

Reciprocity between Different Ethnic Aspects in the Self: Russian Jews and Dual Nationalism around the Revolution

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The Russian Empire incorporated a large Jewish population into its territory after the Partition of Poland in the late eighteenth century. It restricted Jewish residence within the Kingdom of Poland, which Russia governed, and “the Pale of Settlement,” which was the rest of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and “New Russia” or South Ukraine, mostly corresponding to modern Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova. According to the 1897 census, the Imperial Jewish population increased to as much as 5.19 million (approximately 4.1 percent) out of 125.6 million of the entire Imperial population. Of these, 38.65 percent were involved in trade, 35.43 in industry, 6.61 percent in the service industries, and only 3.55 percent in agriculture, while 76.5 percent of Russians were in agriculture. By the end of the nineteenth century, Jews constituted 39.7 percent of those engaged in commerce in Russia (if limited to the Pale, 72.8 percent) (Budnitskii 2012, pp. 20–21). In terms of language, in the 1897 census, among those whose religion was Judaism, 97 percent declared their native tongue as Yiddish. Before the 1917 Revolution, 30.5 percent of Jewish males and 15.9 percent of Jewish females inside the Pale, and 43 and 31.5 percent respectively outside the Pale such as St. Petersburg and Moscow claimed a reading knowledge of Russian (Löwe 1994, p. 95).

In general, “Russian Jews” who emerged in the process were different from West European Jews such as “German Jews” and “French Jews” in that the former were hardly “assimilated” Jews but more or less had consciousness of belonging to a Jewish collectivity, and the language they acquired was the Imperial one rather than that of the local population such as Ukrainian and Belorussian.¹ This difference mainly stemmed from the following two features of the Russian Jewish population. First, its proportion among other ethnic groups was much higher than the case of West European Jews. At the turn of the twentieth century, while the proportion of the Jewish population in Germany was around one percent, in the Pale, the corresponding proportion was 10.86 percent (1897). Moreover, that number further increased in cities: 36.79 percent. There were several cities in which Jews constituted more than half the entire population (Tsurumi 2012, pp. 56–61, Tables 2–5). Presumably, these Russian Jews might not have felt like an absolute minority in their living space. Second, the center of the Jewish population in the

¹ For an over view of such a discussion on Russian Jewry and their difference from West European Jewry, see Lederhendler (1995).

Russian Empire—the Pale and the Kingdom of Poland—was not Russia in ethnic terms. To have an identity as a “Russian Jew” (*russskii evrei*) would have denoted either one or both of the following: 1) having a sense of belonging to the Russian Empire; 2) being acculturated into Russian culture, namely, the culture of the ruler, rather than local culture. Therefore, the distinction between assimilation and acculturation is significant.²

As the Tsars considered Jews as the enemy of Christ and believed in the stereotype of Jews as exploiters of peasants, together with the residential restrictions, the Empire put several restrictions on Jews such as prohibition of residence in villages even within the Pale. The Jewish situation in Russia differed from that in Western Europe, where Jews were liberated from legal restrictions by the late nineteenth century, in the following two ways: 1) the Tsars never liberated Jews legally and preserved Jewish collectivity; 2) yet they tried to educate Jews and reform the Jewish community so that they could be liberated from the influence of the Talmud and the Jewish traditional autonomous body. Some Jewish enlightened intellectuals or “*maskilim*” (sg. *maskil*) cooperated with such a policy, and more and more Jews, although still only a small portion of the five million, acquired the knowledge of Russian and Russian culture. As a result, this accelerated what historian Benjamin Nathans called “selective integration,” in which those who acquired Russian and took up an occupation that the government believed to be “useful” for the Empire such as physicians, lawyers, and craftsmen were granted privileges to live beyond the Pale, such as in Petersburg and Moscow. Further, this also accelerated the schism between traditional Jews and reform-minded or “enlightened” Jews (Nathans 2002).

How, then, did these Russian Jews reconcile their Jewishness with being a Russian citizen/subject? To analyze the multiplicity of the self among these Russian Jews, the model of self-complexity offered by psychology, which focuses on aspects of the self and their interrelations, is useful. Of course, sociological ethnic studies have long discussed the experiences of those who have multiple (usually two) ethnic aspects or connections to ethnic groups. An early example is American sociologist Robert E. Park’s contentions around his term the “marginal man,” which denotes “a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples” (Park 1928, p. 892). For about half a century since then, especially after the work of Homi Bhabha (1994), there have been positive references to hybridity as an agent of social change and cultural creativity in post-colonial society. Paul Gilroy’s influential *Black Atlantic* demonstrates that hybridity as a process has been an alternative to a fixed identity such as race and nation (Gilroy 1993). Studies that followed Bhabha and Gilroy have mostly focused on people’s experiences and processes of hybridity, such as negotiations and interactions among the composites of hybridity and surrounding society, and

² Representative studies for this distinction include Zipperstein (1986), Lederhendler (1992), Nathans (2002).

the consequences of being hybrid, demonstrating dynamic, interactive ways of being and living, rather than a static existence based on a rooted and singular identity.

However, although these studies have also paid attention to the dilemmas and contradictions that hybrid people face, and how they are embedded in society and interact with their surroundings, little attention has been paid to the relations between ethnic aspects within the self, such as relations between the Jewish aspect and the Russian aspect in a Russian Jew. If hybridity is a process and not a fixed combination of particular entities, one should ask how relatively independent, if not ahistorical, elements are connected to each other within hybridity.

The application of the concept of self-complexity to studies on ethnicity and nationalism means the dissolution of any previously assumed ethnic individual identity such as Jewish, Black, Chinese, etc., into aspects, and avoiding any presumption of any “master” aspect that perpetually governs the entire self. In the example of Russian Jews, they presumably had a self with a Russian aspect and a Jewish aspect, as well as, for example, aspects such as a father, lawyer, resident of St. Petersburg, socialist, etc. We will exclude any deterministic view to suppose the Jewish aspect as the master aspect of the Russian Jewish self. We could say, of course, which aspect is stronger, but this could change over time. Further, any aspect could be changed, divided, merged with another, and erased. “Jewish” might have transformed from “traditional (or Rabbinic) Jewish” into “Enlightened Jewish.”

