a Hebrew identity—presumably as a way of distinction between Jewish identity in the diaspora.

<sup>157</sup> On the content of their works, see appendix, 44-47.

<sup>158</sup> Herrmann, 359-360.

<sup>159</sup> “Hebrew is the first Oriental, Semitic language that has absorbed the modern world view and created resources to express thoughts of modern coinage.” *Ibid.*, 360.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 359f.

enforced and primarily spread through schooling because it became the language of instruction. He emphasized the importance of the verbal communication for the process of Hebrewization which meant that Hebrew education promoted a sense of Jewish community based on linguistic grounds.<sup>161</sup> Moreover, Herrmann regarded Hebrew as a tool in order to enhance Jewish identity rather than an instrument of artistic expression. Along with the practice of Hebrewization, the school system developed separately from the Arabic one and Herrmann stated, “Die wichtigste, am tiefsten einschneidende und bedeutungsvollste Maßnahme war die *Uebertragung der Verantwortung für das Schulwerk auf den Jishuv*, die mit Anfang des Schuljahres 5693 (Herbst 1932) vollzogen wurde. Sie hat nicht nur materielle Bedeutung, sondern sie symbolisiert einen wichtigen Abschnitt auf dem Weg des palästinensischen Jischuv zu seiner vollen Selbständigkeit.”<sup>162</sup> He contested that the transfer of the responsibility on constructing the Jewish school system to the *yishuv* was an important step towards its autonomy.

Wiener realized that Hebrew was essential for the cultural education and that Jewish settlers in Palestine need to have and/ or create a common language. However, he criticized that linguistic education, which focused solely on Hebrew, would be untenable in the future, even if there were four English lessons offered.<sup>163</sup> Wiener cited the example of publications of Jewish institutes in Hebrew and predicted that they would need to be written in a world language in order to gain access to the international academic floor.<sup>164</sup> Furthermore, he emphasized the chances of the multilingualism for the *yishuv* and explained, “[...] *Palästina*

---

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 361f.

<sup>162</sup> “The most important, deepest-reaching and most significant measure was the *transfer of the responsibility for the school system on the Yishuv*, with the beginning of the school year 5693 (fall of 1932) has been implemented. It has not only material significance, but it symbolizes an important stage on the way of the Palestinian Yishuv to its full independence.” Ibid., 370.

<sup>163</sup> Wiener, 65.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 94.



*ist die Schweiz des Ostens*. Der Schweizer spricht gewöhnlich deutsch, französisch und italienisch, und er hat trotzdem eine ausgeprägte und in der Welt geschätzte Schweizer Kultur. Bei der geographischen Lage Palästinas und bei der gegenwärtigen politischen Entwicklung muß auch das jüdische Kind sich unbedingt daran gewöhnen, Hebräisch, Englisch und Arabisch als gleichwertige Sprachen anzusehen.”<sup>165</sup> In this passage, Wiener contended that Palestine was the “Switzerland of the east” because also various vernaculars such as German, French and Italian were spoken in Switzerland. In addition, he noticed that the Swiss society still shared the distinct and much valued Swiss culture. Hence, he argued that Hebrew, English and Arabic had to be considered as equal languages because of the geographic position and “current”<sup>166</sup> political development in Palestine.

According to Wiener, the *yishuv* faced a conflict of identity because the socio-cultural background and national and/ or patriotic feelings outweighed the Jewish character.<sup>167</sup> Wiener contended that western European and eastern European Jews had different notions of culture which hindered the creation of a Hebrew identity. Thus, he assessed that it would take a long time to create a common character; however, he doubted its feasibility.<sup>168</sup> He demonstrated the different and, at times, contradicting notions of identity of the new *yishuv*. For example, he referred to the debate where Jews ask whether they should keep their former, in this case, German nationality.<sup>169</sup> According to him, (German) nationality is the crucial and predominant factor of identity. Wiener transferred the conflict of affiliation of German Jews and contested the role of culture, nationality and religion in the process of generating identity. Furthermore,

