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Maccabi versus Hapoel: The Political Divide that Developed in Sports in Eretz Israel, 1926–1935

HAIM KAUFMAN

THE ROOTS OF THE DIVIDE: THE CONFLICT OVER HEBREW LABOUR
IN MACCABI

The process of establishing Maccabi Eretz Israel began in 1906 with the founding of the Jaffa 'Rishon Letzion' Sports Association which, with time, changed its name to Maccabi Tel Aviv. The founding of the organization was part of a worldwide process to establish national sports associations in the Diaspora following Nordau's famous speech at the Second Zionist Congress, during which he called for the re-establishment of a 'Judaism of Muscles'. In 1909 Poalai Zion founded a sports organization called Shimshon, which functioned in Jerusalem for a short period of time until Maccabi Jerusalem was established in November 1911. In 1912 additional Maccabi associations were established in various colonies: Petach-Tikva, Zichron Ya'akov, Rehovot, Akron, Rishon Letzion, Gadera, Nes Ziona, Rosh Pina and Kastina. In September 1912, the national organization of Maccabi Eretz Israel was founded in Gimnasya 'Hertzelia' in Tel Aviv, which became the Eretz Israel district of the Jewish Gymnast Movement, founded in 1903 during the Sixth Zionist Congress in Basel serving as an umbrella organization for all Zionist sport unions.¹

Maccabi presented itself, from the outset, as a non-political organization, which did not regard sports activities as its only goal, but as an organization for national education and defence missions as well. In this fashion, Maccabi members in Jerusalem fought against missionary activity by opening Hebrew language classes and defending their communities: patrolling Jewish neighbourhoods in Jerusalem and Jaffa and participating in Jabotinsky's defence council during the Arab attacks of 1920.

Already in its initial stages, cracks in Maccabi's unity began to appear. Maccabi, which sought to maintain political neutrality and avoid taking a stand on controversial issues found it difficult to deal with the issue of Hebrew labour. That is, work that had been done by Arab workers was

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now being done by Jewish workers. Workers saw the establishment of a labour movement in Eretz Israel as a central national goal and demanded that Maccabi, being a national union, support the idea. Farmers in the colonies, who supported cheap Hebrew labour, opposed its organization and it was due to this that many disputes arose within Maccabi.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HAPOEL ASSOCIATION

The conditions that were created in Eretz Israel as a result of the Third and Fourth Aliya Movements (1923–1928) brought about the founding of a separate sports union for workers—Hapoel ('the worker' in Hebrew)—and led to a divide in Hebrew sports. A combination of several central factors was responsible for the establishment of Hapoel. The first, and most important, of these was the development of a civilian camp at this time. The civilian camp was characterized mainly by its opposition to a socialist point of view and to the hegemony of a Histadrut Klalit (General Federation of Labour) in the Hebrew Yishuv (the Jewish settlement in Mandatory Palestine) and its support of private initiative and a capitalist economy. Various struggles developed between this camp and the Hapoel camp over the issue of Hebrew labour, including settlement budgets and electoral competitions in national institutions. Maccabi's neutral stance was interpreted by workers as identification with the bourgeoisie. Consequently, a neutral position was no longer possible and Maccabi was forced, against its will, into the civilian camp.

Another factor leading to the establishment of Hapoel was the significant increase in the number of workers in Eretz Israel following World War I. Workers united in large organized groups and political parties, which led to the establishment of the Histadrut Klalit, a national organization for workers in Eretz Israel. The Histadrut regarded itself as an organization whose aim was to fulfil the needs of society in Eretz Israel. It worked for the absorption of immigrants and for the Yishuv, built worker housing, formed an independent economy by founding the Workers' Association and assumed the role of meeting the personal, cultural and spiritual needs of the worker. The establishment of a worker sports union was compatible with Histadrut Klalit's main goals. The initiative to establish Hapoel came from 'legitimate members' and not from the Histadrut leadership, which had no connection to sport. Nevertheless, after the sports association had been established, the Histadrut embraced it.

