Introduction

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This book is a historiographic attempt, the first of its kind, to draw a comprehensive worldwide historical picture of women in the Jewish national movement named Zionism. These women, like their male counterparts, were active, albeit in a different way, in the efforts to "establish a national home in Palestine [*Eretz Yisrael*] for the Jewish people…."[1] Their narrative is addressed here for the period between the First Zionist Congress in 1897, which officially founded the movement, and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

Throughout this book, the terms *Eretz Yisrael*, the Land of Israel, and Palestine are used interchangeably as synonyms. Note, however, that "Palestine" refers to Ottoman and British Mandatory Palestine.

Zionism, an international movement, originated in late nineteenth-century Europe, where a large part of the Jewish people lived. It differed from other national movements in Europe and other parts of the world as it faced a combination of unusual circumstances—among them: having no territory, with its population being dispersed throughout the world, and with no common spoken language. In addition it faced antisemitism in various versions and at differing levels of intensity. Initially, Zionism did not seek emancipation from a conqueror, nor did it have a territorial center in which most of its people were living—as was the case with the Czechs, Irish, Indians, and others. Even on the eve of the establishment of Israel, when the *Yishuv* (the pre-State Jewish community in Palestine) was demographically at its height, it consisted of only 650,000 Jews out of a total worldwide Jewish population of 11,373,350.[2]

As a result, the women active in this worldwide movement were scattered, with no common territory, language, or culture. Deep divisions of

background, mentality, and education existed between them. Judaism, a common historical memory, ethnic ties, and a sense of Jewish solidarity were their only common denominators.

Zionist history has been studied intensively for a few generations from many aspects, within various schools of thought, and from differing viewpoints. However, general comprehensive studies on Zionism have, up to now, scarcely addressed women Zionists; some examples are David Vital's classic three-volume history of the Zionist Movement (1975–87),[3] the Hebrew collection of articles *Hatsiyonut Le'azoria* (published 2010), which included twenty-five articles by the best-established historians of the time, yet scarcely mentioned women. Surprisingly, almost the same is true for the recently published *Routledge Handbook on Zionism* (2024), which contains thirty-five articles by leading contemporary researchers on the subject. Indeed, it does contain three articles in a section on "Women in Zion," but there is nothing about women outside of *Eretz Yisrael*.[4] The same is true as for other remarkable scholarly works published during the previous and current decades.[5]

It is a lacuna in Zionist historiography reflected in the paucity of scholarship exploring Zionist women, apart from two centers, albeit very important ones: the *Yishuv* and the United States. Such scholarship is essential for understanding important ideological approaches and practices, as well as other elements that can create a more complex and comprehensive Zionist narrative, differing from the current one.

The study of women's history and gender during the last few decades has encouraged the study of the topic in the *Yishuv* and Israel.[6] A smaller research focus addressed American women Zionists and led to studies about Hadassah, the Mizrachi Women's Organization of America (now AMIT), and other Zionist women's organizations.[7] In addition, there are studies of prominent individual women Zionists such as Henrietta Szold, Ada Fishman Maimon, Hannah (Mania) Maisel-Shochat, Vera Weizmann,[8] and a few Austrian Zionist women.[9] Many of the individual women featured in these studies were from the *Yishuv*; while those from the Diaspora have received much less attention, often focused on their various activities during the Holocaust. Examples are Gizi Fleischman of WIZO Czechoslovakia,[10] and Hélène Cazès Ben-Attar in Morocco.[11] A number of studies explored women Zionists in Germany,[12] and there is an outdated study about women Zionists in Galicia (a historical area whose Western part is now in Poland and the eastern part in Ukraine), but none about those in the Russian Empire.[13] About 5 million Jews were living in the vast area of the Pale of Settlement*—the largest single segment of the Jewish people at the inception of Zionism.[14]

In general, though, there is little research about the women's role in the Zionist movement outside Palestine and the United States. The activities, sources of influence and inspiration, types of organization, ideologists, and strategies of women Zionists in other countries have been neglected by Zionist historians.[15]

