Unlike Grünbaum, Zionists in the former Austrian Galicia preferred the politics of compromise. This policy led to the signing of the Ugoda (agreement) between Leon Reich (1879–1929), the leader of Zionism in eastern Galicia, and the Polish prime minister, Władysław Grabski, in 1925. Although the agreement granted rights in the cultural and religious spheres in exchange for open Jewish support for Polish national interests, the government later refused to honor many parts of the agreement and Galician Zionists had little to show for their political maneuvering. In addition to the General Zionists, other smaller Zionist parties and movements competed for the support of Poland’s 3.1 million Jews. These smaller parties included no less than six socialist Zionist or labor Zionist parties: the pro-Communist, Yiddishist Left Po’ale Tsiyon; Right Po’ale Tsiyon; the Zionist Socialists; Po’ale Tsiyon in eastern Galicia; Dror (Freedom); and the reformist, nonsocialist, pro-Hebrew party Hit’aḥadut (Union).

The great expectations and bitter disappointments of Polish Zionism led to the sudden popularity of the Revisionist Zionist movement, known by its Hebrew name Ha-Tsohar, and its leader Vladimir Jabotinsky (1880–1940) in the 1930s. In 1935, when the party broke with the World Zionist Movement and formed the New Zionist Organization, it boasted some 450,000 supporters in Poland as both the right and the left grew during the troubling times.

Throughout the interwar era, many political parties sponsored youth movements. One of the most important was the radical, later Marxist, Ha-Shomer ha-Tsa’ir (The Young Guard). Ha-Shomer ha-Tsa’ir was followed by the settlement-oriented He-Haluts (Pioneer), Gordonia (named after the labor Zionist hero Aharon David Gordon), Frayhayt (Freedom), and Betar (the Hebrew abbreviation for Berit Trumpeldor). Many scholars credit the popularity of youth movements to the growing sense of crisis among Jewish and non-Jewish youth, “a youth without a future.” Here too, however, Zionism proved ironically to be a dependent independence movement as government policies and economic factors often determined the course of Jewish politics, culture, and life. Less than 5 percent of Polish Jewry (139,756) emigrated to Palestine between 1918 and 1942.

Like many other Jewish political movements, Zionism turned to the realm of education to breed the next generation of activists and supporters. Backed by the General Zionists and moderate left-wing Zionist groups, the Tarbut school system proved to be one of Zionism’s biggest successes in interwar Poland. Designed to turn Hebrew into a living language, the Tarbut schools, with 25,829 students in 1921 and 37,000 in 1934–1935, were particularly popular in the eastern borderlands. The Yavneh religious Zionist school system, sponsored by Mizrahi, was also influential.

As was true of their neighbor Poland, the newly independent Baltic states of Lithuania and Latvia provided ideal environments for Zionist activity. Largely unfamiliar with Lithuanian culture and language, many Jews there gravitated toward specifically Jewish organizations. Zionists dominated the January 1920 all-Lithuanian Jewish conference and also led the Jewish National Council until its abolition in 1924. Additionally, Zionist leaders Jakub Wygodzki (1855–1941), Shimshon Rosenboim (1860–1934), and Max Soloveichik (Menahem Solieli; 1883–1957) served as ministers in early Lithuanian governments. Zionist educational activities also fared well as the Lithuanian government granted the local Jewish community a fair degree of national-cultural autonomy. Tarbut schools were extremely

---

**ZIONISM AND ZIONIST PARTIES**

---

**Zionist Parties in Interwar Poland**

(Prepared by Marcos Silber)

---

**Union of General Zionists**

**Mizrahi**

---

**Berit Yosef Trumpeldor (Betar)**

**Revisionist Zionists**

**New Zionist Organization**

---

**Tse’ire Tsiyon (Founding Conference, Warsaw, 1918)**

---

**Po’ale Tsiyon (Split: 1920)**

---

**Left Po’ale Tsiyon**

---

**Right Po’ale Tsiyon**

---

**Right Po’ale Tsiyon**

---

**Po’ale Tsiyon (joined by Zionist Socialists, 1925)**

---

**1933: Hit’aḥadut of Eastern Galicia joins with Po’ale Tsiyon and Zionist Socialists**

---

**Central Committee of the Zionist Federation of Warsaw (Split: 1923)**

---

**of Eastern Galicia**

---

**of Western Galicia**

---

**Radical Tse’ire Tsiyon (Hitahadut)**

---

**Founding of Labor Party (Hitahadut)**

---

**of Congress Poland, of Western Galicia, of Eastern Galicia**

---

**Tse’ire Tsiyon**

---

**S**

---

**R**

---

**L**

---

**Prepared by Marcos Silber**