Other factors which influenced the establishment of Hapoel included financial crises which influenced the creation of international worker sports. The financial crises, which accompanied the Third and Fourth Aliyas, resulted in growing unemployment and unwanted free time which was filled, among other things, by sports activities. Central to these

activities were football games, which gained popularity after the British conquest of Eretz Israel. Workers began to institutionalize their organized sports, at first in Maccabi, and later, due to political circumstances, in the separate sports organizations for workers and the separate Hapoel Association.

The Internationale Socialist of worker sports, founded in Switzerland in 1921, attracted hundreds of thousands of workers, and in 1925 it had 1.3 million members. The organization reached its peak in 1931 with 3 million members in eighteen states. The purpose of worker sports was defined as the maintenance of the worker's health and a part of his leisure culture. Worker sports contradicted 'general' sports, which were perceived as bourgeois due to their negative values, as were professional sports of all kinds. The purpose was to create a sport for the masses targeted to regular folk where various branches and training methods would be developed for the average worker and not the skilled athlete. Worker sports were political in nature and their role was to educate the worker about his class status.

The establishment of Hapoel grew from its relationship with the Internationale Socialist of Worker Sports (Sozialistische Arbeiter Sport Internationale—SASI), and Hapoel did indeed become a member of the international organization shortly after its establishment. This partnership, however, created tensions between its national goals and its international position. The international organization defined its aims in clear socialist terms as a war against capitalism, emphasizing its support of worker sports unions in their struggle for a worldwide proletariat. The Hebrew Hapoel in Eretz Israel gave the impression of creating a new society—yet its goal was not international class war, but the construction of a national-Zionist society in Eretz Israel. For this reason, the concept of liberating the worker by means of the culture of the body was emphasized in Eretz Israel worker sports for the purpose of developing a future society. From a conceptual point of view, Hapoel sided not only with the liberation of man, but also with the shaping of the 'New Jew', that is, they wanted sports for workers which would realize the concept of 'Judaism of Muscles'.²

The process of establishing Hapoel began in 1923 in Tel Aviv with the founding of the sports association by that name, but it was rather short-lived. The first Hapoel club with continuous activity was founded in 1924 and functioned, at first, as an autonomous frame within Maccabi. The establishment of additional worker sports associations, especially in Emek Yizrael, was the first attempt at creating a national Hapoel Association, with Haifa as its centre. A decision to separate from Maccabi was made in the founding meeting which took place in Afula in August 1924. This initial unionizing did not last long, especially due to the centralist position held by David Ben-Gurion, secretary of the organization, which led to the

rejection of Hapoel's temporary secretariat in Haifa and the establishment of a national Hapoel Association in Tel Aviv in May 1926.³

MACCABI'S ATTEMPT TO PREVENT A DIVIDE—THE FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE 'YEKUTIELI AGREEMENT'

The establishment of the Hapoel Association in May, 1926, placed the Maccabi organization in a somewhat embarrassing position. Negotiations with Hapoel which would fail to bring it under Maccabi's patronage would force it to be recognized as a separate entity and would harm Maccabi's neutral approach. Moreover, ignoring Hapoel's existence would mean turning a blind eye to an existing reality, whether Maccabi liked it or not. It was, therefore, preferable to deal with Hapoel and to try and manipulate it in such a way as to prevent damage to Maccabi.

Josef Yekutieli, a central member of Maccabi, proposed a solution based around the existence of two organizations with equal standing, each one 'governed by complete internal autonomy in accordance to its own rules and regulations'. The two organizations would unite and centralize their activities in technical matters including maintenance of teachers and trainers, courses for teachers and trainers, planning festivities, deciding on terminology in Hebrew, etc. Yekutieli defined the essence of the two organizations and added a clause which classified the terms of membership to the national and international organizations:

1. The Maccabi Organization of Eretz Israel is a non-political national organization. It accepts members regardless of class or political party. It is the official national organization of Eretz Israel, both internally and externally.
2. The association for physical culture, Hapoel, is an organization which accepts members strictly from the working class who are members of the Histadrut Klalit. It is the official organization of sports for Hebrew workers in Eretz Israel.
3. Each of the organizations in question has the right to join any national or international organization it sees fit, so long as this does not harm the following basic national principles: a) Hebrew is the official language of both organizations in question; b) Recognition of Eretz Israel as the land of the Hebrew people; c) Zionism is the way to revive the people of Israel and returning them to their homeland; d) Knowing the Hebrew National Anthem; e) Our flag—blue and white.⁴

