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The Vision of the East and the Heritage of the West: Ideological Trends in the Music of the *Yishuv* and their Influence on Israeli Music in the Last Two Decades

Jehoash Hirshberg

Concert music composed at the time of the *Yishuv* (1930s and 1940s) was constantly subject to ideological critique full of internal conflicts. Whereas composers were expected to respond to the Zionist vision and turn to Eastern influences, critic David Rosolio blamed Boskovitch's 'Semitic Suite' for having moved too far in the direction of Arabic music. Sternberg's 'Joseph and his Brethren' was described as 'deeply Jewish' by critic Rosolio and as devoid of any Jewish material by critic Ravina. Despite the ideological vagueness one may discern four ideological trends:

1. Collective nationalism (Boskovitch)
2. Individual nationalism (Sternberg, Tal)
3. Popular nationalism (Lavri)
4. Cosmopolitanism, which was a later reaction to the national trend.

The distinction between trends was by no means clear-cut and composers often wrote in several tracks at the same time (Ben-Haim, Avidom) or explored diverse strategies (Alexander). The overall musical scene was not directional, but rather corresponded to the model of stasis offered by Leonard Meyer, whereby many strategies interacted at the same time, with new ones frequently added so that the overall stylistic process within the Israeli style resembled a constantly expanding circle.

While there is no clear cut method for classifying the enormous number of musical works composed annually in Israel by about 250 professional composers, it appears that the four trends continue to act, albeit in more covert and elaborate ways. Most significant is the integration of classical Arabic music into the curriculum of the music departments and academies, penetrating the writing of several composers

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(Wolpe, Fleischer), the integration of traditions of the ethnic Jewish groups into concert music (Seter's *Tikun Hatzot*), and the integration of national traits and ideas into cosmopolitan musical styles.

The main conclusion is that the vision of creating a genuine musical style that guided and dominated musical circles in the *Yishuv* has indeed been reached, albeit in a way contrasted to the original goal of creating a unified style. The actual result is an extremely pluralistic style, which is the appropriate representation of the extremely heterogeneous Israeli society.

Was *Torah* their Sole Vocation? Society and Economic Life in the pre-Zionist Jewish Community in Eretz Israel

Israel Bartal

Zionist historiography views the economic activity of the Jews of Eretz Israel during the pre-Zionist period through ideological bifocals trained on modern nationalism and social radicalism. The prominence of ideology in the economic thought of the builders of the Zionist enterprise shaped their image of the economic history of the country. The present article challenges the influence of ideology on the debate about the economic character of the Old *Yishuv*. It locates the origins of this image in the criticism of the economic life of European Jewry during the centuries before the birth of Zionism. It is proposed that the economic life of the pre-Zionist Jewish community in Eretz Israel be seen as a mixture of two different economic models: a community of scholars, a sort of *collegium* that subsisted on capital imported from the Diaspora, alongside a community of breadwinners who engaged in a variety of economic activities similar to those followed by Jews in their countries of origin. The breadwinners, like other ethnic and religious minorities in the Middle East, specialized in financial services, trade, and certain crafts. These two economic sectors were interlinked and influenced each another. Despite the great differences between the Jewish society that emerged in the country after 1881 and the pre-First *Aliya* communities, there were similarities between them. In both, ideology played a decisive role in shaping the forms of economic activity; in both, socioeconomic structures with a strong ideological underpinning coexisted with economic activity motivated by private initiative and profit-and-loss calculations.

Multiculturalism and the Erosion of Support for the Universalistic Israeli Welfare State

Abraham Doron

The paper attempts to address the existing tension between multiculturalism, i.e. the accommodation of different cultural, ethnic and religious traditions within a pluralistic Israeli society, and the support for a universalistic welfare state. The major cultural groupings dividing Israeli society are based on the distinction between the Jewish population of European origin and those originating in the Middle Eastern and Arab countries; the Jewish majority and the Arab national minority; the distinct Jewish Orthodox community and the mostly secular majority; the recently arrived Russian immigrants from the former Soviet Union; and a variety of other class based social divisions. All these groups claim their rights to their own particular identity and culture within a multicultural pluralistic society.

The claim made by many critics is that multiculturalism has its limits. The particular claim made in the paper is that the ethno-cultural diversity of Israeli society strongly affects the commitment of the population to a universalistic welfare state and it weakens the support for it. The empirical factors affecting the weakening of the support for the universalistic welfare state are the crowding out effect, the corroding effect and the misdiagnosis effect, as analyzed by Banting and Kymlicka, are all explored within the context of Israeli society.