In our view, the self should not have to be coherent or integrated (although some psychological theories presume the existence of a master aspect, or a “global component”³), but just a site that hosts several aspects, although physical features of the self, such as skin color, may affect the aspects it hosts. Above all, by dividing the self into aspects, we can more flexibly analyze situations in the arena of social sciences that have previously been considered contradictory and uncomfortable for individuals and groups, and clearly identify the set of aspects and dynamics of each that maintain or change such situations.

In what follows, this paper proposes five types while considering the relationship between plural ethnicities/nationalities within an individual. Next, we will review cases in Russian Jewish history focusing on the Liberals in whom Jewish identity reinforced Russian patriotism, which in turn reinforced Jewish pride.

³ For the variation of self-concept in psychology, see Marsh & Hattie (1995).

The Patterns of Inter-Aspect Relations

The central question of this paper is, how are these aspects related to each other? As indicated in Figure 1, there are two axes to be considered. The first is the distinction between each aspect.

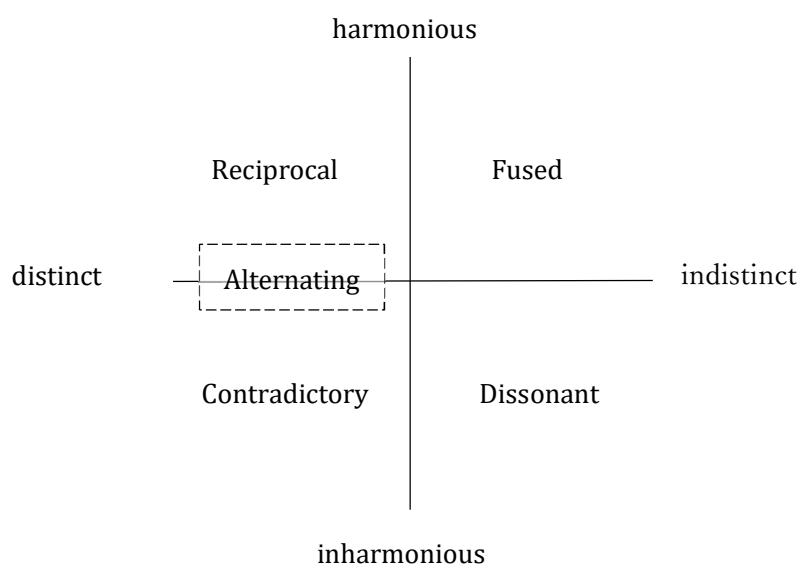


Figure 1. The Patterns of Inter-Aspect Relations

If the Jewish and Russian aspects are too close to be distinguished in the self, they constitute a new unified aspect as a creole. By contrast, if these two are well distinguished in the self, those with these aspects could adapt one according to the situation (e.g., act like a Jew in a synagogue, and like a Russian in a Russian bar). The other axis concerns the degree of affinity between aspects. In one self, the Russian and Jewish aspects are compatible, and those with such a combination would reveal both aspects for others on any occasion. However, in another self, these aspects are incompatible and cause conflicts among those with such aspects. They may conceal an aspect on one occasion and another elsewhere, or they may feel uncomfortable with having these two aspects, and attempt to remove one altogether from the self. We can point out five typical types (Max Weber's "ideal types") of relationships between aspects.

Fused type

When the boundaries of ethnic aspects are vague and almost fused and the combination of these two aspects is positive, such a relationship could be called the fused type. Although the fact that each aspect is originally different is recognized, they are so interconnected that it is hard to

distinguish one from the other. The hybridity positively illustrated in Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* would fall into this category. Discussions focusing on this type of hybridity tend to deny the anterior "pure," or the existence of anterior uncontaminated purities (Kalra, Kaur & Hutnyk 2005, pp. 72–73). Yet as we focus on the realm of identity, it is possible to infer people's assumptions of purity.

An example of this type from among Russian Jews is Marc Chagall. Based on his paintings, he appears to represent this type, although he himself might have thought of himself also as an alternating type that we will discuss later.⁴ He was born in Belarus under the Tsarist regime and studied in St. Petersburg. He also studied in France in his youth and lived there in his later years. His paintings have both Jewish and Russian elements, as well as Christian and French elements, all of which are in tune with one another. As historian Benjamin Harshav put it, "We cannot ask what Chagall *is* in any exclusive way, because from his texts we learn that he is all of it: French and Russian and Jewish—all at the same time" (Harshav 2003, p. 24; emphasis in original; Cf. Wullschlager 2008, 312/9508).

Dissonant type

Those classified as the fused type did not always stick to this category. Rather, they could be ambivalent. Grigory Bogrov, author and journalist, was known as an assimilated Russian Jew, but not always happy with being a Russified Jew. With the hero's words in *Notes of a Jew*, "Don't be born a Jew," he also criticized Russian society for criminalizing Jews just because one was physically Jewish (Safran 2000, pp. 52–54). For instance, German Jewish history has several examples of the unhappy fusion of different ethnic/national aspects, which can be categorized as the dissonant type. This could typically be seen in what Sander Gilman defined as "self-hating Jews," whose assimilation (rather than acculturation) into the majority population was almost complete but not complete enough in their understanding. "The Jewish mind, which German culture saw as different from that of the Aryan, is afflicted by its sense of its own difference". In a notable example, Jacques Joseph, a German Jew (or Jewish German) and the founder of modern cosmetic rhinoplasty, attempted to cure the "Jewish nose" through surgery (Gilman 1991, pp. 181–187, 191).

