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## Preface

This volume is in honor of Professor Sergio DellaPergola upon his retirement from teaching at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Its contents—fifteen original papers by Prof. DellaPergola’s students and scholars who worked with him at the Hebrew University and academic institutions abroad—cover a broad spectrum of topics in Jewish demography and identity, focusing on Diaspora communities and the population of Israel.

Prof. DellaPergola was born in 1942 in Trieste, Italy. When he was one year old, his family was displaced and moved to Switzerland. At the end of World War II, they returned to Italy and settled in Milan. DellaPergola completed his graduate studies in Political Science at the University of Pavia and immigrated to Israel in 1966. His doctoral dissertation, on the demography of Italian Jewry, was written between 1966 and 1973 under the supervision of the late Professor Roberto Bachi. He was a full-time member of the academic staff of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University for nearly four decades (1973–2010), directed the Institute’s Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics from 1986 onward, and served three terms as head of the Institute. DellaPergola has been a visiting scholar in many academic institutions around the world, including Brown University, UCLA, the University of Illinois at Chicago, INED, the University of Pavia, and the University of Milan, to name only a few. He served as senior demographic consultant to the President of Israel, the Israeli Government, the Jerusalem Municipality, major Jewish communities in the Diaspora, and many

major national and international organizations. His achievements have earned him several prizes, including the Marshall Sklare Award for distinguished achievement from the Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry (1999), and the Landau Prize in recognition of his outstanding achievements and contribution for the field of demography and migration (2013).

DellaPergola's studies are exceptionally comprehensive, spanning fields as diverse as historical demography, family, international migration, spatial dispersion, Jewish identification, and population projections. They are typically comparative, bridging different eras and communities. As such, they demand systematic data collection and attempts to achieve data uniformity. His Jewish case studies are set in the general social, cultural, and political contexts of the country under investigation and the Jews' status as a religio-ethnic minority (in the Diaspora) or a majority (in Israel). Concepts and terminologies developed by DellaPergola have become de rigueur in all scientific discussions on Jewish demography and sociology. His crystal-clear, accessible writing style makes the reading of numbers fascinating.

Prof. DellaPergola is an outstanding teacher and devoted mentor. His ideas and guidance have always served his students as essential building blocks in the formation of a broad outlook on social science relating to Jews—tools and perspectives that continue to accompany them in their scientific endeavors. He is a dear and affable colleague, with whom collaboration is always fruitful and productive. Everyone whom we approached to contribute an article to this volume responded in the affirmative with deep appreciation and respect for him. It is our hope that Prof. DellaPergola will be pleased to see these new scholarly works, the fruit of his students' and close colleagues' labor, collected and published in a special volume dedicated to him. We are confident that this book will enrich the corpus of knowledge on contemporary Jewish demography and identity.

The book is structured in five parts. After a salutation by the senior demographer Sidney Goldstein, Part A concerns itself with historical demography: Gur Alroey compares Jewish migration to the United States at the turn of the twentieth century with that to Palestine, and Orly Meron analyzes the 1920 Greek census, along with complementary archival data, providing insights into the sociodemographic profile of the Jewish population as against the non-Jewish population as well as

of subethnic hierarchies within given Jewish sectors. In Part B, on history and politics, the first essay, by David Miron, investigates the public relations that accompanied the United States' Great Society initiative in the mid-1960s. Miron reveals how President Lyndon B. Johnson used the Great Society to leverage the introduction of new immigration legislation, thus fostering a new historical narrative that could deal with the problems that arose in the American economy and society during the 1960s. Manuela Consonni makes use of two historical events that serve as poles of identity references—the Eichmann Trial and the Six-Day War—to rethread the history of the dichotomy embodied in the self-image of Jewish anti-Fascism and Jewish “neo-Fascism,” the impact of which continues to affect the way Jews perceive themselves and are perceived by others. Part C, on immigration and immigrant adaptation, starts with a piece by Erik Cohen,<sup>1</sup> who examines Jewish migration from France to Israel with specific focus on French Jews who work in the legal and medical professions. Mark Tolts discusses the dynamics of marriage, fertility, and mortality among former Soviet immigrants in Israel in comparison with the characteristics of Soviet Jews at the onset of mass emigration to Israel in the 1990s and in view of the demographic changes experienced by Jews who remained in the former Soviet Union. Viacheslav Konstantinov also looks at Soviet immigrants in Israel, especially those with higher education, revealing their professional mobility and its determinants.