The universalistic welfare state and its distributional activities reflect the institutional expression of the modern state's commitment to the welfares of all its citizens. The bonds of belonging to the general national community are seriously weakened by the ethnical and religious diversity dividing Israeli society and seem thus to be inimical for the support of the universal welfare state institutions.

Noise and the Formation of a Developing Urban Space: Tel Aviv 1926-1940

Arnon Golan and Maoz Azaryahu

Modern urban areas are comprised of archetypal landscape forms that distinguish them from rural areas. Cityscapes are distinguished according to residential,

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industrial and commercial forms of land use. Sounds are another fundamental character of urban areas. Though not visible, soundscapes are an important aspect of the cityscape. Any resident of urban areas is familiar with the so-called city buzz, a constant hum resultant of intensive urban lifestyles and activities. Nevertheless, some urban sounds may take the form of noises, disturbing loud sounds that source in different industrial, commercial, social and leisure activities that distinguish different urban land uses through the formation of different soundscapes. As depicted in the case of Tel Aviv, in the formative years of its development into the metropolis of British Mandatory Palestine, soundscapes were shaped by urban development. They also played a considerable role in shaping economic, social and cultural forms of urban space, while its recasting in the form of noise was negotiated and contested among urban political leadership, urban administration, entrepreneurs and residents.

Zionism as a Theo-Political Doctrine and the Unnatural Character of the People of Israel

Shalom Ratzabi

The author of this paper argues that Martin Buber believed that Israel always had a religious mission to fulfill and that the aim of Zionism is to renew this mission. Since Buber regarded Zionism as an effort to renew the ancient covenant between Israel and God, he formulated his political stance accordingly.

The author deduces this by pointing to the origin of Buber's theo-political thought. He suggests that the capital source of Buber's mature Zionist thought is to be found in his Biblical research. According to Buber's reading of the Bible the People of Israel do not constitute a normal nation, or an organic one. The tribes of Israel became a people only through their covenant with God. Thus, Buber contended that the People of Israel are a religious community and a nation. From this point of view it is clear that one cannot regard Israel as being only a nation. Indeed, according to this thesis, Buber followed the principal idea that constitutes the core of the covenant between Israel and God, that is to say: the Messianic idea. In other words, Israel has a religious role to fulfill and the aim of Zionism is to revive this mission.

The Republicanism of the Israeli Supreme Court and David Ben-Gurion, Revisiting H CJ 144/50 *Scheib v. The Minister of Defense*

Nir Kedar

In November 1950, Israel Scheib (Eldad), a former commander of the Right-wing *Lehi* militia, petitioned the Supreme Court against the Minister of Defense and two others. Following an order of the Prime Minister and Minister of Defense David Ben-Gurion, Scheib was denied a post of public high-school teacher. The state claimed that he preached for the use of arms against the state and the army whenever he thought it necessary. The court ruled in favor of Scheib, stating that the Minister of Defense had no right to interfere with matters of education, especially when it violated Scheib's freedom of employment.

Scheib is usually celebrated in Israel as a milestone in the protection of human rights and the strengthening of the law. While the article accepts the ruling in *Scheib* and its significant place in Israeli legal history, it challenges the 'court-centered' reading of the case, according to which the court represents the 'law' and the rule of law, whereas the administration represents the political and bureaucratic 'non-law'. The article suggests substituting this dichotomic description with a more comprehensive image, according to which both the state-administration and the courts are 'legal' institutions that represent the state's duty to act in an equal, impersonal, uniform and universal manner. Moreover, in *Scheib*, both the court and Ben-Gurion acted in a republican way, stressing the importance of democracy, of an active law-abiding civil society, and of the rule of law. The ruling in *Scheib* was correct then, not because the state acted unlawfully, but because it was essential to educate the state that even when it acts legally and for the right reasons, it must do so with due process.

'Canaanite' Tendencies and Opposition amongst *Etzel* and the *Herut* Movement

Orna Miller

Among the rifts that undermined the stability and the unity of the *Herut* Movement in its early years, the most prominent and traumatic one was the attempt by an

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opposition faction, named *Lamerchav*, to replace the leadership and change the policy of the young party.

