# GEOPOLITICAL GENESIS OF HERZLIAN ZIONISM

### **ABSTRACT**

Overall, Zionism, the State of Israel, and their supporters tend to teach three central claims: (1) the Jews invented Zionism, (2) the Jews are a Semitic people, and (3) the State of Israel should and will remain an exclusively Jewish state. This paper takes issue with the first claim. Its central argument focuses on the geopolitical and non-Jewish genesis of Herzlian Zionism. First, the paper examines the emergence of the Jewish Question in Russian politics and its recycling through Zionism into British geopolitics. Second, it presents the British policy of Zionization of the Jews and Judaization of Zionism through the creation of the Society for the Promotion of the Love of Zion in Eastern Europe and Russia. Third, it analyzes how the British introduced Herzl to Zionism and then introduced both Herzl and Zionism to the Europeans, the Russians, the Ottomans, and the Jews. It concludes by pointing out that Herzlian Zionism (very much like pre-Herzlian Zionism, see Ould-Mey, 2002) was much more the enfant terrible of European geopolitics than the legitimate child of European Jewry.

Key Words: Zionism, Jewish Question, Palestine, Israel, Political Geography, Geopolitics.

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## INTRODUCTION

The critical role played by the British in encouraging the rise of Herzlian Zionism for their imperial strategies has been ignored by the official Zionist historiography disseminated by the State of Israel (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004). It has been rejected by most Zionist scholars who continue to deny linkages between Zionism and imperialism and some even consider Israel an anti-imperialist entity (Penslar, 2003:84; Peretz, 1997:8). It can also be suggested that this connection has not been stressed enough in some of the relevant political geography works (Pound, 1963; Prescott, 1972; Norris and Haring, 1980; Taylor, 1985; Wallerstein, 1991; Goldewska and Smith, 1994; Glassner, 1996; Agnew, 1997; O'Tuathail, 1998; Agnew, Mitchell, and Toal, 2003; Cox, 2003a; Cohen, 2003a; Cohen, 2003b; O'Loughlin; 1994; 1999). In the meantime, the overall critique of Zionist historiography has often been considered sensitive and/or anti-Semitic within mainstream Western media, politics and culture, as indicated by the unabridged version of the Webster's Third New International Dictionary's definition of "anti-Semitism" as any "opposition to Zionism" and/or "sympathy with opponents of the State of Israel" (Halkin, 2002; BBC News, 2002; Billy Graham, 2002; CNN, 2002; CNN, 2003; Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1986:96).

By ignoring or rejecting the role of European and British geopolitics, Zionist historiography had kept us focused on the State of Israel as a given and on Herzlian Zionism as a national liberation movement of the Jews, by the Jews, and for the Jews. A political geography critique of this narrow and state-centered approach seems appropriate since the geopolitical gestation of Herzlian Zionism in Europe involved several major empires. The British Empire sponsored the political project of Zionism at least from the early 1800s, the Russian Empire was the host to some five million Jews at the time, the Austro-Hungarian and German empires provided the ground for much of the cultural debate about Zionism (Pinsker's Auto-Emancipation and Herzl's The Jewish State were first published in German), and the Ottoman Empire was the sovereign of the Arab territory of Palestine. A political geography critique seems also appropriate because the rise of Herzlian Zionism was concomitant with the rise of many other political geography and geopolitical ideas stemming from social and spatial Darwinism as expressed in Rudolph Kjellén and Friedrich Ratzel's lebenstraum, Karl Haushofer's geopolitik, and Halford Mackinder's heartland doctrine. Mackinder himself viewed the Suez Canal as a "key position" (on this concept see Fettweis, 2003) "within striking distance of an army based in Palestine." He admired the "strategic position" of the hill citadel of Jerusalem and considered Palestine a geostrategic region at the center of his Geographical Pivot of History:

It can't be wholly a coincidence that in the self-same region should be the starting point of History and the crossing point of the most vital modern highways... The Jewish National seat in Palestine will be one of the most important outcomes of the War. That is a subject on which we can now afford to speak the truth... Therefore a National Home, at the physical and historical center of the world, should make the Jew "range" himself (Mackinder, 1919:110-111,215).

The critical political geography question is to explore the role of these empires (especially the British Empire) and these geopolitical ideas and doctrines in the rise of Herzlian Zionism during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth

century. To what extent was Herzlian Zionism a child of European geopolitics or European Jewry? Put in a conceptual perspective, the question explores whether geopolitics (inter-state competition and struggle) is sometimes more significant in the actual making of history than local politics (intra-state social and class struggle) (Ould-Mey, 1996:3). To what extent can the agency of international geopolitics shape the local structure of politics? This approach to "critical" geopolitics hopes to go beyond the kind of "everyday" and "uncritical" political geography that had led some to portrait the sub-field as overly state-centered, insufficiently political and as deserving further critical reworking and analysis (Parker, 1998; Robinson, 2003; Kofman, 2003; Cox, 2003b; Cox and Low, 2003; Agnew, 2003). It has also the potential of putting Zionist historiography into the arena of academic debate after a long entrenchment inside the political and media corridors of powers.

This paper examines the connection between Herzlian Zionism and the geopolitics of the British Empire. It explores Herzlian Zionism as an international colonial movement supported by European powers to make Palestine an extraterritorial nation-state for world Jewry. It proposes that Herzlian Zionism was essentially a British pawn transformed into a bishop on the chessboard of European geopolitics and the political economy of European Jewry. First, the paper examines the emergence of the Jewish Question in Russian politics and its recycling through Zionism into British geopolitics. Second, it presents the British policy of Zionization of the Jews and Judaization of Zionism through the creation of the Society for the Promotion of the Love of Zion in Eastern Europe and Russia. Third, it analyzes how the British introduced Herzl to Zionism and then introduced both Herzl and Zionism to the Europeans, the Russians, the Ottomans, and the Jews. It concludes by pointing out that Herzlian Zionism was much more the enfant terrible of European geopolitics than the legitimate child of European Jewry. It closes by raising a few key questions ignored by Zionist historiography.

## THE EMERGENCE OF THE JEWISH QUESTION IN RUSSIAN POLITICS

The emergence of the Jewish Question (Jews living among non-Jews) in Russia at the end of the eighteenth century was the result of several geographic, historical and geopolitical factors. The area between the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea, and the Baltic Sea has been a meeting ground for ancient and medieval Asian and European migrations. It has been the historic homeland for the bulk of world Jewry for well over a millennium since the center of gravity of the Jews shifted from the medieval Khazar Empire to the modern Pale of Settlement (see Figure 1) in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion of Russia and Eastern Europe. This area was also a buffer zone and a shatter belt in the geopolitics of the modern German, Austrian, Russian, and Ottoman empires before the French and the British became more involved following the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon. It appears that the historical geography of the concentration of world Jewry in this area and the successive partitions of Poland in the late eighteenth century were significant landmarks in terms of the birth and the emergence of the Jewish Question in Russia and the rest of Europe.

