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0521269199 - Prophecy and Politics: Socialism, Nationalism, and the Russian Jews, 1862-1917 -

Jonathan Frankel

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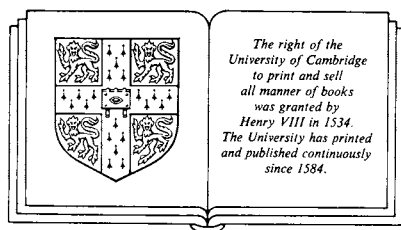
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PROPHECY AND POLITICS

Socialism, Nationalism,
and the Russian Jews,
1862-1917

JONATHAN FRANKEL

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Preface

This book has long been in preparation. My first sally into the field was my Ph.D. thesis, which took up the years 1957–61. I returned to the subject late in 1972 and completed the body of the book six years later. Remnants of the thesis, rethought and rewritten from scratch, are incorporated here in Part II (Chapters 4–7).

Over these extensive periods I have received help and encouragement, often far beyond the call of duty, from a very large number of people—academic colleagues, librarians, archivists, editors, secretaries, typists, photocopy workers. I remember the innumerable acts of goodwill and the work well done with feelings of deep gratitude. Unfortunately, I can only mention a small percentage here by name.

In the Cambridge years, I was guided wisely and generously by my teachers and friends: E. H. Carr, D. J. V. Fisher, Charles Wilson, Moses Finley, Maurice Cowling, and Betty Behrens. Denys Page, the late Master of Jesus College (where I was appointed a Fellow for the years 1960–3) also gave me his unflagging support in those early stages, as did Chimen Abramsky and Isaiah Berlin. Indeed, the idea of this work, which took shape in my mind while aboard ship on the Mediterranean in the summer of 1956, was perhaps first implanted by the report of a lecture in which Sir Isaiah discussed the Russian roots of the Yishuv.

As a Senior Fellow at Columbia University, I have invariably been made to feel at home. Both the Russian Institute and the Research Institute on International Change (now RIIC, formerly RICA) made it possible for me to work intensively on the book during extended visits. Those colleagues—Alexander Dallin, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Marshall Shulman, Robert Belknap, and the late Henry Roberts—who had the onerous task of directing those remarkable institutions have ensured throughout that the working conditions there would be congenial and the intellectual atmosphere open, stimulating, and very often exciting. At Columbia, too, I have always been able to turn for professional advice to my friends Joseph Rothschild, Alexander Erlich, and Marc Raeff. Sonya Sluzar (for many years the assistant director of RICA) invariably ironed out the various technical problems that arise even in the best run institutions. Louise Luke, at one time the editorial assistant at the Russian Institute, taught me the little I know about problems of editing. I also owe much to Lynn Solotaroff, who now holds that post, maintaining the same open-door policy.

At the marvelous library of the YIVO Institute I could count on the unflagging concern of Dina Abramowicz and her staff. And a few blocks away in Manhattan, at the Bund Archive, Hillel Kempinsky is in no way to be outdone in his determination to track down the most obscure publication. Many consultations with David Roskies and Miles Cohen of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Neil Jacobs of YIVO,

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and Hanna Maschler of the Hebrew University helped me to grapple with the complexities of transliteration and the rendition of names. My research in New York was facilitated by grants from the Littauer Foundation and the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, which made it possible to extend my stay in 1973–4.

In Jerusalem I have been fortunate to have the close friendship and constant advice of fellow historians Ezra Mendelsohn, Israel Getzler, and Lloyd Gartner (the latter of Tel Aviv University). My two departments at the Hebrew University – the Institute of Contemporary Jewry (so devotedly built up over the years by Moshe Davis) and Russian Studies – have always given me every possible encouragement during this rather protracted enterprise. My sincere thanks are likewise due Shmuel Ettinger whose active and wide-ranging interest in it dates back to its beginnings.

Gratitude is tempered with much sadness when I recall the encouragement that I received throughout from Jacob Talmon, who (with Professor Ettinger) supervised my work when I came to Jerusalem as a visiting student in 1959. I came to admire him not only as a passionately involved historian who painted on a truly broad canvas but also as a public figure possessed of unflinching civic courage. Over the last years, I would sometimes join him on his afternoon walks and we would discuss history, our daughters (who are of much the same age), and the issues of the day about which he was, of late, pessimistic although never without hope. He died on 16 June 1980.

