mentality with one of an ethos of a people which is not haunted. 3) To establish a high profile democracy by founding it on an infrastructure based on the principle that the combination of a Jewish state and a democratic state is not one of inherent tension. 4) To establish a system of peace agreements with Israel's neighboring peoples and states.

From Post-Zionism to the Renewal of Zionism

Yosef Gorny

The discussion regarding post-Zionism has turned into one of the major focal points within Israeli society. The debate involves claims which can be defined as negative post-Zionism and positive post-Zionism. This paper deals with the positive post-Zionism which is not anti-Zionist. It raises important issues concerning the existence of the State of Israel, the collective existence of the Jewish nation and the relevance or irrelevance of a contemporary Zionist ideology. Responding to these issues the author starts by presenting three angles for examining the Zionist movement as a historical phenomenon: 1) Comparison with other national movements; 2) Reviewing internal developments and crises in the history of the Zionist movement; 3) Surveying the relations between the State of Israel and the Diaspora.

The author claims that Zionism is a pluralistic movement which in the past had been wise enough in combining different and contrasting trends and there is a basis for the assumption that it can still do so today. But in order to accomplish this it must move from stressing the normalization in the condition of the Jews to encouraging abnormality, insisting on the uniqueness of the Jewish people and demanding the enhancement of Jewish identity despite the objective processes which are active against it. This trend of abnormality will first and foremost raise ethnic feelings to the level of national consciousness regarding the unity of the Jewish people, in spite of their dispersal. On the one hand, the Jews in the Diaspora will recognize the State of Israel as a national center and *Aliya* will be the most significant act connecting Israel and the Jewish people. On the other hand, Israel will also encourage autonomous trends in the Diaspora on the basis of the principle of equal right for mutual intervention.

Post-Zionism and Anti-Zionism - Distinctions, Definitions, Classification of Issues and a Few Personal Choices

Mordechai Bar-On

As the term post-Zionism conceals different contradictory assumptions the first part of this paper is devoted to the variations of this phenomenon and offers a critical analysis of its covert and overt significances. The author assumes that one is often inclined to include two different attitudes under the definition of post-Zionism: Either identifying with Zionism while being fully aware of the need to mend its way and adjust its goals, or negating Zionism and regarding the State of Israel as having been born in iniquity.

The second part of this paper deals with five issues concerning the controversy regarding post-Zionism: The territorial boundaries of the sovereign state; relations between Israel and Diaspora Jewry; the issue of the Zionist narrative or the attitude to the history of the Zionist movement; the status of religion in the State and the issue of the Palestinian minority within Israel. The author elaborates on the claim that the discourse concerning post-Zionism does indeed undermine the conventions, but it is impossible, as well as undesirable, to silence dissension in the name of social unity, and tolerance towards the moral dispute must be fostered.

'Zionism 2000' - Fundamental Assumptions and Guiding Principles

Asa Kasher

The Zionist ideal is the national liberation of the Jewish people and the State of Israel serves as the single focus of Zionism. The State is to exist on an unshakable moral basis. The proclamation of the State was the first step towards the establishment of the State. 'Zionism 2000' expresses the willingness to continue the process right to its completion by means of four projects: 1) To uproot the Jewish people from the Diaspora (*Galut*) so that most of the nation will be in Israel, while creating favorable conditions for their absorption. 2) To extract the *Galut* from the Jewish people; to exchange the ethos of the *Galut*

concentrated in Eretz-Israel. It was then that the poet came to the realization that Zionism, whose pretensions were to redeem Jewry, had become a death-trap to all whom it had allegedly rescued. Then he was induced to write *'Simchat Ani'im'* with all its problematic struggles and contradictions.