The World Zionist Congress leader Israel Zangwill once wrote, "it is not even true that the Jews are scattered; the majority are congested in the Russian Pale and Galicia" (Zangwill, 1904:17). This region has been the historic destination for successive migrations and invasions from the nomadic tribes of the Central Asian steppes and Northwest China, including the Huns, the Bulgars, the Avars, the Uguars, the Khazars, and the Mongols. Indeed

the human geography of this predominantly Slavic region has been indelibly marked by the often violent and bitter encounters between rulers from the so-called nomads of the sea (such as the Vikings) and the *nomads of the steppe* (such as the Huns, the Khazars, and the Mongols). For example, several medieval geographers and modern historians have observed or studied the rise and fall of the Jewish Khazar Empire (following the mass conversion of the Turkic Khazars to Judaism) in Southern Russia between the 8th and 10th centuries (Ibn Fadlan and Ghaybah, 1994; Ibn al-Faqih and Hadi, 1996; Al-Masudi et al, 1966-79; Dunlop, 1954; Pritsak, 1978; Golden, 2003). However, Khazar power declined when the Khazar army was defeated by Sviatoslav, Duke of Kiev, in the 960s. Genghis Khan's invasion of Russia in 1218 finished whatever remained of the Khazar Empire and led to the dispersal of the Khazar Jews between the Caspian and Baltic seas, the actual historical homeland of contemporary Jews. As these Khazar Jews moved from their shtetls in the Russian and Central Asian steppes to the towns and cities of Eastern Europe, they lost their identity and cohesion as Khazars but they were able to retain their religion and other traditions (Bradley, 1992:181-182). This is perhaps why it has been argued that toward the end of the medieval era, the only two countries where the Jews enjoyed "perfect freedom" were Poland and Lithuania (Holmio, 1949:35-36).

This basic fact of historical geography is what must have led Arthur Koestler (a Hungarian Ashkenazi Jew) to argue in his book The Thirteenth Tribe: The Khazar Empire and its Heritage that Ashkenazic Jews are descendants of the Khazars. It must also have led Tel Aviv University Professor Paul Wexler to write his three books (1) The Ashkenazic Jews: A Slavo-Turkic People in Search of a Jewish Identity; (2) The Non-Jewish Origins of the Sephardic Jews; and (3) Two-tiered Relexification in Yiddish: Jews, Sorbs, Khazars, and the Kiev-Polessian Dialect. Wexler argues that Ashkenazic Jews are predominantly of Slavo-Turkic stock rather than Palestinian Jewish emigrants, and that the Sephardic Jews are mainly of Berber and Arab descent. But while scholars and writers continue to debate whether the Khazars are the actual ancestors of the bulk of contemporary Jews, the Zionists continue to consider such a research agenda as taboo, polemical and even anti-Semitic. In this regard, the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies (IAJGS) was established in the late 1980s to coordinate the activities and annual conference of more than 75 national and local Jewish genealogical societies around the world. One of the objectives of the IAJGS is "to elevate Jewish Genealogy among Jewish people and in the academic community" (International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies, 2003). Hal Bookbinder, the President of the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies, has made conference presentations at the 2001 National Geological Society Conference in the States in Portland (Oregon) and has authored and disseminated a number of audio cassette tapes (one of them entitled: The Khazars, our ancestors?) which all seem to be aimed at containing the growing world awareness about the non-Semitic origins of contemporary Jews and the emerging evidence about their Khazar ancestry (Bookbinder, 2001a; 2001b; 2001c). The controversies surrounding Jewish ancestry and Jewish identity at the turn of the twenty-first century are seemingly reminiscent of the Jewish Question itself at the turn of the twentieth century in the broad areas between the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea.

The emergence of the Jewish Question in Russia came after successive partitions of the buffer zone and shatter belt country of Poland (in 1772, 1793, and 1795) between the empires of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The partition destroyed Poland, transferred the largest Jewish communities in the world to Russian rule, and brought the specter of

Napoleon to Russia itself (Klier, 1986). It largely confined the bulk of European Jewry to the geographic areas of what will be known later as the Jewish Pale of Settlement. It also sowed the seeds for more Jewish identity problems through the policy of imposing surnames. Alexander Beider noted that Jewish surnames did not result from the internal life of the Jews (who were native Yiddish speakers), but were imposed by various Christian authorities. Surnames were imposed on the Jews by the Austrians in 1787 and by the Prussians in 1797, and many Jews adopted German and pure German spelling names during the Prussian occupation (1795-1807). All Polish Jews adopted surnames during the 1820s and 1830s before Russian substituted Polish in all the official documents of the Kingdom of Poland from the 1860s to 1918. Beider cited many examples illustrating some of the confusion and identity problems arising from both the surnaming itself and the spelling of Jewish names in different languages (German, Polish, Russian, or Yiddish) using different alphabets (Roman and Cyrillic). In many cases the German surnames were spelled according to the phonetic value of Latin characters in Polish such as Epszteyn instead of German Epstein, Fogiel instead of Vogel, Frydman instead of Friedmann, Rozenberg instead of Rosenberg, and Zylber instead of Silber (Beider 1995:253-60). The contemporary widespread adoption of new surnames among Jewish settlers in Palestine (including Israeli presidents and prime ministers, see Figure 2) could be considered a symptom of this identity problem, an indication of its persistence, and a reminiscence of the above episode of imposed surnaming and name spelling.

In the late nineteenth century, most Jews lived in Poland itself, Western Russia (Vilna, Kovno, Vitebsk, Grodno, Minsk, Mohilev, Volhynia, Podolia), the Ukraine or Little Russia (Kiev, Tchernigov, and Poltava), and in South Russia (Ekatrinoslav, Taurida, Cherson, Bessarabia). Western, Little, and Southern Russia form the notorious Jewish Pale of Settlement (Russo-Jewish Committee, 1891). According to the Russian census of 1897, about 95 percent of the 5,189,401 Jews of the Russian Empire were concentrated in the 25 provinces of the Jewish Pale of Settlement and Russian Poland (see Table 1). Since Napoleon's attempts to estrange the Jews from their rulers, Russia has engaged in a Russification policy (emphasizing Russianness) which was often presented as a response to fears of disintegration of the multiethnic Russian empire. Though Russification put many constraints on non-Russian languages and cultures as well as on some peoples of Christian faith (such as the Fins, Baltic, and Ukrainians), the worst suffering was inflicted upon the "Muslim Tatars" and the "Jewish Khazars" (Encarta, 2003; Shakir, 1981). The Russification process involved in part a series of residential and occupational restrictions against Russian Jews, including the Jewish Statute of 1804, the Jewish Pale of Settlement, and the Laws of May 1882. Some of these restrictions were inspired by or based on anti-Jewish reforms suggested first by I. G. Frizel (governor of Lithuania) who viewed the Jews as "Asiatic" in appearance with a "typically Asian laziness and slovenliness," then by G. R. Derzhavin (a Russian senator) who blamed the Jews for causing food shortages in Belorussia in his report titled The Opinion of Senator Derzhavin Regarding the Avoidance of the Grain Shortage in Belorussia by Curbing the Mercenary Trades of the Jews, and Regarding their Reform, and Other Things (Klier, 1986:89,100).

With the exception of the wealthy, the highly skilled, and some long-term soldiers, the Jews of Russia were confined to the Jewish Pale of Settlement. They were generally "accused" of not taking agriculture, exploiting Russian peasants through money-lending, supplying liquor

to drunken peasants, evading military service, and engaging in nihilism and disaffection (Russo-Jewish Committee, 1891:28). The Jewish Question in Russia emerged progressively out of these popular prejudices, social realities, government policies, and geopolitical considerations. It was brought swiftly to the forefront of Russian politics and geopolitics in the aftermath of the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881 (for which the Jews were blamed) and the May 1882 Laws whose discriminatory nature gave Britain some sort of moral and political leverage to directly interfere in the internal affairs of Russia on behalf of Russian Jews by organizing a series of public meetings in London focused on the Jewish Question in Russia.