Most of the *Lamerchav* leaders had served on the *Etzel* delegation to the USA during the ten years prior to the establishment of the State of Israel and the *Herut* Movement. The position held by the leadership of *Lamerchav*, and by a large number of its rank and file members, was Hebrew-nationalist-secular. They shared a basic ideology with that of the *Canaanite* Movement that had emerged during the '40s, in parallel with the activity of the members of the delegation to the USA. One of the *Canaanites'* central principles was the establishment of separate identities for the 'Hebrew Nation' within Israel and the Jewish people in the Diaspora. This principle was also accepted by the members of the *Etzel* delegation in the USA and it even held a central place in their campaign there. Members of the delegation — and especially its leadership — continued to adhere to this ideology subsequent to their return to Israel upon the establishment of the State, even after joining the *Herut* Movement and becoming important activists within it.

At the end of the day, this brief experiment failed and the faction was dismantled in 1952. Although the experiment failed, it was an important political lesson for *Herut*. For, this episode was, on the one hand, one of the causes for the party's crisis at that time, while on the other hand it proved to be one of the factors in its later recovery.

An Academic Elite in Crisis: The Involvement of the Hebrew University in the 'Lavon Affair'

Uri Cohen

This article discusses the causes that create sufficient conditions for senior academic staff to become involved as a consolidated group in the national politics by analyzing the case-study of the involvement of the Hebrew University faculty in the 'Lavon Affair'. The main questions that the author raises are: Why did it happen at that particular historical moment? Why did it include almost all the senior academic staff? And why was the debate so intense and uninhibited? In other words, what were the causes for the pronounced opposition of the academic staff to David Ben-Gurion at the beginning of the 'Sixties? The author's argument is that this political unity and decisiveness of the academic staff leaned on a deep crisis that was created

when one of the fundamental strategies of the university was endangered. The source of the crisis arose from the necessity to redefine the attitude of the university to the tradition known as *Mamlachtiyut* that was identified with Ben-Gurion's policy. This policy determined the centrality of national unity, responsibility and discipline, law and order, and above all the unconditional loyalty to the state and its institutions. The crisis that arose as the major issue was the intention of the state to support a new university in Tel Aviv, one that was to rely on state legitimization and funds and was to be without any affiliation to the Hebrew University.

The New Federalism: Arie (Lova) Eliav and Shimon Peres

Yosef Gorny

This article is based on the last chapter of a forthcoming book in English, *Policy and Imagination: Federal Ideas in the Zionist Political Thought 1917-1996*. This is a comparative research of federal ideas of the leaders in the Zionist movement, like Weizmann, Ben-Gurion and Jabotinsky, as well as other major political leaders from the left to the right.

The article published here is the last stage in the development of the federal idea. Arie (Lova) Eliav and Shimon Peres were David Ben-Gurion's followers in their political life in the past. And in the near past they were his last followers who tried to implement federal ideas in various plans to solve the Israeli-Palestinian long historical conflict. This article is an attempt to compare the political ideas of these two 'lonely runners' in the long-distance federal race.

Nahum Goldman's Initiative to Meet with Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1970

Meir Chazan

Nahum Goldman took pride in being an independent thinker, not bound by convention. He enjoyed his reputation as a devil's advocate. At the same time, he was part of a long tradition of international Jewish *shtadlanim* (mediators) who used their abilities, their sharp wits and their intellect to cope with the obstacles

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that confronted the Jews. These two patterns of thought and action in which Goldmann excelled — *shtadlanut* and nonconformism — were at the root of his initiative in March-April 1970, to meet with Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser. This initiative was Goldmann's last significant public act in the political arena. At the time, he was 75 years old and the president of the World Jewish Congress.

This article describes the circumstances in which the idea of Goldmann's mission emerged and examines the controversy over the mission that ensued in the Israeli Government. It also surveys the public uproar that resulted from it. Underlying the article is the question of whether Israel missed a genuine opportunity, heralded by Goldmann, to normalize relations with Egypt. The basic assumption in the discussion presented here is that Goldmann never expected to go to Egypt. His actions in March and April 1970 stemmed from this idea. Nevertheless, he did think that he would be able to achieve his main goal, to trigger a public debate over Israeli foreign policy, even without setting foot in Egypt.

Goldmann never met with Nasser. The latter died a few months later. The political, public and media drama that would have occurred had the meeting taken place remained one more of those elusive options that are left time and again in the margins of history. Due to the balance of power among the different players at the time, the initiative for the meeting could only be placed on the public agenda.