Various people have been good enough to read the manuscript in whole or in part: Mitchell Cohen, Shmuel Ettinger, Alexander Erlich, Rafael Frankel (my brother), Lloyd Gartner, Israel Getzler, Israel Kolatt, Ezra Mendelsohn, Matityahu Mintz, Marc Raëff, and Steve Zipperstein. My parents and my wife have done likewise and, what is more, have helped in the thankless task of editing. It goes without saying that while the latter-day improvements are thus primarily due to others, the flaws that remain are purely my own responsibility.

In 1978, Yehuda Slutsky assured me that he would like to read over the manuscript. His death shortly thereafter carried away a man held in great affection for his generosity and kindness, and in the highest regard as historian of Russian Jewry and the Yishuv. Author of major studies in his own right, editor of *He-avar* and the multivolume history of the Hagana, he made a unique contribution.

My parents have followed the genesis and growth of this book with remarkable patience. It is dedicated to them. Last but not least, I wish to thank my wife, Edith, who, despite all rational indications to the contrary, never gave up hope. I feel that this is now her book no less than mine.

Some technical details must be mentioned. The system of transliteration from Yiddish is based on the YIVO system as formulated in Uriel Weinreich's dictionary; from Russian on that of the Library of Congress; and from Hebrew on that used by the *Encyclopedia Judaica*. However, in the case of Russian and Hebrew, I have introduced modifications in order to avoid diacritical marks and other usages that are not required by the specialist, but that could deter the general reader. In accord with this line of reasoning, the silent *shva* is not noted (e.g., *kvutsa*) except where its omission could confuse the English reader, and there it is signified by "e" (e.g., *tebiya*).

Surnames are in most cases transliterated from the Russian form. However,

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where a different usage is highly familiar (e.g., Jabotinsky) or where the particular individual was active primarily in an English-speaking country (e.g., Schlossberg), that spelling has been preferred. First names normally appear in the form most appropriate to the cultural-political context in which the individual was active (e.g., Jacob De Haas, Yaakov Rabinovich, Iakov Lvovich Rozenfeld, Yankev Binyomin Salutsky). In a few cases, the standard English rendering has been preferred (e.g., Chaim, Zvi). Variant spellings in common use are cross-referenced in the Index.

Finally, it should be noted that foreign-language words and terms generally have not been italicized if they are included in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*.

Jerusalem
June 1980

J.F.

Glossary

The following entries are not comprehensive but refer to the specific meaning of terms as used in the text.

AFL	The American Federation of Labor (1886).
Ahdut Ha-Avoda	Lit. United Labor; founded 1919, the leading Jewish socialist party in Palestine in the 1920s.
AJC	The American Jewish Committee (1906).
AJRC	The American Jewish Relief Committee (1914).
aliya [aliyot]	Jewish immigration to Palestine; the First Aliya is usually dated 1881–1903, the Second Aliya, 1903/4–1914.
Am Olam	Lit. “the eternal people”; the movement founded in Russia to establish Jewish farming colonies in the USA (1881).
artel	A group of laborers or craftsmen in Russia organized on a cooperative and often egalitarian basis.
Bar Giora	A clandestine, paramilitary group formed by Poale Zion members in Palestine (1907).
<i>Bei zhidov!</i>	A common slogan in the pogroms was: “Beat the Jews and save Russia!” (“Bei zhidov, spasai rossii”).
Bezalel	A school for arts and a center for craft manufacture established in Jerusalem (1906).
Bilu	The Palestine-oriented youth movement (1882); an acronym from “Bet Yaakov, lekhu ve-nelkha”; “House of Jacob come, let us go” (Isaiah 2:5).
Black Hundreds	<i>Chernosotensy</i> ; members of the vigilante, Russian nationalist groups and movements formed, 1905, to combat the revolution; encouraged pogroms.
B'nai B'rith	Lit. “Sons of the Covenant”; a major Jewish fraternal and service organization founded in New York, 1843. Until 1933: the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith.
boyar	A member of a noble order in medieval Russia.