### RECYCLING THE JEWISH OUESTION INTO BRITISH GEOPOLITICS

Even before the enactment of the May 1882 Laws, British interference into Russian politics was well rooted in Russia's geopolitics as the northern neighbor of both the Ottoman Empire (which stretches around the Suez Canal route to India) and British India (the so-called Jewel of the British Crown). The landmarks of this Anglo-Russian geopolitical conflict included the Crimean War of 1854 and the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1905 to give the Wakhan mountain territory to Afghanistan in an attempt to forestall a common frontier and prevent friction. For decades, the British had viewed the Catholic and Orthodox Christians of Eastern Europe and Russia as archenemies of British Zionism and as disparagers of the Old Testament in preference of the New Testament (Crawford, 1838). In this context the British were looking for allies and well-wishers in this non-Protestant region. They simply couldn't miss the Jews who were said to have been attacked as Russians by the Poles, as Poles by the Russians, and as Jews by both (Lewis, 1986). In the Holy Land of Palestine itself, the British were competing with the French who had been acknowledged protector of the Roman Catholic Church and with the Russians who had even warmer partisans among members of the Greek Church. The British wanted to obtain from the Ottomans similar rights for native Protestants who were actually non-existing in the Ottoman Empire (Robinson, 1997). They wanted the Jews to fill in the blank for the non-existing native Protestants in the Holy Land. In a lecture delivered at Boston in October 1876, Reverend Cyrus Hamlin, who had long resided in Turkey as an American missionary, noted that while Turkish officials are generally friendly, "All the persecution which Protestant missions have suffered in Turkey originated in the Christian priests, communities, and churches opposed to the Protestants" (Pirbright, 1877:33). He went even further to suggest that it would be better for the cause of Christianity to have the "tolerant" Muslim Turks remain in Europe than to have Orthodox Russians hold in Constantinople.

Until the last decades of the nineteenth century, Eastern European and Russian Jews were largely ignorant about Zionism and often untouched by the global missionary activities of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews which was established in 1809 in response to Napoleon's Great Sanhedrin in Paris in 1807. The rigidities of the Russian system were somehow shielding the Jews from Zionism, which was largely focused on Western European geopolitics and national rivalries over their very small Jewish communities who were viewed as a crucial economic asset at home and a convenient political title for the many colonial plans waiting for the Eastern Question (which European power would colonize which parts of the collapsing Ottoman Empire). With the rise of a new phase of territorial and financial imperialism, the Russian Jews could no longer be shielded from British Zionism or migration to the Americas. The 1870 Franco-Prussian war launched a new phase of European imperialism and overseas territorial expansion into Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, focused on the acquisition of raw materials, additional sources

of labor, outlets for surplus capital, and markets for surplus goods. Such imperialism was accompanied by a mass migration from Europe. It is estimated that between 1880 and 1910 the British Isles sent eight and a half million emigrants overseas and Italy sent over six million. This was also a time of change in Russia when the defeat in the Crimean War and the death of Czar Nicholas I in the middle of the war precipitated the abolition of serfdom in 1861 and opened the door for greater social and spatial mobility (Encarta, 2003; Roberts, 1995). It was estimated that between 1870 and 1914 some two million East European Jews migrated westward, many coming from Russia and Romania via Vienna, Austria (Lewis, 1986; Duvernoy; 1966).

The May 1882 Laws came as the culmination of the restrictions on Jews in Russia. They reversed some of the rights they obtained in the aftermath of the abolition of serfdom. Like previous restrictions, they were often presented as a means of preventing the Jews from "exploiting" the peasantry. These laws banned Jewish settlements outside designated towns, suspended temporarily the purchase of real property and mortgages in the name of Jews, and forbad Jews from carrying on business on Sunday. The London-based Russo-Jewish Committee explains the "true causes of the persecution" of the Jews in Russia in these words: "In the middle of an older [Russian] economic system of customary prices and long credits they [the Jews] introduce a principle of keen competition that cuts down prices and profits to the advantage of the consumer indeed, but not to the advantage of the commercial classes, who are set against the Jews as rivals who excel them" (Russo-Jewish Committee, 1891:28). British Zionists from the Anglo-Jewish Association and the Russo-Jewish Committee seized on the 1881 events in Russia to organize public meetings chaired by the Lord Mayor of London "to express public opinion upon the outrages inflicted upon the Jews in various parts of Russia and Russian Poland" (Anglo-Jewish Association and Russo-Jewish Committee, 1933:3). Speaking to the first meeting (1 February 1882), Lord Shaftesbury (President of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews) emphasized the power of public opinion as a new force that could pressurize the Czar in relation to the position of the Jews (and perhaps drive a wedge between Russia and its Jews) and serve the cause Zionism by increasing international awareness about the Jewish Ouestion:

I know from conversations held with him by one of my friends, who reported to me what has passed, that the Emperor Nicholas felt deeply and acutely the public opinion of England... Are we not asking him to be Cyrus to the Jews and not an Antiochus Epiphanes? (Anglo-Jewish Association and Russo-Jewish Committee, 1933:10,12).

# Cardinal Manning read and moved the resolution:

Before I use any further words it will, perhaps, be better that I should read that resolution. It is—"That this meeting while disclaiming any right or desire to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, and desiring that the most amicable relations between England and Russia should be preserved, feels it a duty to express its opinion that the laws of Russia relating to Jews tend to degrade them in the eyes of the Christian population, and to expose Russian Jewish subjects to the outbreaks of fanatical ignorance" (Anglo-Jewish Association and Russo-Jewish Committee, 1933:14).

#### J. G. Hubbard added:

It is said that the Jews have grown rich, that they have become powerful, that they have been usurers, and that they have gratified the lower inclinations and appetites of the people around them... It would also be well for the Russians to remember that the foundations of English commerce and industry were laid partly by Jews to whom our toleration and the spirit of our laws afforded a refuge from foreign persecution (Anglo-Jewish Association and Russo-Jewish Committee, 1933:24).

### The Lord Mayor of London concluded:

The City of London has, I may remark, been the cradle of civil and religious liberty in England, and within her precincts have arisen, as we have been reminded by Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild<sup>1</sup>, some of the greatest industries that have enriched our country. These industries were brought here, and were taught to our people, by men who had fled from persecution abroad, and this is a fact which it is important that we should bear in mind (Anglo-Jewish Association and Russo-Jewish Committee, 1933:28).

Throughout the 1880s the British continued to pressure the Russians on the Jewish Question. Once they came into a position to take the Zionist debate inside Russia itself, they shifted their official diplomatic discourse from simply expressing their opinion on the May 1882 Laws to an explicit official appeal to repeal those laws against the Jews (whom they began to call "Israelites" in accordance with an increasingly more aggressive policy of Zionization of the Jews and Judaization of Zionism). In a public meeting chaired by the Lord Mayor of London on December 10, 1890, the following Memorial to the Czar was adopted:

We, the Citizens of London, respectfully approach your Majesty, and humbly beg your gracious leave to plead the cause of the afflicted... Five millions of your Majesty's subjects groun beneath the yoke of exceptional and restrictive laws...Sire! We who have learnt to tolerate all creeds, deeming it a part of true religion to permit religious liberty, we beseech your Majesty to repeal those laws that afflict these Israelites (Russo-Jewish Committee, 1891:107-108).