The Palestinian Leadership Crisis: From the Early 1930s to the 'All-Palestine Government', 1948 (Part I)

Moshe Shemesh

The aim of this paper is to outline the political processes and crises that the Palestinian leadership underwent during the British Mandate period, in particular from the 1930s to 1949. This leadership led the Palestinian national movement until 1949. The article surveys the developments that brought the Palestinian leadership to its nadir signaled by the rise in September 1948 of the 'All-Palestinian Government' and its fall a few weeks later. The paper traces some of these characteristic developments:

- I. The involvement of the Arab States in determining the fate of the Palestinian people and their commitment to solve the problem. This involvement intensified as a result of, *inter alia*, the Palestinian leadership's appeal for aid generated

- by its weakness and inability to cope with the Zionist movement, the British government and its own chronic division.
- II. The Husseinis' dominant influence and status within the leadership of the Palestinian national movement from its inception and throughout the mandate period. Their impact lasted despite the weakness of the Mufti's position after his escape from Palestine in 1937 and upon his return in 1946.
 - III. The wide gap between the expectations of the Palestinian leadership and its ability to achieve the abrogation of the Balfour Declaration, to cease the Jewish immigration, to put an end to the selling of Arab land to the Jews and to establish an independent Palestinian rule over the whole of Palestine. Thus the Palestinian leadership found itself in a vicious circle of frustration and disappointments as against the background of the Zionist movement's achievements.
 - IV. The lack of Palestinian governmental institutions that could be used as institutions for a future Palestinian state, as in the case of the Zionist movement. The Palestinian leadership negated any suggestion that implied the establishment of joint Jewish-Arab institutions whose basis was the Balfour Declaration. Thus, this leadership objected to the notion of an Arab Agency such as the Jewish one in order not to recognize the legitimacy of its Jewish counterpart.
 - V. The deep breach of confidence between the Arab League, established in 1945, and the Mufti. The Arab League decided on the Palestinian issues which granted the Hashimite Kingdoms (Iraq and Jordan) a special status concerning the Palestinian issues. Both countries created a front against the Mufti thus foiling any notion that conceded to the Mufti a significant stand concerning the Palestinians and their future.

Israel as a Role Model for the Iranian Left in the 1960s

Eldad J. Pardo

Aspects of the cultural relations between Iran and Israel in the 1960s are examined, in this article, through the perspective of official visitors from Iran to Israel. An annotated translation to Hebrew of a large excerpt from the Iranian writer Jalal Al-e Ahmad's travel notes, first published in Iran in 1964, is included. The fascination of Iranian intellectuals with Israel as a successful, authentic, socialist and Eastern country is discussed in the first part, which serves as an introduction to the translation.

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A description of the universalist dimension of Zionism as reflected in the writings of David Ben-Gurion, the founder of modern Israel, is presented. Ben-Gurion believed that the redemption of the Jewish people and the deliverance of the entire world could not be separated from one another. Based on the vision of the Hebrew Bible's prophets, Ben-Gurion called for the creation of an ideal society in Israel and the dissemination of the Israeli experience around the world, especially in the Third world. This effort, he believed, would lead to world peace and with it, peace in the Middle East. It is argued that Israeli ideological fervor influenced the visitors.

A discussion of the Iranian cultural situation follows, focusing on the search for identity and authenticity alongside the budding reconciliation of leftist modernists with religion and the clergy. It is argued that one possible purpose of Al-e Ahmad in writing his Israel travel notes had been to convince both the clergy and the leftists in Iran that a fusion of national authenticity, religiosity, socialism, democracy and modernity is workable and Israel could serve as a fine example. Hence, he describes the Israeli leadership as heirs to the prophets.

Finally, the text itself is rendered preceded by a discussion on the sources as well as an introduction to the term *velayat* chosen by the writer to describe the State of Israel. The manifold semantic fields of this term, religious and secular, are touched upon (guardianship, government, state, love and loyalty of and to the Shi'i Imams, among others). A suggestion is raised as to a possible connection of Al-e Ahmad's description of Israel as *velayat* to the concept of a clergy-run theocracy, *velayat-e faqih* (the Guardianship of the Jurisprudent), later to be developed by Ayatollah Khomeini.