---

<sup>165</sup> “*Palestine is the Switzerland of the East*. The Swiss usually speaks German, French and Italian, and he still has a strong and distinct Swiss culture which is respected in the world. Regarding the geographical position of Palestine and in the current political developments, the Jewish child must necessarily be accustomed to regard Hebrew, English and Arabic languages as equal.” *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 70f.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 70ff.

he specified the differences between the old and the new *yishuv*, writing “Man hört in Jerusalem öfter, die eingeborenen Juden werden von den Zionisten nicht angestellt und beschäftigt, weil sie national nicht so zuverlässig seien.”<sup>170</sup> He argued that, by all accounts, Zionists did not employ native Jews because the settlers mistrusted their national Jewish loyalty. He regarded this discriminatory treatment as an emancipatory step backwards because it resembled nationalist propaganda in interwar Germany that considered the Jew as a “national enemy.”<sup>171</sup>

In this section, I have argued that Wiener evaluated the role of Hebrew from a pragmatic outlook and, therefore, rejected the one-sided language education which displayed his disagreement with national Jewish practice. In contrast to Wiener, Herrmann viewed Hebrew not only as a language for verbal communication but rather a tool for a “Hebrewized” Jewish identity. With regards to the autonomy of the school system and the method of Hebrewization, Herrmann revealed his position to be that of a cultural Zionist. Furthermore, I showed that the analyses of Wiener and Herrmann differed strongly on the matter of the creation of a Jewish identity. In this context, Wiener exposed his rejection of national Jewish politics because he assessed the loyalties to the former diaspora communities as stronger than the created Jewish identity. Finally, I have displayed that the perception of Wiener clashes with Herrmann’s reflection on the issues of language and, especially, identity.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Twenty five years have passed since Theodor Herzl’s publication of *Der Judenstaat* until the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948. However, the deceased Herzl could not witness the development of the Palestinian *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk*. As this thesis has

---

<sup>170</sup> “One often hears in Jerusalem, the indigenous Jews [Jews of the old *yishuv*] were neither hired nor employed by the Zionists because they are not as reliable nationally [as the Zionist immigrants].” Ibid., 70.

<sup>171</sup> The Jews as a “national enemy” emerged in the *Dolchstoßlegende*, see chapter 2.4.2, 19f.

examined, Alfred Wiener and Hugo Herrmann intended to depict the outlines of the Zionist colonial project. In fact, my study has revealed their particular stance from support over rejection and broad criticism. Thus, there is no clear answer to the question whether it is a matter of Zionist versus anti-Zionist perception. Eminently, the topic of fostering Jewish identity exposed their opposed stance on the cultural build-up because it implies a certain critique on the assimilation of Jews in western and central Europe. Hence, Wiener viewed a Jewish identity as a hindrance for intercultural understanding between Jews and Arabs (and Jews and Germans). However, according to Herrmann, a Jewish identity is important and must be segregated from Arab (and German) elements. Finally, the notion of “bringing modernity” to Palestine and “saving the oppressed Palestinian peasants from their landlords” were common themes in their writings.

In many of the discussed arguments of both authors, as indeed comprehensible against the circumstances, which I have shown in the historical backdrop, there has persisted a distinct optimism about the Jewish immigration. It is an optimism which believes that there is hope for an understanding between Palestinians and the newcomers in the future of Palestine. Although every violent clash between Jews and Palestinians induces violence in return, Wiener and Herrmann believed in intercultural and/or interreligious communication. However, my findings discussed the reflections of both men on the current developments of *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* which exclude their later assessment of the topic. Nevertheless, this research project contributes to the study of the early encounters between Zionists and Palestinians from the perspective of two Jews from the European diaspora. Furthermore, the study of the accounts of this particular group in the period prior to the foundation of the state of Israel challenges us to consider the critical opinion of the Jewish community in the diaspora. Notably, without reflecting on anti-Zionist perceptions on the *Jüdisches Aufbauwerk* in Palestine, history writing on the Jewish outlook will neglect their voices.