# BRITISH ZIONIZATION OF RUSSIAN JEWS AND JUDAIZATION OF ZIONISM

The assassination of Russian Czar Alexander II in 1881 and the reported "Russian solution" (one third of the Jews would convert to Christianity, one third emigrate, and one third perish) to the "Jewish problem" (Lewis, 1986) gave the British the excuse and the opportunity to establish closer organizational, missionary, and more importantly political contacts with Eastern European and Russian Jewry in order to Zionize their aspirations and redirect their migration flows away from the Americas to Palestine. While an anonymous memorandum on the "Restoration" of the Jews was widely circulated by some British Zionists and was discussed by Lord Palmerston and Queen Victoria in 1839 (Restoration of the Jews, 1840), the nuts and bolts of a concrete plan came with British Colonel Gawler's plan for the organization of a settler colonial movement designed to make Palestine the homeland of a British-sponsored nation-state for world Jewry. Gawler had a strong experience in settling

British convicts in Australia and his plan called (as already suggested by Colonel Charles Henry Churchill, the British consul in Syria) for the kind of Zionization of the Jews and Judaization of Zionism that would take into consideration the "feelings" of the Jews and the "desires" of the British (Galwer, 1845:8-9). The man the British establishment chose for this political mission to the Jews of Eastern Europe and Russia was William Henry Hechler (1845-1931).

Since it is argued that William Hechler was the British agent who actually fathered Zionism in Eastern Europe and Russia, some details about him may help illustrate the point. His mother, Catherine Clive Palmer, was British. His German father Dietrich Hechler was born in 1812 in Vægisheim, Duchy of Baden. Catherine and Dietrich married in 1844 at St. Paul Cathedral of London (following Dietrich's ordainment as a pastor of the Evangelical church) and were sent as missionaries to British India where they stayed for five years. After Catherine died in 1850, Dietrich returned to London around 1853 with his three children (William, Elizabeth, and Catherine) and joined the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, for which he worked successively in Alsace, London, Heidelberg, Durlach, and Karlsruhe (Epstein, 1984; Duvernoy, 1966).

Thanks to his German father and British mother, William Henry Hechler was bilingual and completed his theological studies in England and Germany before he was ordained (as was his father) at St. Paul Cathedral in London in 1869. In 1871, William Hechler began his missionary tenure as an assistant director in charge of catechetical education at the Trinity College in Lagos, British Nigeria. In 1874 he moved to the Karlsruhe castle to tutor the children of Frederick, Grand Duke of Baden, an uncle to a man who was to become Wilhelm II, the German Kaiser. Hechler did not hesitate to preach his Zionism when he presented a messianic map of Palestine to Frederick and ordered Zionism-related books to the royal library. Following the sudden death of crown prince Ludwig in 1876, Hechler left Germany for Britain where he served until the assassination of the Russian Czar in 1881 (Epstein, 1984; Duvernoy, 1966).

In the wake of the 1881 events in Russia and the 1882 London public meetings in support of Russian Jews, Lord Temple and Lord Shaftesbury dispatched their Zionist protagonist and foot soldier William Hechler to meet with the leaders of Eastern European and Russian Jewry in Odessa and to preach Zionism as the only solution to the carefully engineered concept of "anti-Semitism" rather than the more familiar and common one of "Judeophobia" at the time. Hechler was accompanied by Laurence Oliphant (an English writer and diplomat) who had written a memorandum (in 1878) calling for the settlement of Jewish prisoners in Palestine under the protection of the Sultan. Hechler met with Leo Pinsker on the eve of the publication of the *Auto-Emancipation* pamphlet in German in September 1882. Hechler showed Pinsker a letter from Queen Victoria asking the Sultan to allow Jewish immigration in Palestine. Pinsker was "moved against his will," when Hechler told him "you have forgotten [to mention in your pamphlet] God's promise to Abraham and his children" (Duvernoy, 1966:34; Pinsker, 1911). This is when and how the British began to inject their Zionism into an otherwise local and normal emancipation movement of Eastern European Jewry in their own ancestral homeland.

The Hechler-Pinsker meeting was instrumental in the creation of the Society for the Promotion of the Love of Zion and the Lovers of Zion (Hibbath Zion) movement. Pinsker's auto-emancipation movement was initially a non-Zionist Jewish movement seeking to find a solution for the Jewish Question in Russia through independence of the Jewish Pale of Settlement or mass migration to North America, not Palestine. Pinsker wanted selfdetermination for the Jewish Pale: "give us a bit of land; grant us only what you granted the Servians and Roumanians" (later Theodor Herzl paraphrased it: "Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe"). Pinsker rejected Hechler's Zionism: "the goal of our present endeavors must be not the Holy Land, but a land of our own." He considered "Judeophobia" (rather than "anti-Semitism") the eternal problem presented by the Jewish Question. He argued that Judeophobia is a "psychic disorder" and a "hereditary form of demonopathy," percular to the human race and based upon "an inherited aberration of the human mind." Therefore "We must give up contending against these hostile impulses, just as we give up contending against every other inherited predisposition." Pinsker's ideas of auto-emancipation developed first "without any relation whatsoever" to Palestine (Ahad Ha'am, 1911:3; Pinsker, 1911:2,4,7,11; Herzl, 1946).

Pinsker recommended *the [Jewish] societies already in existence* as a nucleus from which to start the *search* for a homeland. These Societies "must convoque a national congress" or at least form "a national institute" or a *directory* whose first task "would have to be the discovery of a territory adapted to our purpose." While Pinsker suggested "a small territory in North America or a sovereign pashalic in Asiatic Turkey," he was clearly in favor of the former because the purchase of lands in America would not be a risky business, but a "lucrative enterprise." The next step would be to organize a mass migration of the Jews. Pinsker concludes his brochure by stressing that all the above steps for the establishment of one Jewish refuge, instead of many, cannot be implemented without the support of the governments of the big powers (Pinsker, 1911:2,7,11,16). In other words, the Jewish settler state would require a propelling force for migration (as the Nazis later provided), a territory to be conquered (which was Palestine, after Argentina and Uganda were dropped),<sup>2</sup> and above all imperial powers (especially the British) to sponsor it.

In the appeal addressed to all the scattered Jewish communities, the Society for the Promotion of the Love of Zion proclaims (with a strike of a pen) that the native Palestinians shall be "strangers" inside their own homeland of Palestine which shall be the Jews' "own native land" (Ahad Ha'am, 1911:12). In this way Zionism was not just a typical embodiment of modern settler colonial movements (as in the Americas and Australia) which had denied their victims the right to live on their own ancestral homelands. It also involved the impersonation of the native Palestinians whose cultural identity and historical heritage of the antiquity were claimed by European Jewish settlers (Rodinson, 1973; Said, 1979; Perry, 1985; Falah, 1996; Samara, 1998). While this colonial appeal had some resonance among the freshly Zionized poor Eastern European Jews, most wealthy Jews in Western Europe continued to view the Jewish Question in terms of the lucrative business of taking advantage of geographic diversity by shuffling capital and labor around the continents as did the non-Zionist Jewish Colonization Association for some fifty years, especially in the Americas and Eastern Europe.<sup>3</sup> Hechler's visit to Odessa seems to have galvanized many Jewish leaders in Eastern Europe and Russia and made them rethink their local auto-emancipation as well as their plans for emigration to the Americas. To continue his relentless work of impregnating Eastern European and Russian Jews with the ideas of Zionism, Hechler moved to Vienna where he taught at the University of Vienna and worked in the British Embassy in Vienna.