GLOSSARY

Bund, the	Der algemeyner yidisher arbeter bund in rusland un poyln (The General Jewish Labor Union in Russia and Poland); founded 1897; in 1901 its name was changed to read: “in Lithuania, Poland and Russia.”
<i>buntarstvo</i>	Rebelliousness; the ideology (associated with Bakunin) favoring mass peasant uprising.
Cantonists	<i>Kantonisty</i> ; Jewish children and youth inducted into the Russian army under Nicholas I; from age eighteen they still had to serve another twenty-five years.
Cherny Peredel	Cherny peredel: partiia sotsialistov federalistov (The Black Repartition: the Party of Socialist Federalists); advocated agitation among the peasantry with the aim of agrarian revolution (1879).
Chernoperedelets [Chernoperedeltsy]	Member of the Cherny Peredel.
chinovnik	A government bureaucrat (usually pejorative).
Credists	A term used by Lenin to describe supporters of Economism (q.v.); it was derived from “The Credo,” a title ironically assigned by its critics to a memorandum by E. D. Kuskova (1898).
Duma	<i>Gosudarstvennaia дума</i> ; the parliament created in the wake of the 1905 revolution; four Dumas were elected 1906–17.
dunam	One thousand square meters, approximately a quarter of an acre.
Economism	The theory that the labor movement in Russia should concentrate on economic issues (wages, hours) avoiding political activity (hence, Economist) – terms used by Plekhanov and others against the majority in the Union Abroad (q.v.).
<i>ekspropriatsiia</i>	Lit. “expropriation”; a term used by revolutionaries to describe robbery for party purposes.
<i>ekstern</i>	Usually an ex-yeshiva student not permitted to enter a Russian high school who chose to study the curriculum privately in the hope of passing the matriculation exams.
<i>Erets-yisrael</i> (Yid: <i>erets-yisroel</i>)	The land of Israel, Palestine.
ESDRP-PZ	<i>Evreiskaia sotsial-demokratischeskaia rabochaia partiia-poale tsiion</i> (The Jewish Social Democratic Party-Poale Zion) (1906).

GLOSSARY

Evspektsiia	Evreiskaia sektsiia; the Jewish section of the Communist Party in Soviet Russia, 1918–30.
Ezra	The Hebrew name (abbr.) for the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden (The Relief Organization of the German Jews) (1901).
Fareynikte	Fareynikte yidishe sotsyalistishe arbeter partey (The United Jewish Socialist Labor Party), formed by the merger of the SERP and the SSRP (1917).
FAZ	The Federation of American Zionists (1898).
<i>Fellakh</i> [y] (Russ.)	Fellah [felaheen]; a peasant or agricultural laborer in the Arabic-speaking areas of the Middle East.
Folkspartey	The Jewish People's Party (Evreiskaia narodnaia partiia) (1906).
franc	A french franc (pre-1914) was worth approximately U.S. \$0.20.
galut (Heb.)	The Exile or Diaspora (pejorative).
<i>Gegenwartsarbeit</i> (Germ.)	The direction of party efforts toward the attainment of immediate and concrete, as against long-term or final, goals.
<i>genosn</i>	The term for “comrades” used in the mainstream Jewish labor movement in the USA (from the German Social Democratic usage, Genossen).
<i>gimnaziia</i> [<i>gimnazii</i>] (Russ.); <i>gimnasya</i> [<i>gimnasyot</i>] (Heb.)	A high school with an emphasis on the humanities; hence, <i>gimnazist</i> [y], a student therein.
<i>goles</i> (Yid.)	See galut.
Group, the	The Group for the Liberation of Labor (Gruppa “osvobozhdenie truda”), established by Plekhanov and associates when they proclaimed allegiance to revolutionary Marxism (1883).
guberniia [gubernii]	An administrative area in the tsarist empire. European Russia (i.e., excluding Poland and the Caucasus) was divided into some fifty such provinces.
haluka	The traditional system for the distribution of charity (mainly contributions from abroad) within the Jewish community in Palestine, particularly in Jerusalem.