As a result of this state of the field, we know little about women Zionists in the major Jewish centers in Europe—the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires—in which most of world Jewry was living at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. The same is true for Poland, which had the largest Jewish community in Europe during the interwar period. Nor has there been an extensive examination of women's Zionist activities in non-European regions, such as South America, North Africa, and the Union of South Africa.[16]

Women Zionists in most areas of the world, then, are either not included in the Zionist historiographical narrative or have barely been studied and are therefore largely unknown. As women comprised a significant and active part of the Zionist movement, their absence from current Zionist historiography presents an incomplete and unbalanced historical picture.

We therefore seek to widen the Zionist narrative to include some of the unknown or at least lesser-known parts played by women, and thus present a broader, more complex and comprehensive view of what Zionism was all about.

The thirteen chapters of this volume address Zionist women and women's Zionist organizations from the inception of Zionism in the final quarter of the nineteenth century up to the founding of Israel in 1948. They deal both with those women who were central to Zionist activity, such as those active in the Russian and the Polish Zionist movements, those that lived in countries in which Zionism was weaker, and those functioning in the Middle East and North Africa, which were considered marginal by the Zionist movement up to the middle of World War II. Although the chapters concentrate on separate Zionist arenas, many of their conclusions are relevant for the entire Zionist movement. Thus, they shed a new light on the ensemble of ideological and practical influences that impacted on the Zionist movement, such as feminism and the inclusion of strategies used by other women's organizations, both Jewish and non-Jewish.

Was there a "women's Zionism" in the sense that there was "socialist Zionism" and "religious Zionism"? Did women develop special Zionist ideologies that differed from male led Zionism? What influenced them outside of the male-led Zionist movement? Were they engaged

in activities that differed from those of Zionist men? How did women Zionists view their role in the movement and the Zionist project, and did they perceive their roles as different from those of their male counterparts? In what areas did women *not* take part, and why? In what ways did their activities complement those of male Zionists, and/or did they compete with them? What were the strategies by which women struggled to pave their own paths in the male-led Zionist movement in order to gain influence and power?[17] These are some of the salient questions that we pose throughout this collected volume.

Women's Zionist organizations in the Diaspora, founded as a strategy to increase their power within the Zionist movement, represented the major collective effort of Zionist women outside the *Yishuv*. Apart from discussing young women in youth movements and Zionist women in the Russian Empire, the volume focuses on women's organizations but does not discuss women who were active in male-led Zionist organizations. This is a subject for other studies that will hopefully emerge. As a rule, women's individual Zionist activity, although addressed in a few cases is not the topic of the current volume.

Most of the major Zionist women's organizations developed out of women's local associations that sprang up worldwide, including in the Middle East and North Africa, after the First Zionist Congress (1897). The two leading organizations were WIZO, the world's largest women's Zionist organization on the eve of World War II, and the slightly smaller Hadassah, operating in the United States. Both are discussed in depth in three chapters (WIZO, chapter 7, and Hadassah, chapters 9 and 10). As an international Zionist organization with federations worldwide, WIZO is discussed in other chapters as well.

Other little-known women's Zionist organizations are also examined. A major question that arises is the influence of the growing feminist movements, particularly in Europe, on women's Zionist activism. European feminist activism intensified in the first decades of the twentieth century, and even more so in the aftermath of World War I. It was very influential not only in Western and Central Europe but also within the multinational Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires, in which national and ethnic groups strove for independence, attracting women activists to the various national movements.

Hence, this volume is innovative as it explores women Zionists, a theme that has been scarcely researched outside the *Yishuv* and the United States. In addition, there is no other work that encompasses such broad geographic areas or varied Jewish communities (Ashkenazi*, Sephardi*, and others). The panoramic outcome not only allows us to

increase our understanding on one Zionist group or another, but gives a broad comparative dimension which provides the opportunity to draw comprehensive conclusions regarding the women participating in the Zionist movement and for the Zionist movement in general.