On 15 January 1926, an agreement between Maccabi and Hapoel was signed. The agreement adopted most of the clauses in the version drafted by Josef Yekutieli. Nevertheless, one clause remained unresolved. Hapoel was unwilling to join a national or international organization without

harming the national principles listed by Yekutieli. This clause was replaced by a new one stating that 'each of the organizations in question has the right to join any national or international organization, as it sees fit'. Disagreement on this central clause turned the agreement into a mere memorandum.

This disagreement reflects the difference in the perceptions held by each of the sports associations. Hapoel, which regarded itself as part of international worker sports, was in contact with the SASI and intended to join its ranks. Acceptance of the 'national' clause might have harmed the relations Hapoel was hoping to foster, as well as the standing of Hapoel within the Histadrut Klalit. Furthermore, according to Hapoel, there was injury to the independence of the association, interference with its internal affairs and doubt over its national aims, none of which it planned to tolerate in an agreement that was meant to be strictly professional in nature.

At the beginning of July 1927, an agreement between Maccabi and Hapoel was signed once again. The new agreement did not declare reconciliation and included no substantial changes. It was determined that the agreement would be national and common grounds of action were defined, which in fact repeated what had already been determined in January 1927, with only slight changes in wording. Maccabi conceded to removing the 'national clause', but grounds for cooperation, which were not supposed to create any problems, were yet to be determined. The agreement, then, was merely a preface to concrete negotiations regarding each clause. It was agreed that a committee with equal representation (three from each side), whose decisions would mean approval by each side, would be set up. In the case of further disagreement the issue would be resolved by proxies from each side.⁵

Such a committee was indeed formed, yet it seems that the discussions held were sluggish and failed to produce any practical results. There are no direct records of the committee discussions, but it appears that it stopped meeting after April 1928.⁶ Since no protocols from the discussions have been preserved, we do not know for certain what brought about the end of discussions. The aim of the meetings was not to bridge ideological gaps, and it appears that an arrangement was tenable. It can be concluded that two main reasons caused the meetings to come to an end:

1. Declaring a desire to create common patterns of organizing and implementing it on a concrete level are quite distinct challenges. Hapoel was closely connected to the Histadrut and in July 1927—the month the agreement was signed with Maccabi—it officially joined SASI. Creating a common framework for Maccabi and Hapoel could have disturbed the decision making process. Each decision now had to be approved by the Hapoel Committee of the Histadrut and in accordance

with SASI guidelines, in addition to following the common guidelines agreed upon by the Maccabi-Hapoel committee.

2. When taking into account the difficulties Hapoel management encountered in controlling its branches, the agreement might have been more trouble than it was worth. Similarly, Maccabi found it difficult to form a common framework with a body committed ideologically and organizationally to institutions without any relations to Maccabi and which could indirectly limit its independence.
3. In this fashion, two distinct equally sized sports organizations evolved.⁷ Each organization designed its own programmes, and it is likely that the lack of consistency in the meetings of the committee was far from coincidental. It was rather beneficial to present a 'positive' image of the side working for the unity of sports in Eretz Israel, while blaming the other side as being the obstacle to reaching this aim. In reality, it seems that neither organization had any intention of complaining.
4. These years are characterized, as noted above, by a growing tension between the political camps in the Hebrew Yishuv. Shortly after signing the July 1927 agreement and the start of the meetings held by the committee in August 1927, the sixteenth Zionist Congress was held under the shadow of the crisis in Eretz Israel. A sharp confrontation between the political camps took place in the Congress, which ended with the election of a Zionist leadership without a representative of the Hapoel movement.⁸ It is clear that this confrontation—synchronous to the meetings of the committee—had an effect on the relationship between the associations, since Hapoel, as mentioned above, saw Maccabi as representative of 'bourgeois' sports and identified itself with the 'civilian camp'.