GLOSSARY

Hanuka	The eight-day festival of lights, commemorates the Macbean victory of 164 B.C.E. over Antiochus of Syria.
Ha-Poel Ha-Tsair	The Young Workers party (in full: Histadrut ha-poalim ha-tseirim be-erets yisrael) (1905).
Ha-Shomer	The Watchman; an organization formed in Galilee to take over guard duty in the Jewish colonies (1909).
Hasid	An adherent of Hasidism, a popular religious movement inclined to mysticism; strongest in Podolia, Volhynia, Congress Poland, and Galicia.
Haskala	The enlightenment movement in the Jewish world (particularly in Hebrew).
“Ha-tikva”	The song adopted by the Zionist movement – unofficially in 1905, formally in 1933 – as the Jewish national anthem.
HEAS	The Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society (1881).
hectare	<i>Gektar</i> ; approximately two and a half (2.471) acres.
heder [hadarim]	An elementary school conducted in Yiddish to teach the Hebrew Bible, commentaries, etc.
<i>heym, der</i>	Lit. “home”; used by new immigrants in the U.S. to describe the Old Country.
Histadrut	Ha-histadrut ha-klalit shel ha-ovdim ha-ivrim be-erets yisrael (The General Jewish Labor Federation in Palestine) (1920).
hora	A vigorous circle dance (primarily of Roumanian origin), very popular among the pioneers in Palestine.
Hovev Zion	Lit. a lover of Zion (Palestinophile); a member of the proto-Zionist movement (Hoveve Zion) formally founded 1884.
<i>humash[im]</i>	The Pentateuch (or Five Books of Moses); a term used in Aron Liberman’s correspondence as a code-word for his paper, <i>Ha-emet</i> .
ICA	The Jewish Colonisation Association, founded by Baron Maurice de Hirsch (1896).
ILGWU	The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (1900).
<i>intelligent</i>	Member of the intelligentsia; in tsarist Russia implied a commitment to political opposition.
Iskrovtsy	Members of the RSDRP who supported <i>Iskra</i> (“The Spark”), the journal founded by Lenin and his associates (1900).

GLOSSARY

JSF	The Jewish Socialist Federation, a subsection of the SP (1912).
kabalistic	Pertaining to the most influential system of Jewish mysticism, the Kabala.
Kadets	<i>Kadety</i> ; members of the Constitutional Democratic Party (1905).
kahal	See <i>kehila</i> .
Kasrilevka	A shtetl created by Sholem Aleichem; implies extreme provincialism and economic insecurity.
<i>kassa</i> [<i>kassy</i>]	Mutual-benefit associations formed by the workers; served as strike organizations and as the quasi-trade union basis of the Bund.
kehila [<i>kehillot</i>]	The umbrella organization of the Jewish community in a given place, responsible for charity and other common interests.
kibush ha-avoda	Lit. “the conquest of labor”; the attempt of the Russian-Jewish youth to substitute themselves for the Arabs as wage workers in the Jewish colonies in Palestine.
<i>klal-yisroel politik</i>	See <i>kol-yisroel politik</i> .
kolel	A roof organization for the traditionalist Jewish immigrants from a particular country or area; most common in Palestine, but also established elsewhere.
<i>kol-yisroel politik</i>	Politics based on the idea of Jewish unity as against the politics of the class struggle.
kopek	<i>kopeika</i> ; one-hundredth of a rouble.
<i>kruzhok</i> [<i>kruzhki</i>]	A group of intelligentsia or workers, usually clandestine, for political education or revolutionary organization; hence <i>kruzhkovshchina</i> : a preference for this form of revolutionary action.
kulak	Lit. a “fist”; denoted the upper stratum of peasants who lent money or rented out land, livestock, and implements to the poorer peasantry.
kvutsa [<i>kvutsot</i>]	A cooperative or communal labor group in Palestine (after 1911 increasingly for purposes of settlement).
landslayt	Compatriots, particularly from the same area, town, or shtetl.
landsmanshaftn	Immigrant societies formed for purposes of mutual aid (welfare, burial, etc.); the members originated from the same town or area in Eastern Europe.

GLOSSARY

LSDRP	The Latvian Social Democratic Labor Party (1904).
Litvakes (Yid.)	Lithuanians; here, Lithuanian Jews.
magid[im]	A popular preacher (usually itinerant); addressed synagogue congregations, often on contemporary issues; relied heavily on biblical and other popular religious tales or themes.
Mapai	Mifletet poale erets yisrael (The Palestine Labor Party) (1930).
mark	The German Imperial mark (pre-1914) was worth approximately U.S. \$0.25.
maskil[im]	An adherent of the Haskala (q.v.)
melamed [melamdin]	A teacher of the Hebrew language and basic religious texts, particularly in a heder.
<i>meshchanin</i> [<i>meshchane</i>]	A member of the <i>meshchanstvo</i> : the petty bourgeoisie (usually pejorative: Philistine, narrowly materialistic).
mir	See <i>obshchina</i> .
moshav ovdin (or moshav)	A smallholding settlement, incorporating some cooperative principles, in Palestine.
muzhik [i]	A Russian peasant.
<i>narod</i>	Lit. “the people,” more specifically the peasantry and laboring masses: hence <i>narodnichestvo</i> , agrarian populism; and <i>narodnik</i> , populist.
Narodnaia Volia	<i>Partiia “narodnoi voli”</i> (The People’s Will Party); agrarian, terrorist, committed to the overthrow of the tsarist regime and to the reorganization of the state (1879).
Narodovolets [Narodovoltsy]	Member of the Narodnaia Volia.
Nili	A pro-British espionage group led by Aaron Aaronsohn, founded 1915 (an acronym from “Netsah yisrael lo yeshaker”/“The strength of Israel will not lie.” I Samuel 15:29).
numerus clausus	The quota system imposed on the entry of Jews into Russian high schools and universities (1887).
NWC	The National Workmen’s Committee on Jewish Rights in the Belligerent Lands (1915).