## THE BRITISH AND THE FOREORDAINED ZIONIST MOVEMENT

Following the Hechler-Pinsker meeting in Odessa in 1882, Pinsker began to show some sympathy with Zionism and later became the president of the Lovers of Zion. But Hechler moved to Vienna as more Jewish emigrants arrived from Eastern Europe. His mission was to recruit a Jewish leader and launch a more Judaized Zionist movement. Hechler was described as an agent working for German and English interests and particularly as a "secret agent" working for the Intelligence Service (Duvernoy, 1966). As a political activist and informant, he had a busy life and did not produce any significant work of intellectual value during his long life (though he arranged and supplemented the *Jerusalem Bishopric Documents*). He was closely connected with Theodor Herzl, at least from 1896 to 1904 (Ellern, 1961). Herzl had once asked Hechler to be more discreet in order to avoid giving the impression that Herzl was an agent working for the English Protestant missions in Jerusalem (Duvernoy, 1966:95). Most of the reviewed literature indicates that the Hechler-Herzl connection began shortly after Herzl published *Der Judenstaat (The Jewish State*, or *The State of the Jews* according to some translations) in Vienna in 1896. But it is difficult to imagine that Hechler and the British Embassy in Vienna could have overlooked Herzl until 1896.

It is well known that Hechler and his father had worked for decades for the London-based Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. In 1874 Hechler presented a messianic map of Palestine to Frederick of Baden. In 1882 he suggested the settlement of Russian and Romanian Jews in Palestine, participated in the establishment of the Society for the Promotion of the Love of Zion and the Lovers of Zion movement, and propagated a pamphlet on the Restoration of the Jews to Palestine. He taught at the University of Vienna a decade before 1896, frequented Jewish societies and synagogues in Vienna, and once said "I know well my Jews of Vienna." In 1895, Hechler was appointed the chaplain of the British Embassy in the "important city of Vienna," sometimes considered the cradle of Zionism and Nazism because both Herzl and Hitler successively roamed its streets and because Hitler himself had looked at Zionism as "a great movement" (Epstein, 1984; Duvernoy, 1966; Brenner, 1983; Garaudy, 2000). As for Herzl, he must have been "visible" in Vienna when he started in 1891 a journalist career with the influential daily Viennese paper Neue Freie Presse, especially after he covered the 1894 trial of French Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a French Jew who was charged with selling military secrets to Germany as was Moses Hess charged by Prussia in 1849. Since Hungarian Theodor Herzl was in London in 1895 to present and rehearse the central argument of his Pamphlet before his British sponsors and to meet the Rothschilds, he should normally have had a visa entry to Britain from British Ambassador Monson in Vienna.

Herzl reported that when Hechler read his pamphlet he immediately hurried to British Ambassador Monson and informed him that the for-ordained movement is here! Hechler went later to give Herzl more details on the for-ordained movement of Zionism and to tell him we have prepared the ground for you! Hechler then showed Herzl a large military staff map of Palestine, a chart of comparative history, models of the ancient Temple, and the location of our new Temple in Bethel (Epstein, 1984; Duvernoy, 1966). Hechler also sang and played for Herzl on the organ a Zionist song of his own composition. Hechler encouraged Herzl to

launch the journal *Die Welt* in which Hechler published a call entitled *Children of Abraham Wake Up! As a Christian I equally believe in the Movement called Zionism.* That was perhaps one of the earliest uses of the term "Zionism" to sum up other terms such as "Restoration," "Zion," and "Lovers of Zion." Hechler actively participated in the First Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland in August 1897. He must have been disappointed when in 1903 the Sixth World Zionist Congress led by Israel Zangwill (and backed by Herzl) voted (295 to 178) against Palestine and in favor of Uganda in East Africa as a homeland for the Jews. He was one of the last to see Herzl dying at the Senatorium in Edlach in early July 1904 (Epstein, 1984). Martin Perez describes the tragic collapse of the entire Herzl family without providing any explanation or speculation on the real causes, whereas Lenni Brenner argues that it was ironically the premature death of Herzl which prevented the collapse of Zionism (Brenner, 1983).

Hechler-Herzl relations (like the Hechler-Pinsker ones before them and the Balfour-Weizmann ones after them) would seem to resemble the tutor-tutored relations rather than prophet-prince relations as suggested by Zionist historiography (Epstein, 1984; Duvernoy, 1966). Beyond tutoring Herzl on what Zionism is all about, Hechler (as a British agent backed and guided by imperial and religious motives and considerations) was even more indispensable to Herzl in terms of politics and geopolitics. Hechler was particularly instrumental in introducing both Herzl and Zionism to the Grand Duke of Baden, the German Emperor, the Russian Czar, the Ottoman Sultan, the Pope (Pie X) and his Secretary of State the Cardinal Del Val, Princes Heinrich and Gunther, Ferdinand de Bulgaria, Vitor-Emmanuel of Italy, several English ministers (Chamberlain, Landsdown, and Cromer), two Russian ministers (Plehve and Witte), two German ministers (von Bülow and Eulenbourg), an Austrian minister (Koerber), and many ambassadors, representatives, and Anglican and other religious dignitaries (Duvernoy, 1966). Such British tutoring of newly recruited Jewish Zionist leaders continued well after Hechler and Herzl. Barbara Tuchman cited the case of Mark Sykes, liaison officer for Middle East affairs between the War Cabinet, the Foreign Office, and the War Office. She wrote that Sykes "attended their [Zionist Jews] meetings, laid out their strategy, arranged their appointments, and told them whom to see and what to say" (Tuchman, 1984:334).

Hechler and Herzl were essentially looking for some feedback for their British project. That is what Herzl's pamphlet (The Jewish State) is all about in terms of gathering "all available declarations of statesmen, parliaments, Jewish communities, societies, whether expressed in speeches or writings, in meetings, newspapers or books." They were never under the illusion that the Germans, the Russians, or the Ottomans will sponsor a Jewish chartered company, let alone a Jewish state. Herzl's published pamphlet had already described the backbone of the project: a "Jewish Company" in which the organization of labor and production was to be "military in character." Drawing upon the blueprints of the British East India Company, the Dutch East India Company, La Compagnie Française des Indes, the Jewish Colonization Association, and above all Cecil Rhodes's recently-founded British South Africa Company, Herzl's Jewish Company was to be "a joint stock company subject to English jurisdiction, framed according to English laws, and under the protection of England. Its principal center will be London." Herzl's secular or atheist background and business outlook were reflected in the flag he proposed for the Jewish State or Jewish Company: a white flag (that symbolizes *a pure* new life) and seven golden stars (representing the *seven hours* of the

working-day), a more original and authentic symbol than the newly invented (out of the blue) Star of David.