THE FOOTBALL BRANCH—COOPERATION AND CONFRONTATION

The trial period of cooperation between Maccabi and Hapoel from 1926 to 1933 indicates that the main sport in demand was football. This sport was extremely popular in Eretz Israel, due to the influence of the British, among other reasons. This game, by nature, requires a confrontation which especially attracts attention when the competitions are run by clubs in conflict. Thereby, the football branch created a dialectic process. In order to arouse interest, the competition had to be institutionalized. However, as it became institutionalized, the sense of tension and violence created between the camps, in turn, hampered the establishment of the branch and even paralyzed it at times.

By 1928 many football competitions were held, but under no organized frame. If any organizations were formed, they were strictly local. Early attempts to create a football association failed.⁹ The British organized cup games and in 1927 five Jewish teams participated within this framework.

In 1928 the organizational framework underwent a change. A year earlier, Major General Plummer disarmed the British Police and changed the structure of the British Police Force and army in Eretz Israel.¹⁰ The downsizing of forces led to the dismantling of many British teams which had set the tone for football in Eretz Israel and the hegemony was now transferred to the Jewish teams. On 29 March 1928 representative Jewish, Arab and British teams assembled, and it was decided to make a 'complete change' by managing 'competitions according to the appropriate rules and regulations followed by all other countries'. In the new cup games, 12 teams participated, Maccabi and Hapoel among them. Such participation required cooperation between them for the purpose of organizing these games, which were conducted properly in the following years.¹¹

Cooperation in organizing the cup games created the right atmosphere for the next step—the establishment of a national football association. The initiative to form an association came from Maccabi's presidency, which invited all the football teams to meet on 14 August in order to establish an 'Eretz Israel Football Association'. Hapoel agreed to the initiative and all three members of its secretariat were present at the assembly for the establishment of the association. Maccabi asked that the football association receive international recognition and that it be accepted as a member of the International Football Association (FIFA). The fact that Hapoel was part of SASI posed certain problems. SASI opposed the connection with FIFA, which represented professional football and thereby was regarded as 'bourgeois'.

Hapoel declared that it would join the football association 'as long as it does not become a member of FIFA'. The football association was eventually formed, but without any of the Hapoel teams. Yet this did not prevent continued cooperation. The cup games continued to take place and at the beginning of 1929 a county league was formed in the Tel Aviv area, where three British teams, Maccabi from Tel Aviv and Petach-Tikva and Tel Aviv Hapoel participated. In July 1929 agreements between the associations regarding national competitions were reached.¹²

In April 1930 Hapoel decided to join the football association. The problem of belonging to FIFA was solved by presenting the membership as 'temporary' and having the association turn to FIFA to request that Hapoel be allowed to join the association without belonging to FIFA.¹³

The entry of Hapoel permitted football league games to take place for the first time. However, in the years to come, Hapoel's standing oscillated often under the claim that it was discriminated against. In fact, Hapoel left the association on more than one occasion. Only in 1933 was an agreement signed which finally settled the relations in the football association.

Football encounters between Maccabi and Hapoel often turned into violent battlegrounds for the fans of the teams and saw great tension among the players on the field as well. Incidents between fans on the

football field were a common sight, but here was added another dimension stemming from the ideological tension between the political camps of the Yishuv. It seemed as though the football field provided a mechanism for letting off political steam, which in other circumstances would have been difficult to express. There are many examples of this phenomenon throughout the entire period. Clearly each camp blamed the other and these clashes and the subsequent arguments filled the media of the time.¹⁴

ADDITIONAL ATTEMPTS AT ESTABLISHING STABLE RELATIONS

Despite the frequent confrontations, especially in the field of football, the split was not definitive and there is a great deal of evidence of various contacts taking place between the associations.¹⁵ One interesting attempt at institutionalization was the establishment in 1929 of a Physical Culture Council. This initiative came from Itzhak Rabinowitz, who was the Head of Maccabi in Russia. The intention, according to Rabinowitz's statements on 31 July 1929, was to establish a centralizing council under the sponsorship of national institutions which would have the authority 'to fight against the damaging tendencies of the sports movement in Eretz Israel and to rationally direct physical education in both a quantitative and qualitative sense'.