GLOSSARY

<i>obshchina</i>	The Russian peasant community, which in many areas involved the periodic repartition and equalization of land holdings.
OK	<i>Organizatsionny komitet</i> ; the committee established in March 1902 to prepare the Second Congress of the RSDRP.
Okhrana	Lit. Security; denotes generally the tsarist departments responsible for combating subversion.
OPE	Obshchestvo dlia rasprostraneniia prosveshcheniia mezhdu evreiami v Rossii (The Society for the Dissemination of Enlightenment among the Jews in Russia); initially, it sought to increase knowledge of the Russian language, but from the 1890s it became more a focus for the conflicting claims of Yiddish and Hebrew.
ORT	Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledelcheskogo truda sredi evreev v Rossii (The Society for [the Advancement of] Craft and Agricultural Labor among the Jews in Russia) (1880).
OZE	Obshchestvo okhraneniia zdorovia evreiskogo nasileniia (The Society for the Health Protection of the Jewish Population) (1912).
<i>pan</i> [y]	A member of the Polish gentry.
Poale Zion	Lit. The workers of Zion: initially, a general term for labor Zionist groups; from 1906 applied specifically to the ESDRP-PZ and its affiliated parties abroad.
<i>podpolshchik</i>	A member of the revolutionary underground.
<i>pogromshchik</i> [i]	An instigator of, or active participant in, the anti-Jewish riots (pogroms).
<i>polkownik</i> (Russ.)	A colonel.
<i>polu-intelligent</i>	A man whose formal education was in the heder and yeshiva but who was an autodidact in Russian culture.
<i>Polyakn</i> (Yid.)	Poles; here Polish Jews.
pound	A pound sterling (pre-1914) was worth approximately U.S. \$5.00.
PPS	Polska Partja Socjalistyczna (The Polish Socialist Party) (1892–3).
PPSD	Polska Partja Socjalno-demokratyczna Galicji i Śląska Cieszyńskiego (The Polish Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Teshchen Silesia); the allied party of the PPS in Galicia, founded 1891; until 1897 known as the Galician Social Democratic Party.

GLOSSARY

<i>praktik</i>	A party member concerned with organization.
Proletariat	A Polish revolutionary party (in full: Międzynarodowa Socjalno-Rewolucyjna Partja Proletariat) (1882).
PSD	The Polish Social Democratic movement (see SDKP).
PSR	Partiia sotsialistov revoliutsionerov (The Party of Socialist Revolutionaries) (1902).
Rabochedeltsy	Members of the Social Democratic faction associated with the “Economist” journal <i>Rabochee delo</i> (“The Workers Cause”), 1898–1902; see Economists.
<i>raznochinets</i> [<i>raznochintsy</i>]	A member of the intelligentsia who was not of noble or gentry origin.
rebbe	Usually, a Hasidic rabbi.
<i>referat</i>	A formal lecture usually opening an ideological debate in which the lecturer (referent) had to face a full-scale critique (<i>kontr-referat</i>).
<i>rossiiskii</i> [<i>rossiiskaia</i> , fem.]	Russian, adj.; a term implying association with Russian territories as opposed to <i>russkii</i> , which suggests an identity with (or membership in) the Great Russian nation.
RSDRP	Rossiiskaia sotsial-demokraticheskaia rabochaia partiia (Russian Social Democratic Labor Party) (1898).
rouble	a rouble (pre-1914) was worth approximately U.S. \$0.50; until 1897 it was worth about U.S. \$0.80.
<i>Russkii</i> [<i>russkaia</i> , fem.]	See <i>rossiiskii</i> .
SDKP	Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego (The Social Democratic [Party] of the Kingdom of Poland) (1894), later the SDKPiL.
SDKPiL	Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy (The Social Democratic [Party] of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania) (1900).
<i>sech</i>	A Cossack center; in modern times, the Cossacks combined arable farming with military duty as cavalry soldiers.
Sefer [Sifre] Torah	The scrolls containing the Five Books of Moses; kept in every synagogue.
<i>Seim</i>	A representative assembly or parliament (from the Polish, Sejm) (see SERP).