Alternating type

Unlike in the fused and dissonant types, each aspect might be distinct from each other in some. According to the affinity between each aspect, we could indicate three types in such a case. In

⁴ Jonathan Wilson wrote as follows: "His work and his life both reveal a reactive desire to be a Russian to Russians, a Jew to Jews, and a Frenchman to the French: at the same time, Chagall resisted a fixed identity whenever one seemed to be on the point of closing around him" (Wilson 2007, p. 94).

the first, alternating type, each ethnic aspect is rather distinctive from the other and the relationship is neutral, or each aspect hardly affects the other.⁵ Those with this type are likely to adapt each aspect according to occasions, without referring to and without consciously concealing the other. From among Russian Jews, Judah Leib Gordon is a typical example.⁶ Jewish enlightener (*maskil*), Hebrew poet, and journalist in Russian, German, and Hebrew, Gordon penned the following famous phrase, “Be a man on the street and be a Jew at home” in his Hebrew poem “Awake My People!” (1862/1863). In this poem, the term “Russia” does not appear (“Europe” does), but here, “man” does not necessarily denote a cosmopolitan person. Gordon followed the teachings of German-born Jewish Enlightenment (*Haskalah*) and advocated that acquisition of the language and culture of the host country and demonstration of loyalty to the state would enlighten Jews, thus promoting bilingualism of Russian and Hebrew. The phrase he used originated from Moses Mendelssohn, the father of the Jewish Enlightenment in Germany. As historian Michael Stanislawski states, Gordon believed that “Russian Jews must at one and the same time partake of the shared culture of civilized European man—which for them meant assimilating to the local version of that genus by adopting the Russian language, Russian mores, and Russian patriotism—and remain vibrantly attached to the specific tradition of the Jews” (Stanislawski 1988, p. 51). In Gordon’s self, therefore, there resided not only a Jewish aspect but also a Russian aspect to some extent. Yet we could find little necessary connection between the two except for the fact that he happened to live in Russia. In other words, if he had lived in Germany, he would have advocated the acquisition of the German language and culture. Therefore, these two aspects were segregated and lay in parallel within the self.

Contradictory type

In 1881, pogroms in south Ukraine had a great impact on Russified Jews including Leo Pinsker, the pivotal figure of the Russian Jewish Enlightenment and the early Russian Zionist movement. So far, together with preserving Jewish identity, he had promoted the Enlightenment of Jews in Russia and Russian society as a whole and expected the disappearance of anti-Semitism from Russia. Facing pogroms, his Jewish aspect and Russian aspect should have become contradictory, and unlike the dissonant type, and as in the alternating type, he could separate his Jewish aspect from his Russian aspect and initiated the Zionist movement in Russia. Of course, he and his followers remained in Russia, and some even had no intention to leave Russia by themselves, only supporting immigration of other Jews (especially youths) to Palestine. They tried the establishment of a Jewish nationality—through its recognition and self-respect—in the Russian Empire (Tsurumi 2008). Yet for these Zionist selves, the relationship between the Jewish aspect

⁵ For the term “alternating type,” see LaFramboise, Coleman, & Gerton (1993).

⁶ For Gordon, see Stanislawski (1988). For the poem below, see its Chapter 4.

and the Russian aspect might have no longer been fraternal.

Aside from physical violence against Jews, other conditions revealed the contradictions in the coexistence of the two aspects. Sometime between 1900 and 1903, Ukraine-born Hebrew writer and Zionist Micha Berdichevsky described the relationship between the two “extremes” in Jews as follows:

We are torn to shreds: at one extreme, some leave the House of Israel to venture among foreign peoples, devoting to them the service of their hearts and spirits and offering their strength to strangers; while, at the other extreme, the pious sit in their gloomy caverns, obeying and preserving what God had commanded them. And the enlightened, standing between, are men of two faces: half Western—in their daily life and thoughts; and half Jews—in their synagogues. Our vital forces disperse while the nation crumbles (Berdichevsky 1997, p. 294).

What is described here is the combination of a Western aspect and a Jewish aspect. In his account, the Jewish aspect, or Judaism, was so anachronistic that the gap with the West was huge. He proposed to replace (or in his Nietzschean term, “transvalue”) that Judaism with a new Judaism: “We must cease to be Jews by virtue of an abstract Judaism and become Jews in our own right, as a living and developing nationality” (Berdichevsky 1997, p. 294).

Reciprocal type

The pogroms in the late nineteenth century and 1903–6 did not cause every Jew in Russia to leave for either the West or Palestine. In fact, Jews in the pogrom-free capital continued to retain their Russian Jewish identity. The least discussed type of relationship between ethnic aspects—the reciprocal type—could be found among such Jews. In this type, the distinction between each aspect is clear as in the case of the alternating and the contradictory types. However, unlike these types, each aspect is positively related to the other and either needs or encourages the other. This type of relationship would be likely to appear typically in situations where the majority population or the ruler demands a specific role of a particular ethnic group. Traditionally, with their ethnic network, the Jewish community have often retained those who specialize in finance and trade, which, as reviewed above, continued in the Russian period. Several rulers in Europe, Polish nobles, for example, welcomed Jews who were persecuted elsewhere. Even in the Russian Empire, although it was anti-Semitic overall, a similar tendency prevailed (Rogger 1986, pp. 60–61; Löwe 1993, pp. 65–66). As discussed in the following section, Russian Jews were indeed aware of their socioeconomic role being the foundation of their affiliation with Russia.