Methodology

The book is comparative by nature, inasmuch as its chapters deal with different groups of Zionist women in various Jewish communities throughout the world. It is written primarily from the historical viewpoint, utilizing worldwide archival and other historical primary sources, as well as women's life stories found in autobiographies, memoirs, diaries, letters, and interviews.

As it is imperative to understand the context before analyzing the text, both this introduction and the various chapters include brief historical backgrounds, particularly in the more peripheral centers of the Zionist movement such as Argentina, the Middle East, and North Africa.

As the Zionist movement was international, its study requiring a broad knowledge of history, cultures, and languages of vastly differing regions, no single author can write such a book alone. Nine different scholars (three of whom have contributed more than one chapter) are specialists on a particular Jewish community. Some are specialists of women's and gender studies of the particular region addressed in their chapter.

The uniqueness of this book is therefore not only in its content, but also the fact that it is the work of researchers who ourselves represent a variety of cultural outlooks. We include Israelis, an American (originally from Argentina), a French scholar, and two Germans. This diversity enriches the variety of viewpoints.

The volume is also an attempt to address a field that has been studied very little thus far—women in (Diaspora) Zionism— although it does not pretend to encompass the whole Jewish world. It discusses major Jewish communities spread worldwide, but specifically within the Russian Empire, Galicia, Poland, Germany, France, the United States, Argentina, Iraq, Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia.

As previously noted, the period under discussion is from 1897, the year in which the Zionist movement was formally established, until the founding of the State of Israel in 1948. The Israeli period began a new era in the history of Zionism and therefore deserves a separate volume.

Structure

Chapters are arranged according to geographic areas and divided into four regions: Eastern Europe, Central and Western Europe, the Americas, and Middle East and North Africa.

The largest number of Zionist supporters up to World War I lived in Eastern Europe, within the Russian Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The two empires had swallowed up historical Polish–Lithuanian Jewry since the three partitions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the eighteenth century. The largest Jewish population at the time, and the largest in the modern era, lived in the Russian Empire, which according to an official Russian population census in 1897 numbered 5.2 million Jews.[18] European ideas, among them nationalist ideas, penetrated Jewish society. The major Zionist ideologists lived in the Russian Empire as well.[19]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the multinational and transnational Austro-Hungarian Empire boasted a very substantial Jewish population of more than 2 million.[20] In the areas of Galicia, Bukovina (today divided between Romania and Ukraine), Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary, Jews lived among Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, and others. National groups in these areas crystallized as nations and demanded national rights within the multinational empire.

With the collapse of those empires after World War I, Jews became residents of national states that were rebuilt on their ruins.

Part I of the book is devoted to this highly important area for Zionism. It contains five chapters discussing various aspects of women's Zionism there from the end of the nineteenth century. The first two chapters, written by historian Tamar Shechter, are pioneering chapters that address a very important Zionist group at the beginning of the movement; her insights are vital for understanding women Zionists in the Russian Empire in general, as well as a very important pioneering Zionist women's group. The two chapters explore the inner world of these women through the lenses of memoirs written or recorded many years later. The reconstruction uncovers their Jewish and family backgrounds, including gender aspects, their paths to Zionism, and their Zionist and feminist convictions. It also examines the ideological elements, particularly Russian revolutionary ideas, which strongly influenced the nature of their Zionism.

A very robust Zionist movement with particular characteristics developed in Galicia (today, southeastern Poland and northwestern Ukraine), then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1910, this area numbered 872,000 Jews, the majority of whom were in Eastern Galicia (now Ukraine).[21] The Jewish community was mainly made up of *Hasidim** and

the intelligentsia.[22] At the same time, Jews there faced harsh antisemitism and witnessed the growing Ukrainian and Polish national movements. All these factors combined to inspire a strong Zionist movement, especially in Eastern Galicia.