There is No Retreat from Eretz-Israel for there Can be No Retreat from Zionism, and there is No Retreat from Zionism for there Can be No Retreat from Judaism

Israel Eldad

Zionism is a movement for the liberation of the Jewish people. Its substance is the ingathering of the exiles and the liberation of the Homeland. A Jew goes to Eretz-Israel for it is his homeland, whether there is anti-Semitism in the Diaspora or not. The day Jews lost their independence it was determined that independence would be returned to them. This became known as Messianism. Every liberation movement is messianic and of course irrational, but its means must be rational. Dr. Eldad was not pessimistic regarding the existence of the Jewish people, but he renounced Jewish existence in the Diaspora. He dedicated his life to Zionism and did not wish for any other existence.

Zionism and the State of Israel are at times involuntarily and unconsciously propelled to greatness. The full revolutionary development has been blocked by internal and skeptical forces. 'Small Zionism' is impossible, just as a state within the UN borders is impossible. The State of Israel will either be big or not be at all. Partition of the Land has proven to be a far greater evil than being just a matter of geography. It is a de-historization of the state. Because of the State of Israel we have forgotten Eretz-Israel and we have also forgotten the People of Israel. A crude Israelism has pretensions to inherit the ancient, deeply rooted and widespread Judaism.

society who do uphold this stereotypic notion arrive at it from their own personal tendencies. Moreover, it is clear to all that modern nationalism, in all its facets, has got itself embroiled with the religion or existing religions in a specific political unit, and it is concerned with shaping its relations with them.

The mutual relations between religion and nationalism within the Jewish society is the subject of this paper. Jewish nationalism has taken from the religion not only the definition of the national identity, but also its symbols and some of its norms. It did that while still in its organizing stages in the Diaspora, and more so in the *Yishuv* society in Eretz-Israel as well as in the State of Israel itself. One cannot describe Israeli nationalism without the religious components of its culture, legal system and its mode of life. Incorporating religion into the life of the Jewish state is not the result of compulsion by the orthodox but the choice of the national majority, of those who express and lead the national society.

The article also discusses the current crisis in the relations between religion and nationalism within Israeli society and its political significance.

Struggle and Synthesis between Jewish Post-Zionism and Zionist Post-Judaism in Alterman's Poetry

Mordechai Shalev

The underlying stratum in *'Simchat Ani'im'* - (Joy of the Poor) by N. Alterman as in other poetic works of his, is a twofold fear. Fear of the destruction of Judaism by Zionism and fear of the destruction of the new Israeli existence by traditional Judaism.

There are two aspects to Zionism: 1) The rescue of Jews by concentrating them in Eretz-Israel *(Shivat Zion)*, in total contradiction to the traditional Jewish position that Salvation *(Geula)* must be left in the hands of God; 2) Creation of the 'New Jew' whose ethos contradicts the ethos of traditional Judaism. These two contradictory pairs are entwined in each other. Alterman's eloquence is in his ability to express contradicting points of view - thesis and anti-thesis of the two forces and the fateful conflict between them.

In 1940 it was feared that the coalition of German-Arab-Italian-French forces would overcome the Middle-East and annihilate all the Jews who were

On Route to the Redemption of Post-Nihilism

Hillel Weiss

The author defines his interpretation as one of a psycho-theological dimension, which explains the human condition in the post-modern world. He argues that this dimension is missing in the current controversy regarding post-modernism and post-Zionism. An explanation based on theology is not necessarily a religious explanation whose purpose it is to explain the way of religious people. According to the author, it is relevant to recognize the truth of each individual man. In Western societies of post-modern characteristics there is a tendency to deny the existence of spiritual structures. These societies are characterized by processes of eradication of identity. The author describes a powerful post-nihilistic storm which is represented by different terms of 'post' and which undermines the significances of all traditions, empties the democratic mechanism of all contents, as well as moral and ethical reasoning.

In the second part the paper deals with the close link between post-modernism and post-Zionism. The author's opinion is that Jewish national revival was supposed to rescue humanity from cultural, philosophical and political chaos. But, following the Six-Days' War, and since Israeli sovereignty was not imposed on all of Eretz-Israel, the legitimacy for the redemption of the Jew was refuted. Thus the Jew began to run away from it by posing as a rational and normal being like all other nations. The author believes that all attempts to normalize Jewry are doomed to failure and it is only a camouflage of Judaism, just as post-Zionism is only a tendency to return to a cosmopolitan and assimilating Jewry thereby attempting to escape history.