Iran and Israel: The Ideological Animosity and its Roots

Meir Litvak

Iran espouses the most radical anti-Israel or anti-Zionist position in the Muslim Middle East, calling outright for the extermination of Israel. The essence of this enmity is ideological and religious. While Shi'ism has always been hostile to Jews, it was Ayatollah Khomeini, founder of the Islamic Republic, who made anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism a central component of Iran's Islamic ideology. He argued that the Jews have been seeking to undermine and extirpate Islam since its inception up to the present Western imperialist invasion of the Middle East. He

also argued that Zionism is the most overt manifestation of the Jewish-Christian conspiracy against Islam. Khomeini also identified any harm done to Islam as serving the Jews and Zionism. A major manifestation of Iran's anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist approach is the dissemination of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in the official Iranian media, and more importantly the propagation of Holocaust denial by the Iranian leadership and media. Iran has opposed the Arab-Israeli peace process from the start and has extended its support to radical Islamic organizations that have sought to derail it. While the religious establishment — conservatives and reformists alike — advocates the elimination of Israel, albeit in different wordings, few dissident intellectuals and clerics have called for a more pragmatic approach towards the Jewish state.

Planning for the IDF's Armament between the 1967 and 1973 Wars

Yitzhak Greenberg

Planning for the Israel Defense Forces' armament between the 1967 and 1973 Wars was based on several fundamental suppositions, amongst them: Israel would continue to occupy the territories it had conquered in the 1967 War and the IDF would be deployed on the new borders; the IDF's aim in the next war would be to quash the enemy's army; there was a reasonable possibility that the IDF would take action according to the defensive-offensive military doctrine — however, the operational method would be offensive. The priority in the build-up of the forces accorded the preference to the Air Force followed by the armored forces. The development of the Navy was deferred to secondary place. A gap was formed between the actual planning and the development of the forces due to military needs, purchasing opportunities and economic constraints.

The Regional Command as a Framework for the
Activation of the Ground Forces in the Israel Defense Forces,
1948-1956

Amiram Oren

This article deals with the early development of the framework of the Regional Command and the basic regiments of the ground forces during the first years of the Israel Defense Forces, from its beginning in the War of Independence in 1948 until the Sinai Campaign towards the end of 1956. During that time, a number of essential changes took place in the structure of the Regional Command as a result of operational circumstances; perceptions in activating forces, and economic considerations. These changes included:

- The division of the national region in the War of Independence into four front commands.
- The cancellation of the four frameworks of fronts that were operational during the War of Independence and the establishment of three regional commands in their stead.
- Establishing in 1950, the Eighth Command that dealt with the organization of the regiments whose soldiers resided in the Tel Aviv area, but were disassembled towards the end of 1952 due to financial difficulties.
- Establishing secondary frameworks within the Regional Command — the assigned division being a framework for building and activating mobile forces for battle, and the headquarters of the regional defense command for organizing the stationary layout within the region of the command during peacetime. Also, taking responsibility for it during times of war thus enabling forces to cross the borders in order to wage battle on enemy territory.
- Canceling the Southern Command Headquarters towards the end of 1954 and reestablishing it in September 1955. Slightly over a year later, during the Sinai Campaign, the reorganized Southern Command was the only one to experience action as an operative framework.

To this day, the debate concerning the lessons of the Sinai Campaign has not been concluded regarding the activation of the ground forces, and in particular the role of the assigned division within the framework of the regional command.

Jews and Lithuanians*

Tomas Venclova

This paper is an annotated translation by Motti Zalkin of the much discussed article 'Jews and Lithuanians' by Tomas Venclova which first appeared in 1976. This translation is based on the Russian, English and Lithuanian text.

Tomas Venclova, a leading figure in contemporary Lithuanian poetry, a translator and a professor at Yale University, was born in Lithuania just before World War II. Already as a student he became well known because of his outstanding poetry, as well as for his public activities for human rights in Soviet Lithuania. By 1977, Venclova published his essay 'Jews and Lithuanians' in a Russian Jewish samizdat. In this essay, Venclova analyzed different aspects of the 500 years of mutual relationships between the Lithuanians and their neighboring Jews, the 'Litvaks', including the traumatic events that took place in Lithuania during the Holocaust. Unlike other Lithuanian writers, Venclova did not try to find excuses for the phenomenon of mass collaboration of Lithuanians with the Nazis, but rather called for an open and honest self examination of the Lithuanian people vis-à-vis the brutal murder of the 'Litvaks'. This essay was a trigger for a long and widespread public discourse that took place in Lithuania, as well as among Lithuanian immigrants in America. The Hebrew version of this essay (which has already been translated into Polish, Lithuanian and English) is followed by a survey of the contemporary discussion of the above mentioned subject among intellectual and academic circles in present-day Lithuania.