This initiative was immediately accepted by Maccabi, but Hapoel was more suspicious, despite the unconditional support of some of its central personalities. The fear appears to have been over whether such a council would be another way to unify the organizations, as well as the country, and a cover for Maccabi to bring Hapoel under its wing.

Despite arguments inside Hapoel and in the National Council, Hapoel finally decided to join the National Physical Culture Council.¹⁶ Since the Council was about to be established in any case, it was in Hapoel's best interest to shape it by joining it. The founding assembly of the National Physical Culture Council met on 16 January 1930, but there is no evidence of any of its activities following this date.¹⁷

In July 1931 the management of the National Committee decided to re-establish the Physical Culture Council. Henrietta Szold and Abraham Katzanelson were chosen to lead the Council. Szold's aim, among others, was to coordinate activities in the 'field of sports and physical education'. The Maccabi and Hapoel associations were intended to have representation in the Council, but although they were asked to send proxies, there is no evidence that this request was ever met. In practice, the Council's activities amounted to the participation of representatives of the National Committee—Szold and Katzanelson—in organizing the Maccabia.

On 19 April 1932, after the first Maccabia took place, the Council assembled a meeting on 'the question of cooperation between Maccabi and

Hapoel'. It was decided that the Council would form a committee with equal representation, made up of two representatives from each organization headed by an envoy of the Physical Culture Council. The committee would, among other tasks, create activities shared by both organizations in different areas. It appeared as though Maccabi–Hapoel relations were on the right track, but shortly after the meeting, even this initiative failed.

On 7 May 1932 an Eretz Israel Cup Final football game took place between Hapoel Haifa and the top Eretz Israel British Police football team. The game was stopped when the Haifa players rejected the British referee's decision. Victory was awarded to the British team by the Association management and one of the Haifa players was removed from the team for a period of one year. Hapoel complained of discrimination and blamed Maccabi for not supporting them in the Association. Hapoel turned to the Physical Culture Council whose decision not to unilaterally support Hapoel was a bitter disappointment. On 21 August 1932 the presidency of the Physical Culture Council assembled Maccabi and Hapoel representatives in a meeting which would prove to be this institution's swan song. Henrietta Szold expressed her disappointment at the lack of participation on the part of the sports centres and resigned, doubtful that such an institution could function properly. All those present agreed with the need to make changes in the Council—and although a decision had not been made—the Council in effect ceased to exist.¹⁸

There were further efforts at conciliation by the World Maccabi Union. The position of World Maccabi in relation to Hapoel was more moderate than that of Eretz Israel Maccabi. Many members of the Labour Movement in the Diaspora were also members of Maccabi and the conflict in Eretz Israel could have brought about a conflict in the Diaspora. The apparent plan was to recognize Hapoel Eretz Israel as equal in status to Maccabi Eretz Israel so that Hapoel could join World Maccabi. Three attempts of this kind were made. The first was in May 1930 when Alexander Rosenfeld, member of the presidency of World Maccabi, visited Israel as part of the preparations for the Maccabia. The second was by Moshe Shapira, a World Maccabi proxy from Berlin.¹⁹ An additional attempt was made by Lord Melchet, President of World Maccabi. During his visit to Eretz Israel in 1933 he even agreed to the existence of a separate Hapoel in the Diaspora.²⁰

All attempts failed. Maccabi Eretz Israel believed all these offers gave too many concessions to Hapoel and even Hapoel feared its organization's absorption into Maccabi. Their Palestinocentric (placing Eretz Israel at the centre of concern) approach saw Maccabi as a constant enemy and they tried—not always successfully—to extend this attitude to the Diaspora as well.

THE CONFLICT OVER HAPOEL'S PARTICIPATION IN THE 'FIRST MACCABIA'

The concept of holding an international gathering of Jewish athletes in Eretz Israel was conceived by Josef Yekutieli in 1927 and was approved in June 1929 at the International Maccabi Congress in Maharish-Austreo, Czechoslovakia. The Congress which was named the Maccabia was scheduled for 1932, in commemoration of 1800 years since the Bar-Kochba rebellion.²¹ Hapoel was invited to participate in the Maccabia. In Hapoel's first convention, a positive stance was taken in regard to its participation, if several conditions were to be met, including: Hapoel's participation in the organizing committee of the Congress; an invitation to all the sports organizations in the Diaspora (including those related to the Labour Movement); the participation of each union in its own uniforms with its own flags and chants; the participation of Hapoel as a unique bloc in all branches of activity; and the naming of the Congress 'The Maccabia-International Assembly of Athletic Hebrew Youth in Eretz Israel'.