In Part D, on transnationalism, Judit Bokser Liwerant analyzes central aspects of the relocation of Latin American Jewish life to the United States amid recurring cycles of integration and distinctiveness. Lilach Lev Ari addresses gender differences in the motives for voluntary return migration among emigrants from Israel and their re-assimilation into their country of origin. Israel Pupko describes the day-to-day practices of North American and European transnational immigrants to Israel. In Part E, on demography and identity, Shlomit Levy investigates the importance that Israeli Jews attributed to Jewish identification and a variety of Jewish precepts as guiding principles in life; Paulette Kershenovich Schuster explores the complex relationships between Syrian Jewish women in Mexico City and their

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<sup>1</sup> Regrettably, Erik Cohen passed away in Jerusalem shortly before this book went to press.

## Preface

household help; and Uzi Rebhun uses data from the 2008 Israeli census to examine the levels, directions, and determinants of Jewish internal migration, paying special attention to the interplay between individual characteristics and area-contextual factors. This section also includes a Research Note by Ilana Zigler that sheds light on the considerations that affect the process of family growth and an additional child among married women in Israel.

We wish to thank Ms. Judith Even, chief librarian at the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics for many years, for her devoted editorial work on the articles in this book; and Ms. Dalia Sagi, Prof. DellaPergola's long-time research assistant, for her assistance in readying the manuscript for press.

Jerusalem, August 2014  
E. L., U. R.

# **Sergio DellaPergola's Contributions to Jewish Demography: An Appreciation**

Sidney Goldstein

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When I visited Israel for the first time in 1966, Jerusalem was still a divided city. This did not prevent a trip to what was then the new campus of The Hebrew University at Givat Ram and its Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics (hereafter: DJDS), then headed by the world's most distinguished Jewish statistician/demographer, Professor Roberto Bachi, z'l. I visited him and the Institute of Contemporary Jewry to discuss my recent experience in applying my own demographic expertise to the study of American Jewry. In 1963, I had directed a comprehensive study of the Jewish population of Greater Providence, Rhode Island, relying on recently developed methods for identifying the Jews living among Rhode Island's one million residents. I used my visit to Jerusalem to share my experience with Prof. Bachi and to benefit by the advice he generously offered in connection with my hope of extending my research to other American communities, and eventually to the American Jewish population as a whole.

One of the most valuable outcomes of my interaction with Prof. Bachi was the opportunity it provided to meet a young man then becoming involved in the work of the DJDS—Sergio DellaPergola. He had recently made aliyah from Italy, after completing his M.A. in Political Science at the Università degli Studi Pavia. I was greatly impressed by Sergio's strong command of demography and his commitment to Jewish population questions. This initial contact marked the beginning of a long, and for me, rewarding friendship and professional interaction that extended over the next half century. Indeed, it was clear by the time he completed his PhD in demography at Hebrew University in 1974, under

Prof. Bachi's mentorship, that Sergio would, like Prof. Bachi, become a leading demographer of Jews, not only in Israel but worldwide.

Soon after Sergio completed his degree, I had the good fortune to work with him at my home university, Brown, where he held an appointment as a Visiting Research Associate for 1978-79. That was the first of his many overseas professional visits designed to deepen his command of demographic analysis and research. Such visits included stays at institutions in Italy, France, and several universities in the United States. The long list testifies to the international recognition that Sergio gained between completing his PhD and his retirement four decades later as the preeminent demographer of Jews. It manifests his continuing eagerness to broaden not only his command of the methods and contents of demography but also of the related social science disciplines which he has used so effectively in his research and writing. It also attests to the worldwide recognition of Sergio's expertise, as well as his contributions to the knowledge of colleagues with whom he worked while holding these visiting appointments.

While his research is an outstanding feature of Sergio's contribution to Jewish demography, one cannot overlook the crucial role he has played in training younger generations of students, both in Israel and around the world. In addition to the dozen or more universities and institutions in the United States at which he has taught, Sergio's teaching experience includes Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Spain, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Romania, Russia, Slovenia, the Ukraine, and South Africa—a truly "United Nations" of countries. The knowledge these students (Jewish and non-Jewish alike) gained from Sergio's mastery of Jewish population studies and their relevance to the local culture, politics, and the general demographic situation undoubtedly contributed much to their further research careers.