Actually Herzl viewed the Jewish Question and its solution through economic lenses. He opened his pamphlet *The Jewish State* by attacking *the limited views of the physiocrats* (who generally believe that *land* is the source of all wealth) and praising *the entrepreneurs* (who are generally more focused on the circulation as opposed to the production of commodities). Indeed the backbone of *The Jewish State* pamphlet is the *Jewish Chartered Company*, an organization with a transnational character. Herzl argued that the Ghetto developed the Jews into a bourgeois people whereas the emancipation had exposed them to competition from the middle classes. He asked the question "Is it not true, that the passions of the mob are incited against our wealthy people?" Herzl rooted the Jewish Question in the economic position of the Jews and the frustration of anti-Semites in getting at them:

In olden days our jewels were seized. How is our movable property to be got hold of now? It consists of printed papers which are locked up somewhere or other in the world, perhaps in the coffers of Christians. It is, of course, possible to get at shares and debentures in railways, banks and industrial undertakings of all descriptions by taxation, and where the progressive income-tax is in force all our movable property can eventually be laid hold of. But all these efforts cannot be directed against Jews alone, and wherever they might nevertheless be made, severe economic crises would be their immediate consequences, which would be by no means confined to the Jews who would be the first affected. The very impossibility of getting at the Jews nourishes and embitters hatred of them (Herzl, 1946).

To get the Germans and the Russians on board for the British plan to settle European and Russian Jews in Palestine, Hechler and Herzl were selling to the German Kaiser and the Russian Czar the then widely shared perspective that Zionism would solve the Jewish Question by weakening simultaneously the Jewish-led leftist movements in Europe and Russia as well as the power of international Jewish capital. Referring to the socioeconomic position of the Jews in Europe, Herzl wrote:

We have attained pre-eminence in finance, because medieval conditions drove us to it. The same process is now being repeated. We are again being forced into finance, now it is the stock exchange, by being kept out of other branches of economic activity. Being on the stock exchange, we are consequently exposed afresh to contempt. At the same time we continue to produce an abundance of mediocre intellects who find no outlet, and this endangers our social position as much as does our increasing wealth. Educated Jews without means are now rapidly becoming Socialists. Hence we are certain to suffer very severely in the struggle between classes, because we stand in the most exposed position in the camps of both Socialists and capitalists (Herzl, 1946).

A couple of decades later, the Nazis seemed to have borrowed and used a version of this Herzlian class analysis when they portrayed and stereotyped the Jewish control of both the "red" communists and the "gold" capitalists (Friedländer, 1997:76). In other words, Herzl expected that the increasing wealth of capitalist Jews and the growing radicalization of

socialist Jews could make both of them an easy target for the rising middle classes (which later provided the backbone of support for both Nazism in Germany and fascism in Italy). Marxism was widespread among Eastern European and Russian Jews to the extent that by 1897 Jewish Marxists had founded the General League (Bund) of Jewish Working men of Russia, Poland, and Lithuania (Gitelman, 1998). Many of the Jews were also active in the revolutionary parties, including the Bolsheviks. In addition to deporting the least desirable elements within European and Russian societies (as exemplified by the systematic deportation of British convicts), the idea of "restoration" of the Jews was disseminated throughout Europe as also a tool (a sort of vector-carrier) for spreading European culture and civilization into the so-called Middle East. This idea was part of the overall imperialist discourse of the time, especially the English white man's burden and the French's mission civilisatrice. The idea was raised earlier in Britain by Lieut.-Colonel George Gawler under the banner of "the tranquilization of Syria" and "the civilization of Palestine and the East through the Jews" (Gawler, 1845). Then it appeared in Italy in Musolino's La Gerusalemme ed il popolo ebreo (1851) and in France in Petavel's Devoir des nations de rendre au people juif sa nationalite, before it was popularized and disseminated in Britain and beyond by Mary Ann Evans' Zionist novel *Daniel Deronda* (1876) and Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred*; or, The new crusade (1877) (Epstein, 1984; Disraeli, 1970).

From this geopolitical perspective, Zionism is not simply a claim over the land of Palestine but also a claim over the pre-Islamic history and heritage of the wider region of the Arab/Muslim Middle East. Geopolitical penetration through Zionism was an attempt to manage European competition for the Middle East by at least pretending some form of bipartisan or multilateral imperialism acceptable to the major European powers. Herzl was essentially a British envoy to the Germans, the Russians, the Ottomans, and the Jews. It was said that Herzl was fitted to lead Zionism precisely because he knew neither the Jews nor Palestine or Turkey (Tuchman, 1984:283). In his words, "the Jewish State is conceived as a neutral one," as far as European powers are concerned, for the rest it should "form a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism." Herzl acknowledged that the Jewish Question "can only be solved by making it a political worldquestion to be discussed and settled by the civilized nations of the world in council." This illustrates the extent to which the Jewish Question was more a geopolitical question than a Jewish question. Herzl was never a religious person. He once said that religion "is a fantasy that holds people in its grip" (Hazoni, 2000:101), a close paraphrasing of Marx's statement on religion as the opium of the masses. Herzl had no preference for a specific territory for the Jews. He simply wanted Jewish "sovereignty... over a portion of the globe... a strip of territory." On the choice between Palestine and Argentina, Herzl wrote "we shall take what is given us." Beyond Gawler's broad colonial formula of "civilizing the Middle East through the Jews," the rationale of Zionism needed to be presented in a more appealing format for the different imperial powers. The rationale of the British Zionist argument was presented to the Germans and the Russians in the following stick-and-carrot format: let the Jews go and you will be fine, keep them in and you will be in trouble:

- (1) The Jewish problem in Germany is not as acute as in Eastern Europe, but precisely for this reason the lull, which will certainly prove of brief duration, must be utilized to seek a solution
- (2) The Jews will serve as the carriers of Western Civilization in the middle East

- (3) Emigration to Palestine will be free
- (4) Zionism will weaken the revolutionary parties and the power of international capital in Europe

(Ellern, 1961:xiii).

The overall view of many European rulers at the time was that Zionism provided a way for unloading the Jews outside Europe without creating an economic crisis in Europe. As a British mouthpiece of the Foreign Office, the Hechler-Herzl Zionist proposal was designed to reassure all Europeans that a Jewish state is "a European necessity" and that the departure of the Jews will bring "a new period of prosperity" to the countries they abandon because "there will be an inner migration of Christian citizens into the positions evacuated by Jews." In response to the proposal, the Grand Duke of Baden suggested to first settle Jewish prisoners in Palestine before raising the question of a Jewish state. The German Emperor thought that Zionism would serve to divert the energy of the Jews away from "battening on the Christians," but would not grant a charter for a Jewish state. He told Hechler "come-on, Reverend Hechler, I see that you dream to be a minister in a Jewish state! Is there Rothschild behind that?" The Russian Czar saw in Zionism "an important factor in the development of the internal tranquility of Europe," but he did not see how it could be implemented. As for the Ottoman Sultan, he seemed to agree provided the Jews would take care of the Turkish debt in exchange for scattered settlements only, as Turkish subjects without a charter, and in Iraq, not Palestine (Carmichael, 1992; Herzl, 1946; Tuchman, 1984; Ellern 1961; Duvernoy, 1966). The bottom line for the British was that European powers and Russia did not oppose (but rather encourage) the mass emigration of their Jews and the planting of Jewish settlements in Palestine. Up to this time, Zionism was clearly a tiny minority movement among the Jews and was clearly a British-sponsored movement in desperate search of what Herzl calls "a propelling force" for "getting out" of Europe. But the real struggle over European Jewry was essentially between the British who sponsored the Zionist project and the Russians who were the host of the bulk of world Jewry.