The largest Jewish community in Eastern Galicia lived in the city of Lwów (German: Lemberg; today, L'viv, Ukraine) and constituted about one-third of the city's population. In 1908, the Jewish Women's Circle (*Koło Kobiet Żydowskich*, KKŻ), one of the oldest and longest-lasting women's Zionist organization in Eastern Europe, was founded there and was active until the end of 1930s. The third chapter, by Angelique Leszczawski-Schwerk, a historian of Galician women's groups, is devoted to this organization up to World War I.

With the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the war, Galicia was annexed to independent Poland. The largest Jewish community in Europe now lived in the Second Polish Republic, enjoying unprecedented political and cultural growth. The Zionist movement in Poland, born out of its two preceding Zionist movements in the multinational Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires, developed unique characteristics during the interwar period, particularly heterogeneity and separatism. No other Zionist movement was as pluralistic or divided as that in Poland.[23]

Following her chapter on Galicia, Leszczawski-Schwerk's further study of the Jewish Women's Circle in Lwów in the interwar period (Chapter 4), addresses the enormous changes that occurred during its Polish period. The author also broadens our understanding of other Jewish women's organizations, Zionist and non-Zionist, which collaborated with the KKŻ in Lwów and its surroundings. She also traces the developments in Polish Zionist women's activities in general, pointing to feminist and other influences.

A number of chapters in this volume focus on girls and young women in Zionist youth movements, which had great importance within the movement as a whole. Zionist youth movements, mainly in Eastern Europe, were a mass and significant phenomenon. There is no way to know exactly, but it is estimated that they had hundreds of thousands of members. The first of these movements was *Hashomer Hatsa'ir**, founded in Galicia before World War I (in 1913).[24]

The youth movements were a result and a response to the radical changes that the Jewish communities in Eastern Europe underwent after the Bolshevik Revolution and the emergence of the new nation-states on the ruins of the great empires after World War I. During the interwar period East European Jews had undergone accelerated modernization processes which uprooted the life patterns, traditions, and customs of

many generations. These changes happened in one generation as opposed to other European societies in which such changes took place over a few generations. All this happened against a background of the deteriorating situation of the Jews in the new nation-states, which was more severe than before the war. As a result, deep tensions and rifts were created between the youth and their parents.[25]

The youth movements offered psychological escape from the gloomy reality of daily life. The society of equals, the songs, dances, and other activities as well as the utopian socialist vision provided meaning to the lives of the members. Pluralism and the wide variety of Zionist youth movements and organizations reflected the influences of many ideological currents. The movements were also a tool for modernization in remote areas.[26]

From Eastern Europe the Zionist youth movements expanded to regions outside of Europe; among them was Iraq, where an attempt was made by teachers from *Eretz Yisrael* to found a Zionist youth movement. In the 1940s this phenomenon was intensified. At the same time, and into the 1950s, Zionist youth movements operated in North Africa as well.

The discussions of the youth movements enable us to explore the roles of young women in mixed-gender Zionist organizations. The authors ask, among other concerns, whether Zionist girls and young women encountered limitations placed on them by their parents, by Jewish society as a whole, or by their male counterparts. Other discussions center on the influence of the youth movements upon the interrelations within the activists' families, as well as whether the Zionist youth movements served as agents of modernization and for social mobility. Polish Jewish historian Ela Bauer's chapter is the first of these. She discusses the role of young women in *He-Ḥaluts ha-Tsa'ir* (the Young Pioneer) youth movement and its impact on their personal and family lives. This chapter explores what historian Joan Scott called "the history of the oppressed," as most of the movement's branches were located in the periphery, in the *shtetls**, and its human capital was not valued by its mother movement, *He-Ḥaluts**.