Furthermore, between most of those overseas visits, Sergio held a number of responsible and leading positions at his home university, including Chair of the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry (ICJ), and, in 1986, Head of the DJDS, succeeding Prof. Uziel O. Schmelz, whose worthy successor Sergio became. Because of Sergio's worldwide experience and expertise as a demographer of the Jews, in 2003 he was appointed Senior Fellow and Project head of The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute (JPPPI), organized by the Jewish Agency, to deal with policy issues faced by Jewish communities in the western nations and

world Jewry as a whole, as they confronted problems associated with population decline, low fertility, aging populations, and mobility across and within countries. JPPPI's choice of leader reflected its realization that confronting problems of policy planning on this scale required an expert like Sergio, who was already so familiar with the internal and international situations faced by Jewish communities around the world. Indeed, this recognition was reinforced by the prestigious awards given Sergio by the Italian government, and in 1999 by the distinguished Marshall Sklare Award of the Association for the Scientific Study of Jewry.

As indicated, one purpose of my 1966 visit with Prof. Bachi was to explore ways in which I could be helpful in furthering the study of the Jewish population of the United States. Prof. Bachi believed strongly that because the Jewish population of the US was the largest of any country, there was an intense need to undertake a national study of the American Jewish population. With Prof. Bachi's encouragement, and realizing that the 1970 National Jewish Population Study had encountered serious difficulties in successfully completing and analyzing its data, I accepted the Council of Jewish Federation's (CJF) invitation to become chair of its newly established National Technical Advisory Committee on Jewish Population Studies (NTAC). Its key initial purpose was to try to rescue the 1970 survey results and to pursue analysis of the data. Secondly, it sought to develop, for the future use of the national community and individual US communities, high standards and comparability in questionnaire design, sampling procedures, and concept definitions. In carrying out my role as chair of NTAC, I conferred frequently with Prof. Bachi and also had occasion to consult with Sergio. In doing so, I was impressed by the important insights that Sergio shared with me on the issues at hand.

Beginning in the late 1970s, Prof. Bachi vigorously advocated for a series of national censuses of Jews around the world, which would, of course, include the United States. Inspired by this, I proposed to the leaders of CJF that it sponsor a 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, taking into account the recommendations generated by the NTAC. CJF agreed to do so and launched efforts to fund it. In view of the proposed survey, the membership of the NTAC was reconstituted to take into account the kind of expertise necessary to make the careful decisions that would avoid the shortcomings of the 1970 Survey. With this in mind,

a leading candidate to be added to the committee was Sergio. Having had experience advising on a number of national surveys, his skills regarding design and implementation would be invaluable in decisions related to the sample design chosen for NJPS 1990, as well as concerns about questionnaire design and concept definitions. Indeed, Sergio's presence on the 1990 NTAC contributed greatly to the success of the survey and eventually to its broad exploitation for analytic purposes. The favorable impressions I had developed since I first met Sergio in 1966 were strengthened during the course of the 1990 Survey. His incisive input proved a major asset to the final success of NJPS 1990 and eventually to the planning for NJPS 2000.

Sergio's extensive and comprehensive array of research projects encompasses such a range of topics and subjects that a brief review such as this cannot attempt a complete inventory of them or a summary of all their contents. They demonstrate his invaluable contribution to our understanding and evaluation of the dynamics and impact of demographic change (growth, fertility, mortality, distribution in space and socio-economic structure and ethnic stratification) on Jewish populations in Israel, North America, Latin America and Europe as well as on world trends.

When leading demographers in countries around the world need to document key issues and facts related to the demography of the Jews, their first source is usually the body of research authored by Sergio. There are few aspects of Jewish demography and related concerns—from the impact of the Holocaust and anti-semitism to projections and future trends—that have not been treated scientifically and thoroughly by Sergio. Because of the leadership and guidance he has given to the DJDS since 1986, it has become one of the world's leading demographic centers—as envisioned by Prof. Bachi in the 1950s.

For all of his contributions, I wish to express a hearty “well done” (*yasher ko'ach*) to Sergio upon his retirement. We all know that we can count on him to continue his contributions worldwide and we will benefit from all the rich insights that he will yet provide on the demographic situation in Israel and in countries with Jewish populations.

