

Exile and Return

The Emergence of Jewish Statehood

Martin Gilbert (1978)

Weidenfeld and Nicolson

Contents

List of Maps	ix
List of Illustrations	x
Preface	xi
Part One: Israel Dispersed <i>An Historical Survey</i>	
1 Israel Dispersed	3
2 Medieval Persecutions, Flight and Hope	13
3 Sixty Years of Ferment, 1815-1875	26
4 The Russian Cauldron, 1875-1891	35
5 'A Great and Beautiful Cause', 1891-1897	44
6 'A Flag and an Idea', 1898-1905	52
7 'Jerusalem Must be the Only Ultimate Goal', 1906-1914	66
Part Two: From National Home to Sovereign State <i>A Documentary Study</i>	
8 Zionism and the First Two Years of War, 1914-1916	79
9 The Evolution of the Balfour Declaration, 1917	92
10 Hopes and Promises, 1917-1919	109
11 'A National Idea of a Commanding Character', 1919-1921	119
12 The Palestine Mandate Secured, 1921-1922	135
13 Persecutions, Riots and Refugees, 1923-1933	149
14 'Formidable in Action... Strong in Restraint', 1933-1937	160
15 Jewish Hopes and Arab Pressures, 1937	178
16 Jewish Hopes and British Appeasement, 1938	195
17 'The Violation of the Pledge', January-June 1939	216
18 Towards the Abyss, July-December 1939	236
19 Beyond the Abyss, 1939-1942	252
20 Holocaust, Resistance and Flight	258
21 Closing the Door, 'Justice' and Revolt, 1945-1946	272
Epilogue: The Coming of Jewish Statehood, 1947-1948	297
Careers after 1948	310
List of Archival Sources	312
Bibliography	325
Index	333

List of Maps

Map 1 The First Jewish Dispersions	page 4
Map 2 The 'Western' Diaspora in Roman Times	8
Map 3 Jewish Medieval Expulsions	10
Map 4 The Black Death Riots, 1347-1350	14
Map 5 The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain, Portugal, Sicily and Sardinia, 1492-1497	16
Map 6 The Jews of Palestine Under Byzantine and Muslim Rule	18
Map 7 The Ukrainian Massacres, 1648-1650	23
Map 8 The 'Hep! Hep!' Riots of 1819	30
Map 9 The Jewish Pale of Settlement in Russia	37
Map 10 The Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Tsarist Russia	63
Map 11 Jewish Farms and Villages in Palestine by 1914	67
Map 12 Arab Attacks on Jewish Settlements before 1914	75
Map 13 Britain's Promise to the Arabs, 1915	88
Map 14 The Sykes-Picot Agreement, 1916	90
Map 15 The British Advance into Palestine, 1917	94
Map 16 Britain and the Palestine Mandate	147
Map 17 The Peel Commission Plan, 1937	181
Map 18 The Proposed Jewish State: A Territorial Comparison	183
Map 19 Concentration Camps in Germany by 1938	213
Map 20 Routes of the 'Illegal' Immigrants Before the War	224
Map 21 Jewish and Arab Immigration into Palestine Between the Wars	231

Map 22 Restrictions on Jewish Land Purchase, 1940 248
 Map 23 The Fate of the Jews of Russia, 1941-1945 254
 Map 24 The Concentration Camps 263
 Map 25 Jewish Revolts Against the Nazis, 1942-1945 266
 Map 26 The Jewish Death Toll, 1939-1945 277
 Map 27 Routes of the 'Illegal' Immigrants, 1945-1948 277
 Map 28 The United Nations Partition Plan of November 1947 305

Back cover

'... the solution of the Jewish difficulty is the recognition of Jews as a people, and the finding by them of a legally recognized home, to which Jews in those parts of the world in which they are oppressed would naturally migrate, for they would arrive there as citizens just because they are Jews, and not as aliens.

Given to Jews their rightful position as a people, I am convinced they would develop a distinct Jewish culture -national characteristics and national aspirations - which would make for the progress of mankind.'

Theodor Herzl speaking to the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, 7 July 1902

'The terrible news emerging daily from Russia, the menacing sword suspended over all our people in general and our dear ones in particular, the stifling atmosphere of decay and ignorance prevailing here - all this makes life unbearable sometimes, and on occasions one's power of resistance refuses to function. When will it all be over ? When shall we have a single calm day, a single happy hour?'

Chaim Weizmann to his wife, from England, 22 June 1906

'Never have we lost faith in the conscience of mankind. Always we shall demand of the world what is justly ours. But morning and evening, day in and day out, we must remind ourselves that our existence, our freedom and our future are in our own hands. Our own exertions, our own capacity, our own will, they are the key.'

David Ben-Gurion Prime Minister of Israel Speaking on 19 May 1948

Flyleaf

Since Israel's foundation in 1948, her existence has been attacked in many ways: in four wars, in propaganda onslaughts, and in repeated denials of her right to exist at all as a sovereign Jewish state.

In *Exile and Return*, Martin Gilbert examines some of the crucial, and controversial, aspects of the roots and rights of Jewish statehood. He describes how Israel came into being, looks at her historical roots, and examines the arguments for her being a specifically *Jewish* state. Using many documents which have not been published before - the result of his wide researches both in Britain and in Israel - he explores the development of Zionism, the evolution of the Balfour Declaration, refugee policy in both Whitehall and Washington, the impact of the Second World War, and the predominant part played by British policy-makers in the emergence of the new state. The Jewish search for a secure haven, for dignity, and for independence, was a fierce struggle in every generation. Persecution was ever-present, culminating in the horrors of the Holocaust. Promises were made, and then broken; hopes were raised, only to be dashed. In this major new study, Martin Gilbert highlights the turning points, the prejudices, the moments of deception, and the terrible anguish which led to the birth of the State of Israel.

With eight pages of photographs and twenty-eight maps

Martin Gilbert was born in 1936. After doing his National Service, he graduated from Magdalen College, Oxford, and was subsequently a Senior Research Scholar at St Antony's College, Oxford. In 1962 he became a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and in 1968 was appointed to complete the official biography of Sir Winston Churchill, of which he has now published three narrative volumes and six volumes of documents. His other books include *The Appeasers* (with Richard Gott), *The European Powers 1900-1945*, *The Fools of Appeasement*, and *Sir Horace Rumbold: Portrait of a Diplomat*. He has also compiled a series of historical atlases which include five on Jewish themes: *the Jewish History Atlas*, *Jerusalem: Illustrated History Atlas*, *The Jews of Arab Lands: Their History in Maps*, *The Jews of Russia: Their History in Maps and Photographs* and *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Its History in Maps*.