Part II of the book, Central and Western Europe, begins with a study of the German Zionist women's movement from the First Zionist Congress in 1897 up to the Nazi ban of the German Zionist Federation in 1938. Tamara Or discusses (Chapter 6) Zionist women's involvement in a large variety of activities within the German women's Zionist organizations. Focusing on the extension of gender boundaries the author discusses sport, considered inappropriate for women in Imperial Germany, showing that in this and other issues, German Zionist women ignored

gender boundaries. Or also analyzes the inception of women's practical Zionist activity in Palestine initiated by the first international Zionist women's organization, the Association of Jewish Women for Cultural Work in Palestine (*Verband Jüdischer Frauen für Kulturarbeit in Palästina*) in 1907. Here we see for the first time what was to become a common pattern—involvement with practical projects in Palestine as a distinctive characteristic as well as some other elements typical to women Zionist organizations worldwide. The final section of this chapter discusses the end of women's Zionist activity in Germany, and is the first of a number of discussions on women Zionists confronting the Nazi regime.

The next chapter (seven) is devoted to the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO), the largest Zionist women's organization on the eve of World War II, having been founded in 1920 in England. The chapter explores the fundamentals essential for understanding this important organization, including its ideology, strategies, influences, and sources of inspiration, and shows how it became a large, worldwide organization. The impact of the ideological and practical influences of European feminism on women Zionists organizations is best reflected in WIZO, most of whose pre-1948 members were European or immigrants from Europe to other countries. A further concern is to show how WIZO was affected by World War II and its aftermath, changing its activities from purely Zionist to providing relief and rescue, particularly in Europe.

Most research claims that French Zionism was marginal within the movement up to World War II. It had few members, mostly immigrants from Eastern Europe. In Chapter 8, Nelly Las, a scholar of French Zionism and women's and gender studies, explores the very interesting development of Jewish women within French Zionism. Very significant is her suggestion that, unlike the male-led associations, the women Zionists succeeded in establishing a unified organization.

Part III, the Americas, focuses on Zionist women's organizations in North and South America. The first two chapters discuss women Zionists in the United States whose patterns of ideology and practice differed considerably from those adopted by their European counterparts.

Was there an "American model" of women's Zionist organizations? Mira Katzburg-Yungman's first chapter in this part looks at the two major American organizations, Hadassah and Mizrachi Women's Organization of America. Her study suggests that there was indeed such a model, manifested in four major features: a) an extraordinary response to the needs of the American Jewish woman as a Jew, as an American and as a woman; b) uniting women for Zionist, rather than woman-focused

activity in Palestine; c) operating practically only in Palestine, and d) not combining activities there with others in their local Jewish communities. The uniqueness of Hadassah in the arena of women's Zionist organizations outside of Palestine was in importing American models into its projects in Palestine, acting for the benefit of the entire Jewish population, versus operating only for segments of the population as other women's Zionist organizations did. Finally, but not less importantly, it entered into the political arena of the (world) Zionist Organization—in contrast to other women's organizations.

The second chapter of the American part discusses the sensitive topic of the response of Zionist women's organizations to the Holocaust, and the factors that led to that response. The tension between American patriotism and support for the Zionist cause, as well as concern for the possible decline in membership, are two of the factors discussed. Youth Aliyah* was the practical response to the Holocaust by the major American women's Zionist organizations. The chapter discusses the special roles, including political and diplomatic, that American Zionist women played in rescuing and caring for children and youth during wartime (and for many years after).

Argentina was, and remains, the largest Jewish community in South America, with an estimated 100,000 Jews in 1915 and 350,000 in 1945.[27] The discussion in this volume, focused thus far on Ashkenazi Jewish communities, broadens its scope in Adriana Brodsky's chapter to encompass not only another part of the world, but also non-Ashkenazi Zionist women. It exposes, among other findings, an unexplored phenomenon of Zionist women's organizations: the dichotomy between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities in the same country.

Part IV of the book, Middle East and North Africa, written by Esther Meir-Glitzenstein (Iraq) and Haim Saadoun (Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria), further expands the scope of the discussion geographically, culturally, and ethnically. Those Jewish communities that were far from the Zionist centers geographically and culturally, remained marginal to the Zionist movement up to the middle of World War II. At the time, there were approximately 520,000 Jews in these countries.[28] During the first part of the twentieth century, those countries were under colonial rule (British Mandate in the case of Iraq; French and Italian colonial rule in the various countries of North Africa), with local Jews undergoing various stages of modernization.