The crucial point would be the perception of individuals in non-dominant groups and

perhaps more important, the perception of the dominant group that affects the former's self-perception. Studies by Bernd Simon and others show that among Muslim Turkish Germans, those who have a dual identity (Turkish German or Muslim German) are more likely to be interested in German politics than those who have a single identity (Simon & Daniela Ruhs 2008). Interestingly, those who find their dual identity as contradictory are more likely to sympathize with radicalism than those who do not, whereas those who feel that their Muslim self is respected in German society tend to be tolerant toward Germans (Simon & Schaefer 2018). The two aspects reinforce each other in this case if a dominant population shows respect for the non-dominant population, and more specifically, if those in the non-dominant population have such a sense of being respected. This suggests that even in the case of Jews in Russia, if they perceived the relationship between Russian elements and Jewish elements positively, Jewish nationalism and Russian nationalism (or patriotism) would reinforce each other.

Russian Jewish Liberals and Russian-Jewish Reciprocity

Russian Jewish Liberals

In Russian society, it was not uncommon for various ethnic groups to act according to their respective positions, even in public spheres. In this environment, Russian Jews' liberalism viewed Jewishness as something dignified and dynamic on the stage of the Empire. That several Jewish figures played central roles in the Russian Liberal camp before the 1917 Revolution and had a strong sense of Jewishness is known. However, research on them has never flourished for several reasons: it was difficult to study them objectively in the Soviet Union; in the Jewish context, while Zionists had their political descendants today, Russian Jewish Liberals did not. How they reconciled their Jewishness and activity in the Russian milieu has not been systematically discussed yet.⁷

These Russian Jewish Liberals consciously highlighted the collectivity of Jews. One example of this is the following passage from a 1906 issue of the Russian Jewish Liberal weekly *Voskhod* (Rising):

Russian Jews have the advantage of learning from the mistakes of Western European Jews. For Russian Jews, achieving liberation is not a sudden, ecstatic gift, but the desirable result of a long and tough struggle. In addition, the main concern is not only the acquisition of equal civil rights, but also using these rights for the well-being of all

⁷ For Russian Jewish liberals and the "Jewish Question" before the Revolution in the twentieth century, see Ma'or (1964) and Gassenschmidt (1995). For Russian Jewish intellectuals, many Liberals included, see Horowitz (2009a; 2013). These works indicate Russian Jewish Liberal's affection for both Russia(ns) and Jews, but the mechanism of such duality has not been resolved yet.

Jews (Shakh 1905, p. 37).

Here, “equal civil rights” only refers to equality as individuals and there is an implicit reference to assimilation with the Germans. By aiming simply for equality, it is emphasized here that, as an ethnic group, Russian Jews were different from German Jews, whose goal in the author’s view, was to align themselves with the goal of German nationalism. This paper also declares its “opposition to the use of the phrase ‘Law of Moses Russians!’” Jews are not united by religion but are characterized “by a common origin, a common historical development, and, above all, a temperament based on their ancient and great culture.” However, this should not be taken to mean the isolation of Jews. “If you can be Armenian or Polish and also be a good Russian citizen, you can certainly be a good Jewish person and also be a useful and sincere Russian citizen” (Shakh 1905, pp. 37–38).

With the addition of Maxim Vinaver, a representative of the Russian Jewish liberals, to *Voskhod*’s editorial board, the weekly was at the vanguard of Russian Jewish liberalism (Haruv 2010).⁸ Liberals such as him who spoke openly about their participation in Russian society as Jews were certainly not isolated within Russian politics at that time. In fact, in the Russian democratic movement before the Russian Revolution (1917), liberals were equally active as socialists. Russian Jews were heavily involved both with socialists and liberals. As socialism perceives ethnic groups as something that will eventually disappear, it was not unusual for a Leon Trotsky to “consciously rejected all aspects of Jewish separateness” (Swain 2006, p. 16).⁹ In contrast, in the Russian liberal camp, which tended to favor ethnic characteristics, many foregrounded their Jewishness. Of course, many Russian liberals were Russian-centric, expecting Russian Jews to eventually assimilate, and refusing Poland’s autonomy. Nevertheless, there was an atmosphere that permitted criticism of this attitude. In fact, Russian Jews stood at the forefront of the liberal camp to appeal for the freedom of various ethnic groups.

The pivotal figure in this current was Maxim Vinaver (1863–1926), a founding member of Russia’s Constitutional Democratic Party commonly known as the “Kadets,” who remained involved in its core even during the Civil War (1917–1923).¹⁰ Vinaver was born to a middle-class family in Warsaw under Russian rule in 1863 and graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University of Warsaw. Later, he moved to St. Petersburg and began his career in law. As Vinaver did not mention anything about his time in Poland, there are many unknowns about why he

⁸ Vinaver was involved in the editorial board since 1901.

⁹ That said, this does not mean that Trotsky did not have any Jewish aspect in his self but showed some interest in Jewish matters as the Yiddish language and pogroms. See Nedava, (1972).

¹⁰ For a monograph that describes Vinaver mainly as an advocate of the Jews, see Kel’ner (2018). For an overview of his activity in the Duma, see Horowitz (2013, pp. 37–53).

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based himself in Russia. Historian Victor Kel'ner points out that it was because Vinaver felt there were limits for his success as a Jewish attorney in Poland in the 1880s, when the movement to exclude Jews was already growing (Kel'ner 2018, pp. 59–60).

Russia's largest Liberal political party, the Kadets, was formed in October 1905 by several Liberals whose paths converged. In the first parliamentary elections in 1906, partly because socialists across the board had boycotted the elections, the Kadets became the leading party, and Vinaver was also elected to represent St. Petersburg. It should be noted that among the twelve Jews elected, five were Zionists; this proved that the Zionist movement in its initial stage was by no means a movement to abandon Russia. Perhaps the biggest factor in the Kadets' popularity among Jews was that the party stated the following in Paragraph 1 of Article 1, "Basic Citizenship":

All Russian citizens, irrespective of sex, religion, or nationality, are to be equal before the law. All class distinctions and all limitations on the personal and property rights of Poles, Jews, and all other groups of the population must be abolished, without exception (Harcave 1964, p. 292).