In a joint meeting with Maccabi's leaders on 1 January 1932, Hapoel even demanded that Beitar, the revisionist youth movement, not be invited. These conditions, in effect, would expropriate the Maccabia from Maccabi and would turn Hapoel into a partner with equal rights in organizing the Congress—as such this was rejected by Maccabi.²²

From January 1932, the national institutions and the Histadrut began to intervene in the conflict. Against the background of overcoming anti-Semitism during those years, great importance was placed on demonstrating an international 'Judaism of Muscles' which would indicate Jewish unification and serve as a means for propaganda for aliya. The Histadrut management, partly appointed by the national leadership, proved to have a more moderate and pragmatic approach than Hapoel. Isolation of the Histadrut Sports Union from an event meant to concentrate public attention was likely to harm the Histadrut in its struggle against the national leadership and create a precedent of Hapoel's refusal to participate in the future. Maccabi's claim that Hapoel's demands for equal representation were unjust was accepted both by the Hapoel Council and the Histadrut leadership, and Hapoel finally gave up this demand.²³

In a meeting which took place in the offices of the Jewish Agency on 4 April 1932, an agreement was reached regarding Hapoel's participation in the Maccabia and its committees. Hapoel gave up its demand for equal representation and in return it was agreed that an inspection committee where Hapoel would have status equal to Maccabi would be set up. The remaining unresolved problem was the representation of sports organizations from the Diaspora, which were close to Hapoel but were not members of Maccabi. Friedenthal, a representative of World Maccabi who took part in the meeting, expressed a strong stand against such representation. According to him,

World Maccabi agreed to Hapoel's existence in Eretz Israel, but 'in the Diaspora it was clearly accepted that Maccabi remain the sole Zionist sports organization'. Hapoel asked to postpone their reply, but Fiedenthal refused. Negotiations ended in failure, as each side blamed the other for the outcome.²⁴

CONCLUSIONS

The first nine years following the establishment of the Hapoel Sports Association shaped the relationship between the sports organizations and led to the politicization of sports in Eretz Israel. The many conflicts between the sports organizations that arose as a result of the political climate created in the Yishuv at the time rendered worthless all the attempts to arrive at a written settlement which would cement the relationship between them. Instead, mutual hostility and suspicion were created among the organizations, even when it appeared that a settlement which would satisfy both sides had been reached—the negotiations always ended in failure. Hapoel's refusal to participate in the Maccabias was an extreme expression of a lack of ability to compromise.

Nevertheless, alongside the many conflicts, a pragmatic approach evolved which soothed the sting of political hostility and led to cooperation on several issues. The establishment of a football association (together with football cup games and league games) is a typical example of such an approach. The years discussed in this article were years of adaptation to a new reality which were reflected in the sports of Eretz Israel. Maccabi, without any prior intention, formed a defined political identity which began with the establishment of Hapoel. After 1935, a sort of *modus vivendi* was formed. There was no less hostility, yet a system of resignation and mutual recognition had clearly been shaped.

NOTES

1. Uriel Simri, *Sport and Athletic Unions in Eretz Israel before World War I*, Wingate Institute, 1968.
2. Haim Kaufman, 'The Conceptual Relation between Worker Sports and Hapoel Associations', *Betnua*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (May 1995), pp. 56–76.
3. On the process of the establishment of Hapoel see Haim Kaufman, 'The Establishment of the Hapoel Sports Association', *Cateadra*, Vol. 80 (June 1996), pp. 122–149.
4. Kfar Maccabia Archives 1–139; Working Archives iv-208-59a.
5. *Davar*, 4 July 1927.
6. On 19 June 1928 the sports column writer of *Ha'aretz*, Yavne (Bneyahu), criticized the end of activities of the committee with equal representation. On 12 March 1928 *Davar* reported in the name of Hapoel that negotiations with Maccabi were taking place. At some time between these dates discussions stopped.
7. No exact data regarding the size of the organization could be found. A letter from Maccabi Eretz Israel to the Hapoel Committee of the Zionist Histadrut, dated 3 April 1927, Wingate Archives, 1.10/18, reports 2000 members in 15 branches. According to surveys by Hapoel, in the Working Archives, iv-208-116b; Wingate Archives 5.02/28, the number of Hapoel members at the end of 1929 was about 2500.