## Table of Figures

Content of Alfred Wiener's *Kritische Reise durch Palästina* (1928<sup>3</sup>)

INHALT		Seite
× Einführung .....		7
I. T E I L		
Schwierigkeiten der Palästinaerkenntnis .....		11
Allgemeine Hindernisse .....		15
Meine Arbeitsmethoden .....		17
Persönliche Hindernisse .....		19
II. T E I L		
Grundlagen der Palästinaerkenntnis .....		21
Vorgestellte und wirkliche Größe. Jüdischer und nicht- jüdischer Bodenbesitz .....		23
Bevölkerungsgliederung .....		34
Rothschild- und ICA-Arbeit in Palästina .....		38
III. T E I L		
× Wesentliche Reiseeindrücke .....		43
Chaluz und Kwuzah .....		45
Siegt der Orient? .....		62
Übertreibungen des Nationalismus .....		65
Zerrissenheit der jüdischen Bevölkerung .....		69
Die arabische Frage .....		74
Die englische Frage .....		81
Tel Aviv .....		84
Die hebräischen Forschungsanstalten .....		93
Verhängnisvolle Propaganda .....		96
IV. T E I L		
× Schlußbetrachtungen .....		111
A N L A G E N		
1. Der Keren Hajessod und der Keren Kajemeth .....		121
2. „Das unbekannte Palästina“ (aus C.-V.-Zeitung Nr.2 vom 8. Januar 1926) .....		126
3. Die Agency-Bestimmung .....		131
4. Die Balfour-Erklärung .....		143

Figure 2 Index of Alfred Wiener's *Kritische Reise durch Palästina* (1928<sup>3</sup>), first page.

5. Einwanderungs- und Auswanderungszahlen .....	145
6. Die konfessionelle Zusammensetzung der palästinischen Polizei und des transjordanischen Grenzschutzes..	149
Namen- und Sachregister.....	151

## VERZEICHNIS

der im Text enthaltenen Karten und Zeichnungen.

	Seite
Palästina (Karte) .....	25
Palästina, Vorderasien und Mittel- und Südeuropa (Karte)	26
Palästina und Arabien (Karte) .....	27
Palästina, Deutschland, Hessen: ein Vergleich der Boden- flächen (Zeichnung) .....	28
Ein Dunam (Zeichnung) .....	29
Der Boden Palästinas (Zeichnung) .....	30
Groß-Berlin (Zeichnung) .....	31
Jüdischer Siedlungsbesitz in der Welt (Zeichnung) .....	32
Palästinas Bevölkerung (Zeichnung) .....	35
Die jüdische Bevölkerung Palästinas (Zeichnung) .....	37
Der jüdische Bodenbesitz in Palästina (Zeichnung) .....	39
Die jüdischen Kolonien in Palästina (Kartenskizze) .....	41
Palästinas Einfuhr und Ausfuhr (Zeichnung) .....	89

Figure 3 Index of Alfred Wiener's *Kritische Reise durch Palästina* (1928<sup>3</sup>), second page.

I N H A L T

*C/ DAS JÜDISCHE AUFBAUWERK*

I. ENTSTEHUNG UND ORGANISATION	Seite
74. Die Anfänge . . . . .	277
75. Einwanderungsperioden . . . . .	280
76. Zionistische Organisation und Jewish Agency . . . . .	284
77. Kolonisationsinstanzen . . . . .	288
78. Das „Araberproblem“ . . . . .	291
79. Das Bodenproblem . . . . .	298
80. Das Einwanderungsproblem . . . . .	303
II. LANDWIRTSCHAFTLICHE KOLONISATION	
81. Kolonisationsformen . . . . .	308
82. Wirtschaftszweige . . . . .	312
83. Kolonien . . . . .	315
84. Gemeinschaftssiedlungen . . . . .	318
85. Kleinbauernsiedlungen . . . . .	322
86. Verzeichnis der jüdischen landwirtschaftlichen Siedlungen	324
III. STÄDTISCHE KOLONISATION	
87. Dorf und Stadt . . . . .	340
88. Bautätigkeit . . . . .	344
89. Industrie, Handel und Verkehr . . . . .	346
90. Jerusalem . . . . .	350
91. Tel Aviv . . . . .	354
92. Haifa . . . . .	355
IV. KULTURELLER AUFBAU	
93. Sprache . . . . .	359
94. Literatur und Presse . . . . .	364
95. Schulwesen . . . . .	367
96. Gesundheitswesen . . . . .	375
97. Öffentliches Leben . . . . .	379
98. Kunst . . . . .	382

Figure 4 Index of Hugo Herrmann's "Jüdisches Aufbauwerk", first page.