Competition between the British and the Russians over Eastern European and Russian Jews intensified when the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia (October 1917) and when the British made public the Balfour Declaration (November 1917) which promised Palestine as "a National Home for the Jewish people" (see Figure 3). While the Declaration opened the door for many Europeans to question Jewish national loyalty and patriotism throughout Europe, the Soviets began to develop a new policy that encouraged the Jews to either stay home or re-settle within the new Soviet Union. They also worked to promote Yiddish as the native/national language of the Jews in opposition to the British support for Hebrew as a new national language for the Jews. After what seems to be a thorough and careful study, the Stalin-led Soviet government decided in 1928 to settle Soviet Jews in Birobidzhan on the Soviet border with China (see Figure 4). In 1934 the area of Birobidzhan became officially (and remained to this day) the Jewish Autonomous Region (Ambijan Committee, 1936:8,25; Gitelman, 1998). This Soviet Jewish Autonomous Region (Robert Weinberg called it "Stalin's forgotten Zion") was designed to settle the Jewish Question and respond to the growing agitation and interference of British Zionism into Eastern Europe and Russia following the establishment of the World Zionist Congress, which virtually put some five million Russian Jews under the banner of a new and extraordinary world polity.

## **CONCLUSION**

This analysis has focused on the geopolitical and non-Jewish genesis of Herzlian Zionism and its organic linkages with European intra-colonialist and imperialist policies. The British wanted Palestine for imperial and religious motives and used the Zionist Jews as willing surrogates and proxies who down the road became more active agents. The Soviet tried but failed to stop British Zionism, whereas the Americans later supported it and followed the footsteps of the British in terms of both imperial and religious motives. Isaac Deutscher noted that the Zionist Jews "now appear in the Middle East once again in the invidious role of agents not so much of their own, relatively feeble, capitalism, but of powerful Western vested interests and as protégés of neo-colonialism" (Isaac Deutscher quoted in Ali, 2002:330-332). From its inception, Zionism has been a geopolitical construct. Today it is riding on the War on Terrorism as it did on the Cold War. It continues to draw on the "financial Israel" (the United States) and the "demographic Israel" (Russia) (Samara, 1998). It continues to educate many Americans (especially among the disciples and followers of Pat Robertson's 700 Club and its Broadcasting Network) about supporting the State of Israel by rehearsing a fast-food and distorted biblical history and heretical eschatology (see also Halsell's Forcing God's hand: Why millions pray for a quick rapture-- and destruction of planet Earth). It continues to present what is known to many as the "Nazi Holocaust" against the Jews in Europe as the historical explanation and the moral justification for what is considered by many as the "Zionist Holocaust" against the Palestinians in Asia (see also Finkelstein's The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering).

The analysis has also raised some of the questions rarely raised by Zionist historiography. If Zionism were a genuine *national liberation movement*, it is important and legitimate to ask, why did it not seek to liberate the Jewish Pale of Settlement (where most Jews lived) in Russia? Similarly, we should ask why, when contemporary Zionism claims to be exclusively *Jewish*, can we trace its origins to non-Jewish debates and writings from nineteenth century England? What claim can Zionism make to Palestine and the Bible that the Palestinians can't make? How can Zionism justify the dispossession, expulsion, dispersal, and oppression of millions of Palestinians *in Asia* on the basis of ancient, medieval or modern atrocities committed *in Europe* by some Europeans against their own Jewish populations? What are the prospects of Zionism in light of Israel's refusal to de-Zionize or withdraw to the 1967 boundaries and its rejection of the UN-backed Right of Return for the Palestinians while justifying its own existence on the arbitrary Law of "Return"? Are there problems and solutions to be learned by the Zionists and the Palestinians from the experiences of the French in Algeria and the Dutch in South Africa? These are some urgent questions for future investigation and debate.

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Figure 1. Geography of the Jews in Medieval Khazaria and the Modern Pale of Settlement

Sources: Weinberg, R. 1998. Stalin's forgotten Zion: Birobidzhan and the making of a Soviet Jewish homeland: an illustrated history, 1928-1996. Berkeley: University of California Press: Judah L. Magnas Museum, pg. 17; Koestler, A. 1970. The Thirteenth Tribe: The Khazar Empire and its Heritage. New York: Random House; Burd, R. 1999. Khazarian Historic Maps – Introduction 850 C.E., www.geocities.com/Athens/Sparta/3976/

Figure 2. The Old Surnames of the New Children of Abraham

President of the State of Israel 1963-1973 Zalman Shazar (born Rubashov), originally from White Russia

President of the State of Israel 1952-1963 Itzhak Ben-Zvi (born Shimshelevitz),

originally from Poltava in the Ukraine

President of the State of Israel 1973-1978 Ephraim Katzir (born Katchalski), originally from Kiev in the Ukraine

Prime Minister of Israel 1984-1986 & 1995-1996 Shimon Peres (born Perski), originally from Vishneva in Byelorussia

Prime Minister of Israel 2001-present Ariel Sharon (born Sheinerman), originally from Russia Prime Minister of Israel 1948-1953 & 1955-1963 David Ben-Gurion (born Gruen), originally from Plonsk in Poland

Prime Minister of Israel 1983-1984 & 1992-1995 Yitzhak Shamir (born Yzernitzky), originally from Ruzinoy in Poland

Prime Minister of Israel 1969-1974 Golda Meir (born Mabovitch), originally from Kiev in the Ukraine

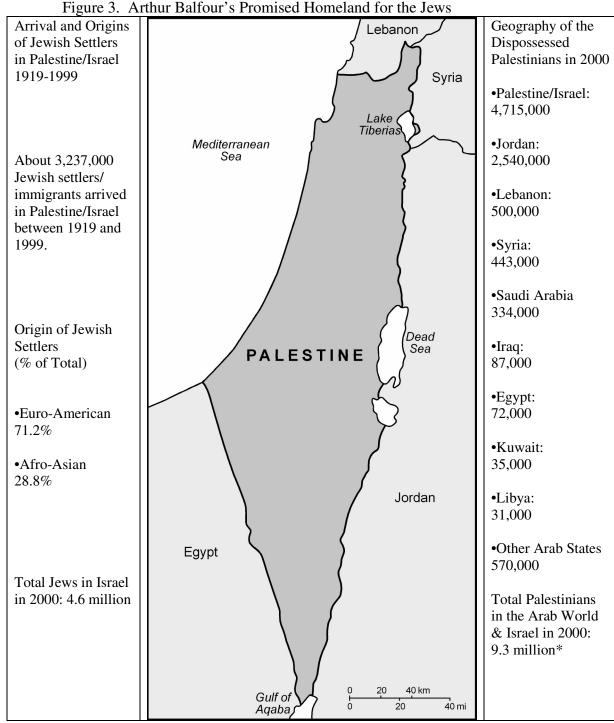
Prime Minister of Israel 1999-2001 Ehud Barak (born Brug), originally from Byelorussia

Source: Compiled from: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2002). *Facts About Israel*. http://www.israel.org/mfa/go.asp?MFAH00080

Table 1. Geographic Distribution of Russia's Jews by Provinces and Regions in 1897