However, Vinaver was not involved in the Kadets simply because it was convenient for him as a Jew. Russian Pavel Miliukov and others, who were the main figures among the Kadets, published a collection of tributes after Vinaver's death, in which Vasily Maklakov, a Russian comrade of the Kadets, speaks about Vinaver's feelings as follows:

He considered "legal inequalities for Jews" to be a symbol of the general lack of a legal basis in the state. Because of this [lack], even these anti-Semitic laws were largely a source of income for the authorities [namely, bribes to overlook restrictions on Jews were rampant]... [In addition,] these exceptions to the law were the source of all legal inequality in Russia. In a state in which the reticent, uneducated, and obedient peasants, who made up most of the population and are the foundation of Russia's wellbeing, were not offered general, equal rights [that should be] for everyone, the "legal inequalities for Jews" naturally lost its sharpness. The absence of equal rights in Russia was a major line of battle at that time. The establishment of a legal basis that Vinaver had been persistently fighting for as a lawyer for many years would have solved both overall [i.e., all Russian] and partial [i.e., Jewish] problems. When he was able to speak of all of this as a representative of St. Petersburg and not as a representative of Jews, and when the fate of the Russian Jews tied to the success needed not only for Jews but also for all legal bases, Vinaver felt joy and pride (Miliukov et al 1937, pp. 63–64).

Thus, in Vinaver, the Jewish aspect, the Russian aspect, and the aspect of a lawyer were all organically connected. Being Jewish made him sensitive to legal deficiencies, and being a lawyer made him quickly realize that this was a problem for Russia as a whole. As he thought that this was the most important issue for Russia, he had no sense of discomfort in joining the Russians who understood this, such as Maklakov, in a unified fight.

What is important here is that the two aspects were not fused together, but instead were connected because their characteristics were preserved and distinguishable from each other. Vinaver, who felt the distinction between the two in himself, continued his activities as a Jew simultaneously with being a member of the Parliament as a Kadet. He continued his activities in the Society for the Promotion of Enlightenment among the Jews of Russia (OPE), in which Jewish Enlighteners as well as Zionists and other types of Jewish nationalists were involved,¹¹ and chaired a political organization called the Union for the Attainment of Full Civil Rights for the Jews in Russia, which was established in 1905 and included Zionists, other Jewish nationalists, and even socialists (Gassenschmidt 1995).

However, Liberals like Vinaver opposed the Zionist policy that the Jews should form an independent political party. Instead, in 1907, a new political organization called the “Jewish People’s Group” was established primarily by Liberals, and activities that were focused on improving Jewish rights continued (Ma’or 49–50; Orbach 1990, pp. 4–5; Gassenschmidt 1995, pp. 19–44). The Group, not a political party, sought to promote the solidarity of liberal Jews and lobby for the benefit of the Jews. In the Group’s journal, *Svoboda i ravenstvo* (Freedom and Equality), the following points were listed as the Group’s main objectives:

- For Jews to gain citizenship and full political rights
- To be negative toward Zionism, which only works to organize Jews outside of Russia, and the *Volkspartei* (an autonomous political party), whose aim is to establish an ethnic congregation of Jews
- The Group is an organization that transcends classes and political parties¹²

Here, the “ethnic congregation” is considered to refer to the ethnic isolation of Jews. To oppose this was the manifestation of the Liberals’ balanced stance, which reveals that staying connected to their surroundings was emphasized. Among the movements that stressed upon Jewish collectivity, this one placed the most importance on Jews and Russians staying very close to one

¹¹ Together with other Jewish nationalists, Vinaver, one of the core members of the Society, supported Jewish cultural projects such as the establishment of the Jewish school system common in entire Russia (Horowitz 2009b).

¹² *Svoboda i ravenstvo* 12, 1907, pp. 10–11.

another.

Jews and the Economy

Vinaver and others were well aware of the deteriorating economic situation and poverty of Jews, which was compelling them to leave Russia, and there were discussions about how to improve this in *Voskhod* (Slutsky 1978, p. 78). First, the Liberals' prescription for the socioeconomic problems faced by Jews was an extension of their basic policy for eliminating legal discrimination against them. In other words, they believed that the elimination of discrimination against Jews would improve the Jewish economy. For example, the *Voskhod* article titled "On the Rights of Jewish Handicrafts" appealed for the abolishment of the Pale, which prevented people from studying at universities in St. Petersburg, because without degrees, handicraft workers would be stuck in their traditional positions and forced into a life of poverty (Kh. 1905). They also developed, as an economic issue, the argument that the elimination of Jewish legal discrimination would lead to the reform of the entire Russian state. They argued that the wider the range of the Jews' economic success in Russia, the more it would benefit the Russian economy.

Voskhod ceased publication in 1906, but in 1910, *Novyi voskhod* (New Voskhod) was launched to take over.¹³ An article titled "Jewish Involvement in Grain Trade" published that year discusses the role of Jews in the grain trade starting in the mid-nineteenth century and its effect on the economy as a whole. Its summary is as follows: In 1858, the Minister of Finance submitted a document on the expansion of Jewish commercial activity to the government's Jewish Committee. It included the following three main points: (1) Jewish commercial and intermediary activities are extremely useful for the economic development of the country; (2) in the Pale, these commercial products are in surplus and work against the economy in the area; and (3) to eliminate the issue of this surplus and redistribute it to the inland areas which were lacking, the Pale should be abolished. In one region of Ukraine, because there had been few Jewish merchants in the past, there was a monopoly on exports, and grain prices were two to three times cheaper than in London. However, the situation changed with the entry of Jewish merchants. This was because Jewish merchants were characterized by their principle of "large distributions with small profits." Not only did this trigger competition, but two types of intermediaries were working to be useful to the producer or, in other words, to increase the purchase price. One was the speculator, who would stock grain and wait until the price was likely to rise, which would then make the price reasonable. The other was a middleman between the producer and the exporter. These intermediaries made it possible to sell when the price was at

¹³ For discussion on economy in *Novyi voskhod*, see Slutsky (1978, pp. 366–369). Slutsky refers to articles of David Horowitz, who argued that Jews played important roles in Russian economy and the export of its products.

its highest (Mikhel'son 1910a). As a result of the changes in the structure of grain trade in southern Russia (southern Ukraine), the Jewish population in the region increased. Thus, Russia primarily exported wheat and barley to Western Europe without feeling the pressure of trans-Atlantic competition. The author of the article discussed the above situation and required the abolition of the Pale to allow Jews to operate where they were needed (Mikhel'son 1910b).