As World War II raged, the Zionist movement, hampered by the destruction of the major Zionist reservoir of manpower in Europe, realized the importance of Jews in those countries to Zionism. North African and Middle Eastern Jews were seen then as essential for the realization

of Zionism. Emissaries were sent from Palestine to raise their Zionist consciousness and draw on their potential. Intensive Zionist youth activity, including that of young women is described and analyzed in these two chapters.

This part of the book substantially broadens the study to include non-European women Zionists. Both of its chapters discuss, among others, women, young women, and girls within the Zionist youth movements. As with Ela Bauer's chapter on Poland, these chapters ask, among other questions, how Zionist activity affected relations within families, and whether, and to what extent, the Zionist movements in those Islamic countries were a springboard to social change and mobility.

The final chapter discusses some of the significant conclusions arising from this collection of studies both with regards to the women Zionists and to the Zionist movement as a whole.

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Notes

1. The quote is from the Basel Program, Central Zionist Archives (hereafter, CZA), *Osef Divrei Hadfus*, DD1/1.
2. At the inception of Zionism about 75 percent of the Jews lived in Eastern Europe, but this changed over the years, especially as a result of mass emigration to the United States and other countries up to the start of World War I. For the *Yishuv* population, see Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 4 Sep. 2018. For the world Jewish population, see *American Jewish Yearbook* 50 (1948–1949), 692.
3. Vital, *The Origins of Zionism*; Vital, *Zionism, The Formative Years*; Vital, *Zionism, The Crucial Phase*.
4. Gal, *Hatsiyonut le'azoreha hebeṭim geo-tarbutiim*; Shindler, *Routledge Handbook on Zionism*.
5. A few examples are: Saposnik, *Zionism's Redemptions;* Brenner, *In Search of Israel;* and Conforti, *Itsuv 'uma.*