8. Dan Giladi, *The Yishuv during the Fourth Aliya*, Tel Aviv, 1973, pp. 231–236.
9. See Haim Kaufman, 'The Conceptual Relation between Worker Sports and Hapoel Associations', *Betnua*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (May 1995), p. 136.
10. Ben Zion Dinur (ed.), *The History of the Hagana*, Vol. B, Tel Aviv, 1973, pp. 231–236.
11. *Davar*, 10 April 1928.
12. See *Davar*, 9 August 1928; *Ha'aretz*, 5 August 1928, 26 February 1929.
13. On the circumstances under which Hapoel quit see the report (December 1931–December 1932), Working Archives, iv-244 (printed material), clause 12. See also the agreement (22 February 1933), Working Archives, iv-244-115.
14. For descriptions of violence in football games see *Davar*, 20 November 1927, 15 March, 10 April, 1 August, 5 December 1928, 8 February 1929; *Ha'aretz*, 25 December 1928, 5 March, 14 May 1929; *Doar Hayom*, 4 June, 3 August, 3 October 1926.
15. *The Ben-Gurion Diary*, IDF Archives, 2058. See the report on the activities of the Hapoel Association, 17 December 1928, Working Archives, iv-224-116b.
16. Hapoel Centre Newsletter 8–9, October 1929, Working Archives (printed material).
17. On the Physical Culture Council episode in 1929 see a letter from Bneyahu to Perlstein (28 June 1929), Working Archives, iv-244-120. See also *Ha'aretz*, 7 August 1929; Decisions made by the Sixth Council, Working Archives, iv-208-1-179; The founding meeting of the National Council for Physical Culture, 16 January 1930, Working Archives, iv-244-121.
18. The decision of the national committee, July 1931, Working Archives, iv-244-126. See the protocol of the Physical Culture Council meeting, 19 April 1932, Working Archives, iv-244-136. See letter by Henrietta Szold, 4 May 1932.
19. Agreement, 30 May 1930, Working Archives, iv-244-81. On contacts made for the approval of the agreement see Newsletter, no. 12, 25 April 1930, Working Archives, iv-208-1-179. See also the decision by Hapoel, 9–10, May 1930 and the protocol of the meeting between World Maccabi proxies and Shapira, Wingate Archives, 1.09/59.
20. On negotiations with Lord Melchet see Memorandum, 1 February 1933, Working Archives, iv-244-62.
21. On Maccabi's preparations for the first Maccabias see Josef Yekutieli, *My Way to the Maccabia*, Nes Ziona, 1969; Haim Wein, *The Maccabias in Eretz Israel*, Tel Aviv, 1980; George Eisen, 'The Maccabian Games', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1979. On the differences between Hapoel and Maccabi regarding the Maccabias see Haim Kaufman, 'The Conflict during the British Mandate, between the Hapoel Association and the Maccabi Organization on Participation in the Maccabias', *Betnua*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (May 1994), pp. 51–70.
22. On the decisions of the first Hapoel Committee see Working Archives, iv-208-285b; the Maccabi presidency meeting, Hapoel Centre, 1 January 1932, Wingate Archives, 1.09/4.
23. See protocol of meeting held in the offices of the Jewish Agency, 24 January 1932 and Meeting, 11 January 1932, Working Archives, iv-244-136. Also see Haim Arlozorov, *Jerusalem Diary*, Tel Aviv, 1949, pp. 188–190; Ben Gurion Diary, IDF Archives, 2066.
24. The Meeting at the Agency management, 4 April 1932 and Friedenthal's letter the following day, Working Archives, iv-244-136.