Part A

# **Historical Demography**

# **Jewish Immigration to Palestine and the United States, 1905-1925: A Socio-Demographic Analysis**

Gur Alroey

*University of Haifa*

## **Introduction**

Between 1881 and 1914 over two and a half million Jews emigrated from Eastern Europe. The great majority of these migrants arrived in the United States and the rest of them, in much smaller numbers, settled in England, Argentina, Canada, South Africa, Australia, and Palestine (among other destination countries). The resettlement of these Jewish immigrants in countries far afield from Eastern Europe radically changed the demographic map of the Jewish people and had wide ramifications for the economic, social, and cultural aspects of Jewish life in the modern world. The historical literature on the subject—especially American Jewish historiography—has long recognized the crucial importance of these events, and many studies have dealt with the causes of Jewish migration and the patterns of absorption and integration of the migrants within the new majority society (Howe 1977; Sorin 1992; Lederhendler 2009).

Zionist historiography, on the other hand, has almost ignored the mass Jewish migration from Eastern Europe to the west; only a handful of studies in Hebrew offer the Israeli reader an account of the epic event that the mass exodus to the United States represents (Gartner 1982; Lederhendler 2000). Rather, Zionist historiography has emphasized Jewish immigration to Palestine as a special and unique phenomenon: an epic in its own terms that seems (to judge by most Zionist histories) to have occurred almost independently, motivated and conditioned by its own separate set of circumstances. The implied distinction between “mere” migration, on the one hand, and Palestine resettlement, on the

other, has been based on a rhetorical distinction between “quality” and “quantity.” The limited number of migrants who had preferred the Land of Israel over America (or other western destination countries) seemed to Zionist writers to indicate that these were exceptional people and that theirs was an exceptional kind of migration (Halamish 2006: 12). Typically, studies that took this position also remained fairly narrowly focused on the Yishuv and the Zionist Movement, and laid great stress on the idealistic groups that came to the country with the well-coordinated purpose of settlement and nation-building. The guiding idea behind this type of literature seems to have been that mass migration to the west could be taken for granted, whereas migration to Palestine demanded close analysis and explanation.

The period of large-scale East European Jewish migration (1881-1914) is typically divided, in Zionist parlance, into two sub-periods: the First Aliyah (1882-1903) and the Second Aliyah (1904-1914). Immigrants (olim) who arrived in these two immigration waves (aliyot) have been designated in the popular Zionist rendition as pioneering founding fathers—a veritable “pillar of fire” leading the Israelite camp in a nearly biblical mode (Slutzky 1973; Neuman 2009). This blatantly ideological viewpoint is hardly surprising when encountered in popularized national culture; but it comes as some surprise when we discover the extent to which certain ideological assumptions have been uncritically imported into the social sciences, with the result that migration to Palestine has rarely, if ever, been investigated according to the usual standards applied in migration research—such as economic and occupational as well as sex ratio data, all of which are normal avenues of research in the general migration field. Social and cultural research done by social scientists focusing on Zionist developments in pre-state Palestine often deal only with a small and unrepresentative sample: namely, the minority of immigrants who came to Palestine with a Zionist-pioneering ideology. This well-researched sector has often been taken as a proxy for the main body of migrants who came to settle in Palestine at the beginning of the twentieth century. Hence, we find arguments in the research literature that reiterate the formula that migration to Palestine was not undertaken to improve economic or other quality of life conditions, but rather that immigration of Jews into Palestine was of a different, more programmatic nature (Gurevitch, Graetz, and Bachi 1944; Lestchinsky 1945; Bachi 1946; Eisenstadt 1954; Eisenstadt 1967).

It bears noting that the underlying assumptions already outlined have even found their way into discourse in the social sciences stemming from outside the orbit of Israeli academic institutions. For example, Calvin Goldscheider, an American Jewish demographer, explained as follows: “In a time when most of the Jews who migrated from East European countries did so in order to improve their economic situation, the Jews who migrated to Palestine were activated by ideological motivations and national ends” (Goldscheider 1992: 6).

Nonetheless, such assertions have recently been questioned by a number of researchers who point to the resemblances—and not just the distinctions—between migration to the United States and migration to Palestine, and who address immigrant societies in a cross-comparative mode in order to reveal structural and tangible parallels at various levels (Toledano 1999; Alroey 2004; Razi 2009). These newer studies have reduced the importance of ideology as a central factor in migration and stressed other factors—more prosaic ones—that were an inextricable part of the process of departure, arrival, and reintegration. In light of these perspectives, it would seem that among the immigrants to Palestine were some Jews for whom The Land (in capitals) was not necessarily the object of a national teleology or a blank slate upon which to build a model society; rather, these were ordinary men and women whose personal goals were frequently pragmatic.