## V. FINANZIERUNG

	Seite
99. Allgemeines . . . . .	387
100. Zionistische Organisation und Jewish Agency . . . . .	388
101. Die nationalen Fonds . . . . .	393
102. Finanzinstitute . . . . .	398
103. Genossenschaftswesen . . . . .	399
104. Privatkapital . . . . .	401

## VERZEICHNIS DER ABBILDUNGEN

### *Die jüdischen landwirtschaftlichen Siedlungen:*

Abb. 41.	1. Die Siedlungen der ersten 'Alia (bis 1905) . . . . .	311
"	42. 2. Die Siedlungen der zweiten 'Alia (1906—1914) . . . . .	317
"	43. 3. Die Siedlungen der Nachkriegszeit (1920—1924) . . . . .	343
"	44. 4. Die Siedlungen der Krisenzeit (1925—1930) . . . . .	347
"	45. 5. Die Siedlungen der jüngsten Zeit (1931—1933) . . . . .	353

### *Siedlungsformen:*

Abb. 46.	A. Gemeinschaftssiedlungen (Kvuzoth und Kibbuzim) . . . . .	357
"	47. B. Kleinbauernsiedlungen (Moschwe 'Ovdim) . . . . .	363
"	48. C. Privatwirtschaftliche Kolonien (Moschavoth) . . . . .	377

---

Abb. 49.	Jüdischer Bodenbesitz nach dem Stande Ende 1933 . . . . .	381
"	50. Die Siedlungen des Keren Hajessod auf Boden des Keren Kayemeth . . . . .	385
"	51. Die Siedlungen des P. I. C. A. (I. C. A.) . . . . .	395

Figure 5 Index of Hugo Herrmann's "Jüdisches Aufbauwerk", second page.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- Antonius, George. *The Arab Awakening, The Story of the Arab National Movement*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1945<sup>2</sup>.
- Herrmann, Hugo. "Dritter Teil: Das Jüdische Aufbauwerk mit 11 Abbildungen." In *Palästinakunde. Ein Leitfaden für Vortragende, Kurse und für den Unterricht. In vier Teilen, mit zahlreichen Karten, Diagrammen und Tabellen*, edited by Hugo Herrmann, 277-402. Wien: Fiba Verlag, 1934.
- Herzl, Theodor. *Der Judenstaat. Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage*. Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1920<sup>8</sup>.
- Jeffries, J.M.N. *Palestine: the Reality*. London [a.o.]: Longmans, Green and co., 1939.
- Kant, Immanuel. "Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?." In *Immanuel Kants Werke. Band IV. Schriften von 1783–1788*, edited by Artur Buchenau and Ernst Cassirer, 167–176 and 538–539. Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1913; Project Gutenberg 2009. Accessed on May 20, 2014. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/30821/30821-h/30821-h.htm>. Originally published in *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, 481-494. December 1784.
- Rappard, William E. "Mandates and Trusteeships with particular reference to Palestine." *The Journal of Politics* 8, 4 (1946): 520-530. Accessed on November 11, 2013. DOI:10.2307/2125531.
- Schwarzenberger, Georg. *Das Völkerbunds-Mandat für Palästina*. Tübinger Abhandlungen zum öffentlichen Recht, 21. Stuttgart: Enke, 1929.
- Stein, Modest. "Help him build Palestine." Around 1946. Published by Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod). Accessed on May 29, 2014. <http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/help-him-build-palestine>.
- Storrs, Ronald. "Zionism and Palestine." In *Lawrence of Arabia; Zionism and Palestine*, edited by Ronald Storrs. Harmondsworth [a.o.]: Penguin Books, 1943<sup>3</sup>, 31-96.
- Topf, Erich. *Die Staatenbildungen in den arabischen Teilen der Türkei seit dem Weltkriege, nach Entstehung, Bedeutung und Lebensfähigkeit*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter, 1929.
- Traub, Michael. *Jüdische Wanderbewegungen vor und nach dem Weltkriege*. Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1930.
- Weil, Gotthold. "Der Zionismus." *Die Welt des Islams* 4, 1/2 (September 25, 1916): 1-16. Accessed on November 16, 2013. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1569348>.
- Wiener, Alfred. *Kritische Reise durch Palästina. Mit 13 Karten und Aufzeichnungen*. Jüdische Siedlung und Wirtschaft I. Berlin: Philo-Verlag, 1928<sup>3</sup>.
- "C.V. Zeitung." Accessed on May 20, 2014. <http://www.compactmemory.de/>.