Religion and Nationalism in the Jewish National Movement

Yoseph Salmon

Contemporary historical research of nationalism no longer maintains, as it did in the past, the stereotypic concept of nationalism as if it came in order to replace religion as an identifying social factor. Historians and sociologists of Jewish

The author is of the opinion that Arab-Israeli culture has gone through a process of 'Israelization' as a way of coping with 'reality', i.e. it psychologically and culturally resigned itself to the status of being semi-citizens on the one hand, and a semi-group on the other. The Arab society in Israel is also involved in strengthening the identifying characteristics of its various groups while subduing the national factors of its collective identity and accepting the consensus of the Zionist discourse.

This process has distorted the culture and values of the Israeli-Arab citizens in order for them to adapt to the Israeli way of life. Thus it happened that in the 'Israeli reality', which is not just a given fact, but is rather an outcome of a historical process, the identity of the Israeli Arab is split, distorted and subordinated.

Settling Eretz-Israel - A Colonial Enterprise?

Ran Aaronsohn

Should the beginnings of the Jewish settlement endeavor in Eretz-Israel be considered as a colonial phenomenon? This is the issue of this paper. The author distinguishes between 'colonization' and 'colonialism.' Colonization is essentially a geographic phenomenon which refers to immigration and settling in a new land. On the other hand, colonialism is a political and economic effort in which one state takes control of territories and populations by force, in order to exploit them.

After discussing the actual process of the establishment of the new *Yishuv* from historical-geographical perspectives, the author concludes that it should be categorized as colonization and not as colonialism. No economic exploitation can be identified, capital flow was always uni-directional to Eretz-Israel, and the Arab and Jewish labor markets co-existed as parallel systems. In addition, there was a total separation between the governing bodies and the Jewish settlement; not only were the new settlers not granted any benefits, but they were also underprivileged.

These basic aspects were expressed worldly and spatially in the physical landscape of the early Jewish settlements - all in a way that contrasted a colonial venture.

democratic state give rise to five Arab demands that the Jewish majority rejects: Making Israel non-Jewish and non-Zionist, accepting Palestinian nationalism as fully legitimate for Arab citizens, lifting all restrictions on Arab individual rights and incorporating Arabs into the national power structure. Each demand is discussed in detail and the rationale for Jewish objections is spelled out.

Public opinion survey findings are cited to bear on the positions of the Arabs and Jews on the dividing key issues. The survey, conducted in 1995, was based on face-to-face interviews with a national representative sample of 1,200 Arab and 1,200 Jewish Israeli citizens living in Israel within its pre-1967 borders.

There is no acceptable solution to the problem of the Arab minority in Israel. While both sides do not subscribe to liberal democracy, the Arabs wish to transform Israel into a binational, consociational democracy while the Jews insist on preserving it as an ethnic democracy. The problem can be scaled down, however, by establishing a separate, independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip for the Palestinian people and by according Israeli Arabs the status of a Palestinian national minority with institutional, non-territorial autonomy within the Jewish state. This option would make Israel an improved ethnic democracy, but not a consociational democracy.

It is argued that ethnic democracy and its set of intergroup problems are not unique to Israel. They can be found in other ethnic democracies, such as Northern Ireland during the 1921-71 period and Malaysia since the early seventies. It is concluded that ethnic democracy and Israel's experience with it are becoming increasingly relevant to states which are democratizing but keeping appreciable ethnic dominance.

The Arab in Israel: A Study in a Splitted Political Debate

Azmi Bishara

This article examines the social, economic and political characteristics of the Arabs within the State of Israel from a comparative point of view, in relation to the Jewish society, and from their own internal point of view. The author claims that despite the changes that have taken place within Israeli society, and though more means have been invested to raise the Arab standard of living, Israeli society still perpetuates discrimination and even broadens the gulf between the two societies.