This is a theme that I have pursued at length in some of my earlier research (Alroey, 2004), and here I will confine myself to a brief comparison between the demographic composition of Jewish immigration into Palestine and the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century. I will explore some of the aspects normally regarded as crucial for international migration research, and I will apply the analysis to two successive periods of time: the first being the decade-and-a-half from the beginning of the twentieth century until the First World War (known in Zionist historiography as the Second Aliyah period), and the second extending from the end of the war until January 1, 1925, when the United States ceased to be an option for most Jews from Eastern Europe seeking a destination country (corresponding to the period of the Third and Fourth Aliyot). It is my contention that the statistical analysis and the comparative point of view will allow us to view the migrant Jewish population to Palestine and its counterpart in the United States as exhibiting certain similar characteristics.

## **Jewish Immigration to Palestine and to the United States, 1905-1914**

### *Sources*

There are three main sources available to historians wishing to analyze the composition of the Jewish immigration that came to Palestine in the years 1905-1914. The first and most important one is the newspaper *Ha-Olam*, the official press organ of the Zionist Organization, which received statistical data from the Zionist information bureau in Odessa and began to publish them regularly in 1910 (*Ha-Olam* 1910: 14-15; 1911; 1913, 1914).<sup>1</sup>

The majority of the immigrants to Palestine passed through the Odessa information bureau and were registered there because this provided a considerable reduction in the price of the voyage. The immigration lists printed in the newspaper *Ha-Olam* therefore provide a great deal of information. One must bear in mind, however, that the data only relate to emigrants leaving from Odessa, and not to all those entering Palestine. Thus, for emigrants leaving from other ports, such as the port of Trieste, we have hardly any data. At the same time, Odessa was the main port for those leaving for Palestine from the Russian Empire, and 23,000 of the 35,000 Jewish immigrants to Palestine in the years 1904-1914 sailed from there. The data in this article, based on those that sailed from the port of Odessa, therefore relate to two thirds of the Jewish immigrants to Palestine in those years.

However, there is another source from which we can take the measure of Jewish immigrants who entered Palestine through the port of Jaffa in the years 1912-1914, and that is the records of Haim Ridnik, an official of the Palestine Office. The tables and lists he drew up are preserved in the Central Zionist Archives, and some of them were published in the journal *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir* (Ridnik 1912). In an article published in that journal entitled "The Hebrew Immigration via Jaffa in the Year 1912,"

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<sup>1</sup> In 1910, *Ha-Olam* for the first time published the data for 1905-1909, and from 1910 onwards it published data regularly each year. *Ha-Olam* did not publish the data for 1914, but they can be found in the lists of the Odessa information bureau in the CZA, Ussishkin's personal archive, 54/2, A24. These lists only reveal the number of immigrants who left for Palestine from Odessa and their distribution according to age and gender.

Ridnik wrote a little about himself and about the reasons he came to deal with matters of immigration when he reached the port of Jaffa:

For three years now, I have been dealing with the Hebrew immigrants entering the country via Jaffa. In this period, I have seen many rises and falls in the numbers of those entering into the country, and the same applies to the numbers of those leaving it. In reading the many newspapers in this country and abroad on the development of our Yishuv, I became aware of how little idea our newspapers and communal workers have of the rise or decrease of the population in the country. [...] They have no true or even approximately true idea of the numbers of those entering and leaving, or of their age, occupation, capital, etc. [...] Obtaining this information under local conditions requires a great deal of time and work which are not within the capacity of the ordinary person. Rousing myself [to the task], I took it upon myself nevertheless to achieve a small part of this objective (Ibid.: 11)

Ridnik, who was in Jaffa, met the immigrants who came from Odessa, Trieste, and other places and conducted lists of both those who entered and those who left. This is what Ridnik wrote about his methods of work:

In publishing the following numbers, I feel it is my duty to preface them with certain observations:

1. One must realize that they come from a private source and do not have the exactitude of statistics such as those provided by customs officials in all [other] countries. 2. I have registered the people coming from abroad on all the ships in various ways: through a careful questioning of the immigrants themselves, through an examination of the documents they presented, by investigating the ship-owners and hotel proprietors. I have sometimes used several methods simultaneously, and used one method to achieve what is lacking in another [...]