“Basel Program.” Accessed on May 23, 2014.  
<http://www.wzo.org.il/index.php?dir=site&page=pages&op=category&cs=3018>.

### *Secondary Literature*

Aberbach, David. “Zionist Patriotism in Europe, 1897-1942: Ambiguities in Jewish Nationalism.” *The International History Review* 31 (November 2, 2010): 268-298. Accessed on February 16, 2014. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2009.9641156>.

Barker, Chris. *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. London: SAGE, 2012<sup>4</sup>.

Ben Bassat, Yuval. “Rural Reactions to Zionist Activity in Palestine before and after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 as Reflected in Petitions to Istanbul.” *Middle Eastern Studies* 49, 3 (2013): 349-363. Accessed on January 7, 2014. DOI: 10.1080/00263206.2013.783823.

Bernstein, Reiner. *Zwischen Emanzipation und Antisemitismus Die Publizistik der deutschen Juden am Beispiel der „C.V.-Zeitung“, Organ des Centralvereins deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, 1924-1933*. PhD diss., Free University of Berlin, 1969.

Čapková, Kateřina. “Bar Kochba Association.” Accessed on April 13, 2014.  
<http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/printarticle.aspx?id=158&print=auto>.

Davison, Andrew. “Turkey, a ‘Secular’ State?: The Challenge of Description.” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102 (2003): 333-350. Accessed on July 4, 2014.  
[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/south\\_atlantic\\_quarterly/v102/102.2davison.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/south_atlantic_quarterly/v102/102.2davison.pdf).

Elvin, Mark. “A Working Definition of ‘Modernity’?.” *Past & Present* 113 (November 1986): 209-213. Accessed on May 21, 2014. DOI:10.1093/past/113.1.209.

Fishman, Aryei. “Judaism and Modernization: The Case of the Religious Kibbutzim.” *Social Forces* 62, 1 (September 1983): 9-31. Accessed on February 16, 2014.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2578345>.

Hirsch, Dafna. “We are here to bring the West, not only to ourselves: Zionist Occidentalism and the discourse of hygiene in Mandate Palestine.” *International Journal Middle East Studies* 41 (2009): 577-594. Accessed on February 15, 2014.  
DOI:10.1017/S0020743809990079.

Huntington, Samuel P. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968.

Iggers, Wilma. “Hugo Herrmann.” Accessed on April 13, 2014.  
<http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/printarticle.aspx?id=373&print=auto>.

Khalidi, Rashid, Lisa Anderson, Muhammed Muslih and Reeva S. Simon. *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.