Nationalism, Historiography and Historical Revision

Yaacov Shavit

The author of this article examines the positions of the Israeli 'New Historians' from a historiographic point of view and calls attention to their assumptions and aims regarding the legitimacy of an independent Jewish political entity in Eretz-Israel.

The author is of the opinion that the 'new' historiography is an anti-Zionist ideology and is not a product of a liberal and pluralistic outlook, free of ideological dictates. Indeed, the writers of the 'new' history use post-modernist terminology, but they do not claim the legitimacy of alternative historical narratives. The author reasons that all their intentions are to refute the dominating narrative and to exchange it with their own. A narrative which in their opinion represents the search for the independent historical truth. In their writing they appear to present a homogeneous front within the Zionist camp in order to be able to confront it with total and unequivocal opposition. They wish to impose an ideological revision which denies the right and the need for the existence of a sovereign political Jewish society in Eretz-Israel, their final goal being to deconstruct this social framework.

Ethnic Democracy: Israel as a Proto-Type

Sammy Smooha

It is commonly assumed that democracy in deeply divided societies takes either a liberal or a consociational form. While the state in both types is ethnically neutral, there are some countries that combine viable democratic institutions with institutionalized ethnic dominance. In an ethnic democracy the minority is accorded all individual civil rights and some collective rights but the majority controls the state, culture, symbols and resources of the society. The article introduces this type of ethnic democracy, distinguishes it from liberal, consociational and Herrenvolk types of democracy, and demonstrates its utility for Israel in treating its Arab minority.

The tensions and contradictions in Israel's dual character as a Jewish

nationalism, and secondly that some of the modern theories about nationalism not only fit the case of Zionism but seem to be based on it.

Zionism in Light of the Theories of Nationalism and Historical Methodology

Ilan Pappe

The aim of this article is to connect between the theoretical contemporary controversy regarding nationalism and a new historical approach to Zionism. The article starts with a survey of up-to-date conceptual and methodological developments which the author believes are relevant to the research of Zionism. The article also reviews the development of structural and holistic approaches and their enhancement in the post-modern era, in order to shed light on Zionism both as a national test-case and as a colonial test-case.

The historiographical concepts which are described at the beginning of the article contributed to the appearance of new theoretical frameworks regarding the phenomenon of nationalism. The article describes the general characteristics of these theoretical frameworks and the methodological confrontations which have developed over the years between the primordial approach and the modernist approach. The article concentrates mainly on the works of Anthony Smith and Benedict Anderson.

The second part of the article examines Zionism as a national phenomenon in the terms of some general theories of nationalism. Most of the researchers regard Zionism as part of the Middle-Eastern nationalism, while Israeli historians tend to look upon Zionism as a chapter of European national history.

In the last part of the article, the author proposes a new research prism via which one is able to analyze the history of Zionism. This prism combines a national and colonial perspective within a historical concept of multi-narratives.

post-Zionist researchers against Zionism and particularly against the Zionist leadership during the Holocaust. He shows that the leaders of the *Yishuv* and the Zionist movement found themselves in a 'Catch-44' situation, as did all the Jewish leaders in the West during World War II. The Holocaust unified Judaism in backing the State of Israel, justified the establishment of the State in the eyes of the world, and right to this day serves as a cementing bond of secular Jewish identity. Therefore, the Holocaust curbs the post-Zionists in promoting their political goal: to turn the Jewish state into a multi-cultural society and thereby absolve the evil committed against the original Palestinian inhabitants. This goal is the essence of the phenomenon of post-Zionism, not new findings or new methods of research.

Theories of Nationalism and their Application to Zionism

Hedva Ben-Israel

This article examines the extent to which general theories of nationalism apply to the Zionist case. It presents an overview of the development of the scholarship on nationalism and attempts to fit the case of Zionism into that development.

In its first phase, the study of nationalism focused on the ideological messages of the manifestations of nationalism, and evaluated them. The theoretic assumption underlying this approach is that nationalism is above all an idea, spreading and activating movements. The study of Zionism fits in with this approach, which is still being used.