Provinces and Regions	Jewish Population	Percent of Total Population
Grodno Province	276,874	17.28
Kovno	212,230	13.71
Minsk	338,657	15.77
Mohilev	201,301	11.92
Vilna	205,261	12.80
Vitebsk	175,678	11.80
Kiev	427,863	12.03
Podolia	306,597	12.15
Poltava	111,417	4.02
Tchernigov	114,630	4.99
Volhynia	397,772	13.31
Bessarabia	225,637	11.65
Ekatrinoslav	100,736	4.77
Kherson	337,282	12.32
Tauride	66,125	4.57
Kalisz	72,339	8.59
Kielce	82,427	10.82
Lomza	90,912	15.69
Lublin	153,728	13.26
Piotrkow	222,299	15.83
Plock	50,473	9.13
Radom	113,277	13.89
Siedle	122,370	15.84
Suwalki	58,808	10.09
Warsaw	349,943	18.12
Caucasus Region	58,471	0.63
Siberia Region	34,477	0.60
Central Asia Region	12,729	0.16
Other Provinces/Regions	269,088	
All Provinces/Regions	5,189,401	4.13

Source: Compiled from: Jewish Colonization Association. (1908). Recueil de matériaux sur la situation économique des Israélites de Russie, d'après l'enquête de la Jewish Colonization Association. Tome II: La Grande Industrie. Misère et Bienfaisance. Instruction. Paris: F. Alcan. Appendices, Carte. (Note: the names of some provinces retain their French spelling).



\*The figure excludes hundred of thousands of Palestinians living outside the Arab World and Israel. Source: Goldscheider, C. (2002). Israel's Changing Society: Population, Ethnicity, and Development. Second Edition. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press. Page 51.

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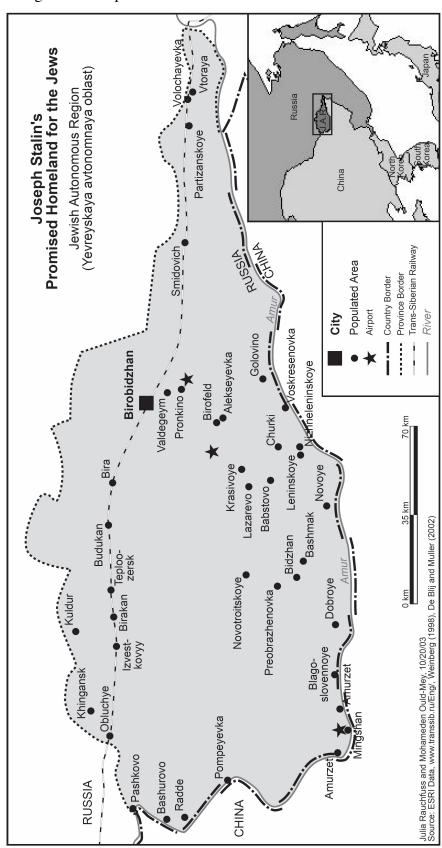


Figure 4. Joseph Stalin's Promised Homeland for the Jews

(1850) and Trieste (around 1870) (McKay, 1990).

#### **Notes**

<sup>1</sup> The Rothschild family represents a banking dynasty in London whose business began in Frankfurt's Jewish ghetto (in connection with Prince William IX of Hesse's involvement in the British war in North America) and expanded to London and Paris in connection with a combination of trade and smuggling operations (behind enemy lines) associated with the Anglo-French rivalry during the Napoleonic wars. The family has played a historic role in the origin and development of multinational banking. The Rothschild Partnership grew to £4 million in 1825, £22 million in 1863, £35 million in 1874, and £41 million in 1899 distributed between Paris, London, Frankfurt, and Vienna. The Paris branch of the Rothschild Partnership established sub-branches in Brussels (1830), Madrid (1833-4), New

York (1835-6), New Orleans (1843), Havana (1843), Mexico (1843), Rome (1843), Turin

<sup>2</sup> The Zionists' disregard and discount of the would-be dispossessed natives was quite remarkable from the beginning and through Israel's Prime Minister Golda Meir's statement: "It was not as if there was a Palestinian people in Palestine and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist" (Karmi, 2003). The Arabs of Palestine who were clearly made candidates for dispossession by the future Jewish State were not even mentioned by *name* either in Theodor Herzl's *The Jewish State* or the Balfour Declaration (notwithstanding the incidental mention of "non-Jewish communities" in the latter) in which one nation promised to a second nation the country of a third nation. Herzl focused only on how the land will be cleared: "If we wish to found a State today, we shall not do it in the way which would have been the only possible one a thousand years ago. It is foolish to revert to old stages of civilization, as many Zionists would like to do. Supposing, for example, we were obliged to clear a country of wild beasts, we should not set about the task in the fashion of Europeans of the fifth century. We should not take spear and lance and go out singly in pursuit of bears; we would organize a large and active hunting party, drive the animals together, and throw a melinite bomb into their midst" (Herzl, 1946).

<sup>3</sup> Baron Maurice de Hirsch was born in 1831 in Munich, Germany, and had inherited a family fortune. He founded the Jewish Colonization Association as a share-holding Company designed "to assist and promote the emigration of poor and needy Jews from any parts of Europe or Asia where they are oppressed by special restrictive laws" and to this effect it "proposes to establish agricultural colonies in diverse regions of North and South America, as also in other territories" (Jewish Colonization Association, 1942:6). Hirsch rejected Herzl's Zionism when the latter visited him in Paris in May 1895 (Kobler, 1975; Tuchman, 1984). The composition and residence of the Jewish Colonization Association Board of Directors in 1910 was as follows: Narcisse Leven, Arnold Netter, and Salomon Reinach in Paris; Frantz Philippson and Paul Erreara in Brussels; Julius Blau in Frankfurt; Léonard Cohen, Herbert Lousada, and Claude Montefiore in London; Carl Netter and James Simon in Berlin (Jewish Colonization Association, 1910). This indicates that the Jewish Colonization Association was a non-Zionist multinational capitalist company using cheap Jewish labor from Eastern Europe and run by wealthy Jews from Western Europe. During the 50 years of its activities in Argentina, the Jewish Colonization Association purchased a total land area of 1,525,742 acres and settled tens of thousands of Jewish colonists (Jewish Colonization Association, 1942). In the meantime, the Jewish Colonization Association created a vast system of loan funds (*caisses de prêts*) for the distribution of money advances at low interest to small shopkeepers, artisans, and farmers in Russia and the Ukraine, perhaps along the lines of contemporary World Bank micro loans to households. Before World War I, there were some 700 of these Loan Banks (*caisses*) with about 450,000 members (Wolf, 1923:21).

<sup>4</sup> After Herzl death at age 44, "His embittered wife died three years later, at the age of 39. His daughter Pauline survived until her thirtieth year, when, a vagrant and a morphine addict, she expired in Bordeaux. His son Hans, uncircumcised and not a bar mitzvah either, dealt with his Jewish burdens by becoming in turn Baptist, Catholic, Lutheran, Unitarian and Quaker before returning to Judaism. When the news came that Pauline had died, he blew his brains out just in time to be buried with her in the same coffin. Hans and Pauline's younger sister, Trude, survived, but lived for almost a quarter century of her life in a Vienna psychiatric hospital; in 1942, the Nazis transferred all of its patients to the Theresienstadt concentration camp, where she died the following year. Her son, Stephen, Herzl's only grandchild, jumped off the Massachusetts Avenue bridge in Washington, D.C., in 1946" (Peretz, 1997:5).