The argument that the Russian economy would benefit from giving freedom to the Jews who had contributed to the Russian economy would be further emphasized when World War I began. During the war, *Novyi voskhod* ceased publication in April 1915, but in its place, a similar weekly, *Evreiskaia nedelia* (Jewish week), was launched the following month. An article published there, titled "Industrial Mobilization," stated the following:

Restrictions on movement, prohibition of employment in a series of occupations, restrictions in the area of stock law—I will only point out the most important deprivation of Jewish rights—but these have all become a shackle on the activities of Jews and at the same time, a heavy burden on economic life for all of Russia (Observer 1915, p. 3).

Russia was at war with Germany at the time. One article pointed out that increasing the economic power of Jews, especially in the western region, undermined the economic influence of Germans. Furthermore, a study was cited that pointed out the pattern of Germans entering a country when economic failure befell Polish landowners and Jews (Berlin 1915). Rather than being vague about their commitment as Russian subjects, they called attention to their concrete contributions to Russia, which they could provide because they were Jewish. Thus, their patriotism to both Russia and their Jewish identity were presented as a set, which was something that made the Liberals unique.

Russians' View

As described above, Russian Jews had a strong motive to be connected with Russia. How did the Russians feel about this? First, it should be noted that the Russian Empire being a multi-ethnic state was not simply a fact but a characteristic of Russia that Russians were very well aware of. Sergei Witte (1859–1915), who was the first de facto prime minister under the constitutional monarchy that emerged as a result of the 1905 Revolution, described Russia as follows:

The great Russian Empire was formed in its existence over millennia as the Slavic tribes living in Russia gradually absorbed the entire mass of other ethnic groups by force, strength, or other means. In this sense, the Russian Empire was born as a complex

conglomerate of diverse ethnic groups, and therefore, in essence, Russia does not exist; only the Russian Empire does (Vitte 1922, p. 116).¹⁴

Witte was an economic expert, serving as a Minister of Finance from 1892 to 1903, and therefore well understood the role of Jews in the Russian economy. In fact, during his time as Minister of Finance, he recommended the settlement of Jews in Manchuria in anticipation of an economic role in Russia's development of the region (Shichman-Bowman 1999, p. 191). In addition, he sometimes opposed the Emperor's anti-Semitism (Von Laue 1963, p. 67). Witte was born in Tbilisi, the capital of what is today Georgia. His father's ancestors were Lutheran Baltic Germans. In this sense, the above quote also reflects how he himself felt. Undoubtedly, the existence of such a person helped strengthen Russian Jews' trust in Russia. In fact, these words were quoted by Zionist Daniel Pasmanik, who worked with Vinaver for a period, in his book, *The Russian Revolution and Jews* (1923), to represent his own opinion (Pasmanik 1923, p. 245).

There were certainly Russians who advocated for Jews. Maklakov, who wrote a commemorative article for Vinaver, also seriously considered Jewish issues to be Russia-wide issues. For example, in 1910, the Kadets introduced a bill to abolish the Pale Settlements, which symbolized discrimination against Jews. "Unjustified national policies have made the state guilty of committing a sin against each Jew," said Maklakov as a Kadet representative in parliament. "I would say to anti-Semites that to have the moral right to be anti-Semitic, first it is necessary to demand the recognition of equal rights for Jews" (Kel'ner 2018, p. 226). The bill did not pass; however, it was a moment in which Russians enthusiastically argued in parliament about the issues facing Jews as though were their own issues.

Furthermore, Maklakov in his capacity as a lawyer represented Menahem Beilis in the Beilis trial or the "Russian Dreyfus affair" in Ukraine in 1911 (Rogger 1986, pp. 44–45).¹⁵ The Beilis case was a situation of a false accusation based on prejudice, called "blood libel," that often occurred in Jewish history. In 1911, a Christian boy was kidnapped and killed in Ukraine. Beilis was arrested and put on trial based on unfounded rumors that the Jewish man had committed this crime to use the boy's blood for a religious ceremony. In response, not only Jews but also other Russians voiced their criticism, and, ultimately, Beilis was acquitted.

Voskhod often referred to not only Maklakov but other Russians who took Jewish problems seriously. An issue from 1905 points out that the Russian press, which had previously treated Jewish problems as non-mainstream issues, no longer treated them as such (after the 1905 Revolution) and further points out that there was now a radical tone in the coverage. It

¹⁴ Vitte mentioned this against the statement "Russia must be for Russians" by the "almost comical nationalist" party.

¹⁵ For Maklakov's attitude toward the Jewish question, see Budtnitskii (1999).

states that the progressive trend of Russia could then explain the existence of problems faced by Jews in Russian society by finding common ground with other Russian problems. For example, there is a reference to a statement by a Russian journalist stating that the situation of Jews created by the Russian legal system was a political sin in particular, and solving the problems faced by Jews was one of the most important issues for the Empire (D. G. 1905a). When the previously mentioned story of denying Jews the right to vote came out, *Voskhod* presented the opinion of a Russian economist who opposed this situation. He demonstrated his understanding of how Jews had historically been companions to the Russian liberation movement by stating as follows:

The struggle against the lack of equal rights for Jews is therefore not just a matter of patriotism, a rudimentary sense of justice, and a political calculation. It is also an issue of dignity for Russia's "Christian" intelligentsia (D. G. 1905b).