GLOSSARY

SERP	Evreiskaia sotsialisticheskaia rabochaia partiia (The Jewish Socialist Labor Party) (1906); its members were often referred to as the ES or as Seimisty (see <i>Seim</i>).
Shekhina	The Divine Spirit; the presence of God in the world.
shtadlonim (Yid.)	Influential Jews whose task it was traditionally to intercede with the governmental authorities on behalf of the Jewish community; in modern times used pejoratively to condemn policies of intercession (<i>shtadlones</i>) as opposed to those of power or public protest.
shtetl [shtetlkh]	A small town in eastern Europe.
shul	Yiddish term for synagogue.
<i>Soiuzniki</i>	See Union Abroad.
SRs	Socialist Revolutionaries (members of the PSR, q. v.).
SSRP	Sionistsko-sotsialisticheskaia rabochaia partiia (The Zionist Socialist Labor Party), usually known as the SS (1905).
<i>stikhiia, stikhiimost</i>	Elemental or spontaneous forces, naturally determined and uncontrolled by conscious or voluntaristic factors.
Talmud Torah	A school for the basic study of the Bible and rabbinic literature; usually communally supported, and larger than a heder.
tefilin	Phylacteries; small leather boxes containing Biblical passages worn by Jews during the morning weekday prayers.
<i>teoretik</i>	A party ideologist and theorist.
troika (Russ.)	Lit. a carriage and three horses; used to describe a three-man team, often a leadership trio.
Trudovik[i]	A member of the labor faction or party in the Duma; formed primarily to represent peasant interests (1906).
TsK	Initials indicating central committee (both Heb. and Russ.); used, e.g., in the Bund and RSDRP.
ukaz[y]	An official edict of the tsarist regime.
Union Abroad, the	The Union of Russian Social Democrats Abroad (<i>Soiuz russkikh sotsialdemokratov zagranitsei</i>) (1895); hence <i>Soiuzniki</i> .
Union for Equal Rights, the	The Union for the Attainment of Full Rights for the Jewish People in Russia (<i>Soiuz dlia dostizheniia polnopraviia evreiskogo naroda v Rossii</i>) (1905).

GLOSSARY

<i>Valtovshchina</i>	The ideological trend associated with Lesin (A. Valt) in Minsk (1894).
UHT	The United Hebrew Trades (1888).
verst	<i>Versta</i> ; 1.06 kilometers.
<i>Vozrozhdenie</i>	Lit. “rebirth”; the name of a revolutionary and Jewish nationalist journal and movement (1903); hence, <i>Vozrozhdentsy</i> .
<i>yahudim</i>	A derogatory term used by Yiddish-speaking immigrants to describe the established Jews in the West (specifically those of German origin).
yeshiva[yeshivot]	A school for advanced Talmudic study.
yeshiva bokher	A student in a yeshiva (q. v.).
Yishuv	The Jewish people in Palestine; the “old Yishuv” describes the traditional, religiously observant community established in the period before 1881.
<i>zemskii sobor</i>	The Russian national assembly or parliament of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Slavophile and other political theorists hoped to revive it in a modern form.
<i>zemstvo</i> [<i>zemstva</i>]	Organs of local self-government in tsarist Russia; elected, but with a restricted franchise (1864).
<i>zhid</i> [y]	Jew (pejorative).
Zione Zion	Lit. Zionists of Zion; those Zionists who rejected the East Africa project (1903–5) and remained loyal to the Palestine orientation.
ŻPS	Żydowska Partja Socjaldemokratyczna (The Jewish Social Democratic Party); the counterpart of the Bund in Galicia (1905).
<i>Zusammenbruchstheorie</i> (Germ.)	The crisis theory; the thesis that socialism would result from the cataclysmic decline of capitalism.