6. The scholarship on women in the *Yishuv* is too vast to cite here. Some significant works include: Shilo, *Girls of Liberty*; Shilo, *Etgar hamigdar*. See also studies by Deborah S. Bernstein, Bat Sheva Margalit Stern, Lilach Rosenberg-Fridman, and others. In addition, see the following collections: Shilo and Katz, *Migdar beyisra'el*; Bernstein, *Pioneers and Homemakers*; and Kark, Shilo, and Hasan-Rokem, *Jewish Women in Pre-State Israel*.
7. See, for example, Reinharz and Raider, *American Jewish Women*; Katzburg-Yungman, *Hadassah*; Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*; Shehory-Rubin and Shvarts, *Hadassah for the Health of the People*; Round-Shargel, *Female Leadership*; and Katzburg-Yungman, "Zehuyot tsiyoniyot nashiyot beʿameriḳa." Two unpublished doctoral dissertations respectively discuss WIZO federations in Poland and Romania: Mickutė, "Modern, Jewish, and Female": and Herschovitz, "The Missing Link," which addresses three Jewish women's organizations in Romania, among them the WIZO federation. For further works, see also Chapter 9 in this volume (note 3 and bibliography).
8. Hacohen, *To Repair the Broken World;* Stern, *Mahapkhanit;* Gutterman, *Zivia ha'aḥat*; Carmel Hakim, *Hanna Maisel*; see also Reinharz, Reinharz, and Golani, *'Im hazerem unegdo*; Stern, "Sefel ḳafe upoliṭiḳa"; for Jessie Sampter, see Imhoff, *The Lives of Jessie Sampter*.
9. Hecht, "Anitta und Sam Cohen"; Hecht, *Zwischen Feminismus*; Hecht, *Biographien Jüdischer Frauen*; Hecht, "At the Crossroads."
10. Geva, *'El Ha'aḥot halo yedu'ah*, 224–41; Yablonka," *Yesh La'asot hakol kedei lehatsil*, 82–91.
11. Ben Yaʿakov, "Hélène Cazès Ben-Attar."
12. Or, *Vorkämpferinnen und Mütter des Zionismus;* Hecht, "Zionistische Frauenorganisationen"; Prestel, "Frauen und die Zionistische Bewegung"; Prestel, "Feministische und zionistische Konstruktionen." Important insights on Western Jewry appear in Michael Berkowitz, "Cold Embrace, " in Berkowitz, *Western Jewry and the Zionist Project*, 175–93.
13. One chapter in Gelber, *Hatenuʿa hatsiyonit begalitsia*, is devoted to the women's movement in Galicia (pp. 701–35); Zaidin, "Haḥavera betnuʿot hanoʿar hatsiyoniyot bepolin."
14. Bartal and Frankel, "Meiḥibat tsiyon letsiyonut," 57.
15. As shown in Chapter 7 of this volume, WIZO was a highly important Zionist women's organization, but we have little knowledge of it. The most comprehensive study of it is Herzog and Greenberg, *A Voluntary Women's Organization*. It focuses on WIZO's contribution to Israeli society. A description of WIZO's founding, including its major projects in Palestine in its first decade appears in Carmel Hakim, *Shalhevet Yeruḳa*, 81–96. The only study discussing the organization outside Palestine is most probably the article, Summers, "Lost in Translation." Summers, a historian of British Jewish women, focuses on the feminist aspect of WIZO during the 1920s. She gives some important information about the organization's policy but touches only briefly on later periods.
16. There are most probably no studies on groups of women Zionists in the Russian Empire. In the mid-1920s there were about 3,500,000 Jews living in Poland versus 3,263,042 in the USSR. See "Distribution of Jewish Population of Russia U.S.S.R by Political Divisions" (table), 377.
17. For the difficulties of women in the Zionist movement, see e.g., Berkowitz, "Cold Embrace," 11.
18. Bartal and Frankel, "Meḥibat Tsiyon letsiyonut," 57.
19. Ibid., "Meḥibat Tsiyon letsiyonut," 57–58. In 1908, the calculation of the Jewish population in the Russian Empire was 6,045,690. *The American Jewish Year Book 15* (1913–1914), 423, fin 5.
20. Ibid. According to the *American Jewish Yearbook Book 15* (1913–1914) the number of Jews living in Hungary in 1910 was 2,258,262. See "Jewish Population of the World" (table).

21. Rachel Manekin, 2010, "Galicia," YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe. https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Galicia (last accessed 6 Jan. 2024).
22. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinḳas Haḳehilot*, Introduction, 16.
23. Yona, *Nihiye kulanu ḥalutsim*, 12; Tzur, *Palganut, tiḳvot vetisḳulim*, 39. There is a voluminous literature on Zionist movements in Poland, before and after World War I. Major works include: Ezra Mendelsohn, *Zionism in Poland: The Formation Years 1915–1926*; Arieh Levi Sarid, *He-ḥaluts utenu'ot hano'ar bepolin 1917–1939* [He-ḥaluts and the Youth Movements in Poland, 1917–1939]; Israel Otiker, *Tnu'at He-Ḥaluts bepolin*.
24. Tzur, "Jewish Youth Movements in Europe," 303, 306.
25. Ibid., 304.
26. Ibid., 307–8.
27. For 1915, "Distribution of Jewish Population of America by Geographical Divisions and countries," 371 (table); For 1947–48, "Estimated Jewish Population of Western Hemisphere," (Table 2). Brazil, the second-largest South American Jewish community, numbered only 110,750 Jews at this time.
28. The exact number is 524,817. The calculation is based on numbers provided in "Jews in Africa, by Geographical Divisions and Countries," 603 (Table XI). The numbers are for 1936 (apart for Algeria: 1931). The number for Iraq (90,970) is based on ibid., 605 (Table XIV).

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