- Khalidi, Rashid. *Palestinian Identity, The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York :Columbia University Press, 2010<sup>2</sup>.
- Krämer, Gudrun. *Geschichte Palästinas, Von der osmanischen Eroberung bis zur Gründung des Staates Israel*. München: C.H.Beck, 2002<sup>2</sup>.
- Lappin, Eleonore. 'Der Jude', 1916-1928: *Jüdische Moderne zwischen Universalismus und Partikularismus*. Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts, 62. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000.
- Laqueur, Walter. *The History of Zionism*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1972<sup>3</sup>.
- Lerner, Daniel. *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1958.
- Löffler, Roland. *Protestanten in Palästina – Religionspolitik, Sozialer Protestantismus und Mission in den deutschen evangelischen und anglikanischen Institutionen des Heiligen Landes, 1917 1939*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008.
- Maurer, Trude. *Ostjuden in Deutschland, 1919-1933*. Hamburger Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Juden, 12. Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1986.
- Mazrui, Ali A. "From Social Darwinism to Current Theories of Modernization: A Tradition of Analysis." *World Politics*, 21, 1 (October 1968): 69-83. Accessed on March 14, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009746>.
- Mendes-Flohr, Paul. "Cultural Zionism's Image of the Educated Jew: Reflections on Creating a Secular Jewish Culture." *Modern Judaism* 18, 100 Years of Zionism and the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the state of Israel. 3 (October 1998): 227-239. Accessed on February 16, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1396699>.
- Nicosia, Francis R. *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1985.
- Olsen, Jess. "Nathan Birnbaum and Tuvia Horowitz: Friendship and the origins of an Orthodox ideologue." *Jewish History* 17, 1 (2003): 1-29. Accessed May 29, 2014. <http://web.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=f4dc60ba-5198-4107-95b7-a647f9573389%40sessionmgr115&vid=3&hid=118>.
- Pappé, Ilan. *A History of Modern Palestine. One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Porath, Yehoshua. *The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement 1918-1929*. London: Cass, 1974.
- Reinkowski, Maurus. *Filastin, Filistin und Eretz Israel: die späte osmanische Herrschaft über Palästina in der arabischen, türkischen und israelischen Historiographie*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 186. Berlin: Schwarz, 1995.
- Rynhold, Jonathan and Dov Waxman. "Ideological Change and Israel's Disengagement from Gaza." *Political Science Quarterly* 123, 1 (Spring, 2008): 11-37. Accessed on May 23, 2014. <http://web.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=2&sid=645b1e00-c652-4d5a-b96e-ba2907b3dcc0%40sessionmgr4003&hid=4101>.

- Sa'di, Ahmad H. "Modernization as an Explanatory Discourse of Zionist-Palestinian Relations." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 24, 1 (May, 1997): 25-48. Accessed on February 10, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/195667>.
- Seidler, Eduard and Günther Nagel. "Georges Vacher de Lapouge (1854-1936) und der Sozialdarwinismus in Frankreich." Paper presented at the meeting for *the Biologismus im 19. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main, October 30-31, 1970, (1973): 94-107.
- Stähler, Axel. "Constructions of Jewish Identity and the Spectrum of Colonialism: Of White Skin and Black Masks in Early Zionist Discourse." *German Life and Letters* 66, 3 (July 2013): 254-276. Accessed on January 7, 2014. DOI: 10.1111/glal.12015.
- Stone, Lilo. "German Zionists in Palestine before 1933." *Journal of Contemporary History* 32, 2 (April 1997): 171-186. Accessed on February 10, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/261239>.
- Tipps, Dean C. "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15, 2 (March 1973): 199-226. Accessed on February 20, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/178351>.
- Weinstock, Nathan. "The Impact of Zionist Colonization on Palestinian Arab Society before 1948." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 2, 2 (Winter, 1973): 49-63. Accessed on February 10, 2014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2535480>.
- Wichmann, Christa S. *Die Wiener Library London 1933-1985, Stationen der Tyrannei*. Wolfenbüttel: Heckners Verlag, 1985.
- Zimmels, Hirsch Jakob. *Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Their Relations, Differences, and Problems as Reflected in the Rabbinical Responsa*. London: Marla Publications, 1976<sup>3</sup>.
- Zimmermann, Mosche. *Die deutschen Juden, 1914-1945*. Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, 43. München: Oldenbourg, 1997. Accessed on January 24, 2014. [http://books.google.nl/books?id=odW6zM84ndsC&pg=PA88&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.nl/books?id=odW6zM84ndsC&pg=PA88&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false).
- Yehoshua, Abraham B. "Defining Zionism: The belief that Israel belongs to the entire Jewish people." *Haaretz*, May 21, 2013. Accessed on March 9, 2014. <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/defining-zionism-the-belief-that-israel-belongs-to-the-entire-jewish-people.premium-1.525064>.