From the 1917 Revolution to Exile

The October Revolution was marked by the Bolsheviks overthrowing the provisional government. Soon after, Russia would enter a Civil War for several years, split into the Bolshevik Red Army and the counter-revolutionary White Army, which included Liberals as well as right-wingers. Moreover, in Ukraine, separately from these conflicts, Ukrainian nationalists took up their own weapons, aiming for Ukraine's independence from Russia; thus, it became a three-way battle.

Bolshevik ideas were by no means welcome to many Jews. This was because the socialist Bolsheviks were hostile to religion and were thus incompatible with traditional Judaism. Their aim was to overthrow the capitalist system and destroy the bourgeoisie, and they were extremely hostile toward commerce, which was the center of the Jewish economy. Therefore, when the Civil War began in earnest in 1918 between the Red Army, the White Army, and Ukrainian nationalists calling for Ukrainian independence, there were some Jews who sided with the White Army; some Jewish businessmen even provided support to the White Army (Budtnitskii 2012, p. 144). When the defeat of the White Army became clear, together with other White Russians (Russians on the White Army's side), the Jewish Liberals who opposed the Bolsheviks went into exile in the west such as in Berlin and Paris. In 1919, Vinaver served as a Foreign Minister for the White local government established in Crimea. However, soon after the government collapsed after an attack by the Red Army, he moved to Paris. While editing the White Russian newspaper, *Poslednie novost*, (Latest News) with the Russian Miliukov, he continued to take a leading role among both liberal Russians and liberal Jews, including

launching a Russian-language weekly newspaper, *Evreiskaia tribuna* (*Jewish Tribune*), in 1920 (Horowitz 2013, p. 37; Gassenschmidt 2010).¹⁶

However, during the Civil War, Jews were attacked by the White Army as Bolsheviks, whereas the Ukrainian nationalists accused them of being Russian pawns who were blocking Ukrainian independence. This antipathy toward Jews, often unfounded, led to the most devastating pogrom in pre-Holocaust history, where anywhere between 50,000 and 200,000 Jews were killed and even more were injured and raped (Budnitskii 2012, p. 217). Despite this, why did Vinaver and the others join the White Army and continue to operate in the same vicinity even in exile? As previously mentioned, one reason was that the White Army was the only option left for Jews, who believed that Bolshevik religious and economic policies would be disastrous for them. Nonetheless, what did Jews who supported the White Army think about the fact that Jews suffered as a result of the White Army's pogroms, at least for a short period? In reality, it was a difficult decision at the time. They suspected that the Bolsheviks would be unable to prevent pogroms in the long run. They regarded the Bolsheviks as unruly and incapable of governing, and thought they would cause further turmoil in Russia. The reality of pogroms was not limited to physical attacks on Jews; looting of shops was also common. This was due to the absence of police, military, and other guardians of national order, and they believed that if the state were stable, even if an anti-Semitic atmosphere were widespread, cases that escalated into pogroms would be greatly reduced.

Moreover, there may have been trade-offs with other nationalist movements, especially that of Poland. Compared to the White Army, which sought to revive the Russian Empire, the Red Army was compromising with both Germany and Poland. As we have already seen, Russian Liberals were often concerned about Poland's separation from Russia. In the first issue of the *Evreiskaia tribuna*, Vinaver contributed to a discussion titled "Russian Problems." According to him, at that time, Russia was facing interrelated problems, such as separatism, with Poland and the Bolsheviks. However, for Jews, Russia's unity was also important for the economy, and there was a shared awareness of the issues, regardless of whether one was a Zionist (Vinaver 1920a).¹⁷

After World War I, Eastern Europe changed to a system that would create states for each ethnic group, carved out of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. However, in every country, ethnic minorities always accounted for certain fractions of the population. In post-war treaties, Poland and other newly formed states promised them protection. The newly established League

¹⁶ For the relations between Vinaver and *Evreiskaia tribuna*, see Kel'ner (2018, pp. 394–436). The journal was distributed to Russia in its early days.

¹⁷ Even before the Revolution, the Polish problem was a main cause of the discrepancy between Russian Jewish liberals and Polish Jews, the latter of which were more sympathetic to the Polish nation that was oppressed by the Tsarist government (Gassenschmidt 1995, pp. 105–108).

of Nations was also supposed to mediate the issues of the minorities of the new states. Yet, at least for Jews, this system was eventually reduced to a formality (Mizuno 2006). For example, an article in the 1921 *Evreiskaia tribuna* criticized the Polish government, saying that the Polish-Soviet War Peace Treaty, signed in Riga in March 1921, broke its obligation to protect the rights of ethnic minorities under the Paris Peace Treaty. The article bluntly stated that “in regard to all cultures, [Poland] has declared that it is not concerned about the international agreement that its own representatives have signed, due to its ‘impulse to go east’” (Gronskii 1921). They felt a sense of danger as a result of the collapse of the unified Russian Empire.

That said, Jews were not focused on Russia simply because of these negative factors or, in other words, by way of the process of elimination. Above all, they firmly believed that Russia was the place for Russian Jews to feel pride in their Jewishness. This was the main reason that they remained in the Russian world. “Our Mission Statement,” printed in the first issue of the *Evreiskaia tribuna*, contains the following passage:

Jews are of a race that respects the law, not only in ancient traditions, but in all historical experiences and in actual moral and material interests. The absence of law, anarchy, and the lawlessness of emotions are more harmful to Jews than to anyone else. The nobility of law is not only the ideal for Jews, but is an urgent demand and a serious need. This is why Russian Jews have been so aggressive in participating in the great struggle for the victory of law over tyranny and violence (Blank 1920, p. 2).