On the other hand, the next phase of nationalism studies, led by social scientists who sought to pin down economic, social and psychological conditions which generate nationalism, is only partly applicable to Zionism. Human predicaments accompanying modernization have affected conversions to Zionism, but the notion that material changes such as industrialization gave rise to nationalism does not fit the case of Zionism. Present day trends, some of which regard nations as artificial inventions do, unexpectedly, have links with Zionism in their emphasis on human agency and on cultural strategies.

Two conclusions emerge from this study. One that the biblical image of ancient Israel played a role in the formation of the concept of modern

Zionist Historiography and the Invention of Modern Jewish Nationhood: The Case of Ben-Zion Dinur

Uri Ram

This study is concerned with the role of Zionist historiography in the invention of modern Jewish nationhood, in the service of the Zionist movement and later, the State of Israel. It demonstrates the extent to which nationhood is a constructed - and contested - idea, even in what is seemingly a plain case of a reviving ancient nation. It is argued here that Jewish national ideologues faced a serious problem of weaving different episodes, experienced by different groups in distinct periods and distant locations, into a single collective biography. That these episodes do converge into the biography of a single historical subject was far from being obvious. The resolution of this fundamental quandary became the major purpose of the invented national narrative.

This article discusses some crucial moments in the invention of the Zionist national tradition. It explores two facets of the creation and dissemination of the narrative - the composition of the historical narration and its propagation, that is, history-writing and history-teaching. As a vantage point from which to scrutinize these broad theoretical and historical issues focus is placed on the contribution to them of one scholar - historian and educator Ben-Zion Dinur.

On Post-Zionism and Western Anti-Semitic Tradition

Shlomo Aharonson

The author of this paper finds the spiritual and methodological roots of post-Zionism in the anti-Semitic tradition of Western Enlightenment. This tradition was entwined in the criticism of the particularism of Judaism from a secular and universal point of view.

Contemporary critics of Zionism may not be aware of the fact that the origins of their criticism are rooted in secular anti-Semitism which developed in European circles of pre-industrial Enlightenment, repeating their claims almost precisely in order to turn them against Zionism.

In the second part of the paper, the author discusses the claims raised by

that have had an input on the shaping of the *Yishuv*: the waves of immigration; the conflict between the *Yishuv* and the Arab national movement generally, and the Palestinians in particular; the Mandate government as a sovereign in a territory populated by two nations; the influence of changes in the regional and global balance of powers upon the very possibility of building the *Yishuv*.

'Beyond' All That - Modernism, Zionism, Judaism

Eliezer Schweid

'Post-Zionism' is a late application of 'post-modernistic' conceptions of ethics, politics, history and culture to the Israeli arena. The author of this paper discusses its philosophical ground, explains the reasons for its late adaptation by Israeli intellectuals, and describes the motivations to adapt it after the Six-Days and the Yom-Kippur wars. In the final part of the paper, the author critically discusses post-modernist and post-Zionist tendencies within Israeli society from a general humanistic approach and from a particular Jewish point of view.

Anything Goes

Ernest Gellner

The author denounces both cognitive relativism and moral relativism. Although he understands the deep causes that brought about this mood, he nevertheless stresses that one cannot understand the contemporary human condition if one ignores or denies its total transformation by the success of the scientific revolution of the 17th century. In the author's opinion, the recognition of inequality of cognitive claims in no way involves unequal treatment of people. One cannot comprehend the shared social condition of humanity unless one starts from the indisputable fact that genuine knowledge of nature is possible and has occurred.

Zionist historiography adapted itself to ideological Zionist imperatives. The picture it drew of Jewish history was selective - emphasizing disasters, persecutions and discrimination and passing over lengthy periods of calm and integration during which the Jews, even when they suffered, shared the destinies of their host societies. This selective approach is designed to prove the necessity of the Zionist solution. The strong hold of this meta-history also derives from the fact that it is basically an adaptation of the Biblical sacred history: a people exiled from its land because it disobeyed God's commandments, repenting and being rewarded by returning to Zion. This has happened twice, and now the Jews are returning to their land for the third time and are building their - this time secular - 'Third Temple'. But behind this ostensibly secular historical picture one clearly discerns the religious-messianic framework.