4. In my questioning, I did not enter into many details, and I confined myself solely to questions concerning the family situation of the immigrant and his intention of going to or leaving the place he is asking about. (Ibid.)

A comparison between Ridnik's lists and those of the Zionist information bureau in Odessa reveals certain differences between them. The number of passengers who left for Palestine from Odessa was greater than the number who entered it, according to Ridnik, even though he included those coming from several other ports, in addition to those

who sailed from Odessa. There could be various explanations for this discrepancy: First, Ridnik worked alone, without assistants, and it is very possible that he was unable to document the data of all immigrants who entered the country. Second, from the time the passengers left Odessa, it was not clear who continued to Jaffa and who left the ship at one of several stops along the way (such as Beirut or Haifa). Similarly, Ridnik had no information about passengers who disembarked at Jaffa and had no information about passengers who might have sailed to Egypt and then proceeded to Palestine by train. It is also possible that some immigrants were wary of identifying themselves to an unknown person immediately upon entering the country and therefore refused to furnish him with information.

Despite the discrepancy between Ridnik's lists and other statistical sources, it should be pointed out that, as we shall see, there were quite a few points of similarity between them, especially in their analyses of the immigrants' profiles and the distribution of the migrant population among various social and occupational categories. From both the Odessa information bureau and Haim Ridnik's lists one receives a fairly accurate picture of the Jewish immigrants who came to Palestine between 1905 and 1914.

A third but somewhat unreliable source of data on the social profile of immigrants to Palestine is the partial lists of passengers who sailed from the port of Trieste in the years 1912-1914. Because these lists of names were drawn up for only a few months of the years in question, it is hard to draw firm conclusions from them about all Jewish immigrants to Palestine, most of whom hailed from Galicia, who took this route at the end of the pre-1914 stage. At the same time, they can be used to help estimate the number of immigrants who arrived in the country during that period and to gain an idea of their reasons for coming.

### *How Many Came?*

We do not have exact figures for Jewish immigration to Palestine in the period before the First World War. Mark Wischnitzer, who is considered a fairly authoritative observer, suggested two different assessments for immigration to Palestine in the years 1904-1914. One conservative estimate suggested a total of about 18,000 to 19,000 souls, and a more liberal estimate, based on the data cited by Jacob Lestschinsky,

put the number as high as 30,000 (Wischnitzer 1948: 133). Aryeh Tartakower agreed with Lestschinsky's estimate, and wrote, "Although we do not have exact figures ... the conjecture closest to the truth is that in the years 1904-1914 between 30,000 and 35,000 people arrived in Palestine" (Tartakower 1947: 15). All three—Wischnitzer, Lestschinsky, and Tartakower—were well known for their knowledge of Jewish migration patterns worldwide.

A somewhat more generous estimate (35,000—40,000) is given in a more recent study (Gurevitch, Gertz, and Bachi 1994: 21) It appears, however, that Tartakower and Lestschinsky accord more closely with the data of the Odessa information bureau and Ridnik's lists.

The limited information that we have on emigrants who embarked from Trieste shows that in the years 1912-1914, an average of eighty to one hundred people left for Palestine each month. That is to say, the number of emigrants who took this route from Galicia to Palestine did not exceed 1,200 a year. According to this estimate, a total of between 10,000 and 11,000 immigrants might have arrived in Palestine from Trieste during the whole prewar period. Together with the 22,953 who arrived from Odessa, the total number of immigrants was about 31,000-33,000.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, the figure we will employ is a total of 30-35,000 for the decade preceding the outbreak of World War I.

Figure 1 depicts the waves of immigration to Palestine and the United States and reveals a similarity between them. The years 1905-1906 were peak years for immigration to both countries; in 1907-1909, however, there was a decline in the rate of immigration to the United States, but there was an increase in immigration to Palestine. The financial panic in the United States in 1907 may have prompted the relative decline in the number of immigrants choosing to head to America at that time, and that might have increased the share of immigration going to other destinations, such as Palestine and Argentina. When the United States recovered from its economic crisis in 1910, the number of US-bound immigrants began to increase, and the share of those going to Palestine and

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<sup>2</sup> On those sailing from Trieste, see CZA, L2, file 141 and file 84. It should be pointed out that these numbers do not include immigrants from Yemen and Salonika, who did not come to Palestine for the same reasons, and who should not be seen in the historical context of the mass-migration of the Jews from Eastern Europe. For this reason, we have not discussed them in this work.

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