The main interests of the *Evreiskaia tribuna* were anti-Semitism and the democratization and reunification of Russia.¹⁸ One article argued that it would be better for Jews, who were spread throughout the empire, if Russia were integrated. Another article pointed out that the role of Jews in Russia was “Westernization.” This was allegedly because of their insatiable penchant for the “establishment of culture, belief in reason, and creative positivism” (this likely means grounded scientific reasoning) (Kaplan 1993; Kel’ner 2003).¹⁹

The role of Jews in Russia was often revealed in this journal. The following quote is from an article advocating their role as promoters of Westernization (which may sound arrogant to Russians):

(...) Jews who are persecuted and without rights everywhere are always westernizers and Europeans. (...) they are often more European than Russians, and occasionally

¹⁸ Many passages from here in this section overlaps the ones in the following: Tsurumi (2021 forthcoming, pp. 56–59).

¹⁹ On the role as a Westernizer, the following article of the journal typifies: Mirskii (1920).

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more European than Europeans. (...) Jews are city people, who are from towns and not fields. (...) they are intellectuals, merchants, urban people and Western people. (...) Russian Jews are not only westernizers but also cultural. They not only champion the West, democracy, and the “city” against “particularity,” but they would also champion civilization against “Scythians,” and they always champion “Russia in Europe” and never “Russia against Europe” (Mirskii 1921, p. 2).

Jews indeed occupied a significant portion of Russian intellectual life. They played a significant role in Russian literature and literary criticism and had a large presence in the legal profession (by 1888, Jews comprised 21 percent of St. Petersburg’s lawyers, for example) (Budnitskii 2012, P. 27).

Another typical Jewish role discussed was the economic role to reconstruct and reinforce the Russian economy, sometimes in conjunction with an appeal to Russians. An article titled “Jews and the Economic Rise of Russia” included the following contention: “Grant Jews true equal rights (...) without racial discrimination. This is one of the first necessary conditions for the economic resurgence of Russia and for her defense against possible foreign domination” (Apostol 1920, p. 3). Another article, titled “The Role of Jews in the Work of Economic Resurgence of Russia,” argued that “in industrial and economic activity in Russia, no area exists whose core does not include Jews” (Mikhel’son 1920, p. 3). As the Russian Revolution in 1917 solved the issue of legal inequality of Jews as individual citizens, this claim would be meant for Russians to recognize Jewish national rights.

Interestingly, the names of Vladimir Solovyov and Nikolai Berdyaev, both Christian religious philosophers, appeared in *Evreiskaia tribuna*. Commemorating Solovyov’s twentieth death anniversary, an issue in August 1920 ran three articles about him, one of them by Vinaver. Vinaver started his short article with a story of how Solovyov prayed for the Jews on his deathbed:

(...) For West Europeans, Russian life for a long time will appear a chain of puzzles, and one of them is (...) the Russian Jewish problem. Why are the people, enduring such anguish from the step-mother country, attracted back to it with such spiritual yearning, with such an auspicious hope in the bright future? What secures such a hope? The best reason would be the figures of the Russian people, in whom Russian national genius is embodied in its clearest form. In them the key to our connection with Russia resides, and in them the security of our future resides.

One of them is Vladimir Solovyov (Vinaver 1920, p. 1).

Another article in the same issue pointed out that Solovyov was not satisfied with requiring equal rights for Jews, which Russian liberal Judeophiles supported, but instead insisted on a special status for Jews in the future state (Minskii 1920, p. 2).²⁰ In 1924, *Evreiskaia tribuna* reprinted one of Berdyaev's articles from the Kadet journal *Rul*. Titled "The Jewish Problem as a problem of Christians," this article first gave an overview of the various types of anti-Semitism. Berdyaev attributed racial anti-Semitism to Germans and argued that religious anti-Semitism, which was the dominant form in Russia, could not be racial because Christians could not forget that Jesus was Jewish. He argued that anti-Semitic Christians and anti-Christian Jews had, in fact, a number of things in common. For example, anti-Semitic Christians are devoted to the Jewish Messianic idea. Further, the anti-Christian Judaic idea of kingdom and bliss in this world pertains not only to Jews, but also to Aryans, as the way to the kingdom of God is open to them all. Berdyaev contended, "In the Russian spiritual setting and Russian Christianity, Judeo-Christian, national messianic elements were strong. Russians should have done the experiment of the realization of the 'earthy paradise,' the kingdom of absolute justice on Earth, together with Jews." He argued that the violent anti-Semitism Jews encountered constituted the death of the Russian spirit (Berdiaev 1924). Berdyaev counted on the interaction and cooperation of the Jews and Russian Christians. Although such Christian logic seems irrelevant to the Jewish Liberals' argument, these Jewish Liberals felt that there should be a special place for Jews in Russia.

Conclusion

Relations between the Jewish aspect and the Russian aspect among Russian Jews were diverse. A reciprocal relation was established and maintained within the Russian Jewish Liberals' self. A focus on aspects of the self enables a detailed analysis of what social conditions could motivate Russian Jews to remain in Russia and leave it. A mere focus on the individual level has only suggested that the development of nationalism, economic decline of Jews, and severe pogroms constituted "push factors" for Russian Jewish migration, and has not explained why the difference among individuals—those who left Russia and those who remained in Russia in a certain way—appeared. Meanwhile, the focus on aspects of the self especially reveals the mechanism of what Vinaver above deemed an enigma: why some Russian Jews remained in Russia despite several negative factors. Those Russian Jews who decided to remain in Russia did so not merely because they were born in a Jewish family living in Russia and therefore naturally held Jewish and Russian aspects. They did so because they established and developed positive, reciprocal relations between the two aspects. They conceived a reciprocal relationship between

²⁰ Of course, Solovyov expected Jews' conversion to Christianity sometime in future, but it is interesting that the friendship between himself and his Jewish friends continued although they were aware of that (Horowitz 2017, pp. 198–214).

Jews and Russia/Russians, and with such a perspective, having both the Jewish aspect and the Russian aspect in the same self could most effectively activate their self because they could stand at the center of such reciprocity.

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