This picture clearly distorts the real history of the Jews and dissociates it from the history of the peoples among whom they have lived for millennia, and from which it can never be disentangled. One can hardly understand real Jewish history, including Zionism itself - when viewed in such a slanted perspective.

'Critical' Sociologists and 'Establishment' Sociologists in the Israeli Academic Community: Ideological Struggles or an Academic Discourse?

Moshe Lissak

The paper deals with the criticism that has in recent years been expressed by those known as 'critical' sociologists and political scientists. When examining the writings of the 'critical' sociologists one may notice that not only do they not propose an alternative sociological theory, whether of the meta-theoretical kind or on the level of the 'middle range' theories, but that they hardly address the issue at all, and certainly not in a systematic manner.

The attack on the positive-functional methodological approaches of the 'establishment' is intended to convey an unequivocal message: one cannot achieve objectivity in the social sciences. This admission is essentially intended to denounce the 'establishment' scholars as being "responsible" for the introduction of 'engaged' Zionist scholarship upon the Israeli academic scene.

In this context, the paper also deals with the weight of the various factors

a result of the fact that these movements supplied the needs of the Jewish public to become a relevant political factor.

According to the author, nationalism is a historical phenomenon which is based on real collective needs and combines ideologies, traditions and historical memories of a society. In contrast to post-modernist claims regarding nationalism as strategic actions of elite groups, the author believes that the unifying experience of the collective gives rise to the consciousness of ethnic separation and then to the awareness of national differentiations. Though he believes that universal yearnings are an invaluable element in human thought, he objects to placing universalism as part of a new eschatological or as a reductionist ideology which rejects other elements of the social existence of humankind.

Looking Back at Zionism

Boas Evron

Zionism was born 120 years ago in eastern Europe as a result of the national transformation of a part of east European Jews and the desire to find a solution to their ever-worsening conditions under the Tsarist regime. It was only one of several Jewish national movements which emerged at the same time - the most important being the socialist-revolutionary *Bund*.

Almost from the start two schools of thought and action developed in Zionism. One, originating with the *Hovevey Tzion* movement, concentrated on the slow development of a new Jewish (or Hebrew) people in Palestine. The other, the 'Political Zionist' school, associated mainly with Theodor Herzl, strove for the redemption of East European Jewry and hoped to realize it by dramatic means. The first school succeeded, to the extent that it created a state. The second failed miserably, because its aim, from the beginning, was unattainable. No miracle could have transferred 10 million East European Jews to Palestine within a generation or two. Even now, 120 years later, only 4.5 million Jews live in Israel. The absorptive capacity of the country always set a limit to its population growth. The development of the *Yishuv*, as a result, was always tailored to its own organic growth needs and not to the situation of Jews abroad.

ABSTRACTS

The Struggle Over the Symbols of Collective Identity and its Boundaries in the Post-Revolutionary Israeli Society

S.N. Eisenstadt

This article examines the struggles concerning the construction of collective identity that are currently taking place in Israeli society in the context of its development. The author shows that such struggles are not something new in the history of the *Yishuv* and Israeli society but are inherent in the historical context of its development, especially, taking into account the two poles of this development, namely, the Zionist movements and the settlement in Eretz-Israel in its Middle Eastern context.

The article analyzes the specific characteristics of the contemporary struggle in the context of the decomposition of the initial institutional mold of Israeli society.

The Jewish Nation - A Zionist Invention? In the Wake of the Historians' Controversy

Matityahu Mintz

The main purpose of this paper is to show how weak and unapplicable is the reasoning of the anti-Zionists who claim that Jewish nationalism is none other than an invention of the Zionist movement.

The author first shows how the Soviet regime treated the Jewish question at the beginning of the century. Though this regime totally denied Jewish nationalism it was finally forced to recognize the material existence of the collective Jewish entity. The author also claims that the success of the Jewish political movements, and that of Zionism, which was part of this complex, was