* See: 'Jews and Lithuanians', in: Tomas Venclova, *Forms of Hope*, New York 1999, pp. 33-39

Carving out a Space for Zionism in Soviet Russia in the 1920s

Ziva Galili

The article examines the conditions for the activity of Zionist organizations (political parties, youth movements, *Hechalutz*) during the 1920s, under Soviet rule. Enthusiasm for the Zionist message among many Jewish youth drew on the crisis of Jewish livelihood, which continued during the years of economic revival, and

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on the authorities' campaign against religious and communal institutions and Hebrew culture, urged and aided by the Jewish Section of the Communist Party (*Evseksiia*). The policy on Soviet nationalities as formulated in the first half of the decade highlighted the problematic position of the Jews as a non-territorial nationality. It was mid-decade before the Soviet government recognized the crisis and launched the campaigns for Jewish 'productivization' and agricultural settlement. Significant improvement did not come until the late 1920s and the start of rapid economic development under the Five Year Plan.

The article draws on archives made accessible in the post-Soviet years to present a new view of the relations between the Soviet government and the Zionist organizations. While retaining its dictatorial powers and employing punitive measures against political opponents, the Bolshevik regime recognized the need for reaching out to social sectors and appeasing international forces. Its leadership was internally divided over matters of policy, areas of responsibility and power struggles. All this enabled the Zionists to exploit the relative freedom for public activity under the New Economic Plan to spread their message and to present the Zionist cause to a number of key leaders. The article provides a detailed description of the channels used by the Zionists in their contacts with Soviet leaders, their presentation of Zionism, and the struggle between them and the *Evseksiia* over the shaping of Soviet attitude toward Zionist work. The author argues that many Soviet leaders did not regard that work as posing any serious danger, at least until the mid-1920s. For that reason and in spite of the *Evseksiia's* accusations, aided at times by the security services, there was a relative open space for Zionist work.

On Israel, the Diaspora and Zionist Democracy

Allon Gal

Despite all odds, the State of Israel is a stable and flourishing democracy. This is intriguing considering that only few of the new states established after World War II are genuinely democratic. The article indicates three fundamental reasons for this phenomenon: the democratic polity and policies of the Zionist movement; the democratic ethos and practice of the *Yishuv*; the indirect impact of the rich, compassionate Jewish political tradition. The article focuses on another powerful, seminal factor — the alignment of Zionism (at least since the World Zionist

Organization's Congress in London, 1900) with the democratic-pluralistic English-speaking countries, and the movement's constant work ever since with the large, free, assertive, Jewish communities therein. This alignment emerged already during the early revolutionary phase of Zionism, when the apparent ideology was the 'negation of the Diaspora'. This strategy was vindicated by the British Balfour Declaration, that was carefully formulated to sustain the democratic nature of the future Jewish national home in Eretz Israel. Since early 1939, the focus of the Zionist foreign policy has gradually shifted to the United States and its Jewry. Pro-Zionist American and Zionist activities, and a plethora of ideological resolutions, culminating with Israel's Declaration of Independence, again committed both the movement and the Jewish state to upholding democracy. Thus, an implicit consent to the partition of Eretz Israel, if democratic imperatives would so dictate, ran through the entire history of Zionism and its creation — the State of Israel.

Independent Israel did not categorically negate the Diaspora; it actually expected mainly pioneering, professional and scientific *aliyah* from the communities in the English-speaking world. At the same time the state typically upgraded its legal system chiefly in the light of the Anglo-American tradition. And the gradually 'Zionized' Diaspora generally admired social-democratic Israel as a model society, the very heart of world Jewry.

In recent decades, the accumulated effect of the state's failure to fully recognize non-Orthodox religious trends (that comprise the bulk of the Diaspora's religious Judaism), and the 'normalization' of Israel's social-economic fabric, have diminished Israel's aura and have equalized its relations with the Diaspora. However, the continuing Palestinian terrorist assaults on Israel since October 2000, and the radical-Islamic attack of 11 September 2001 on the United States, have re-cemented Jewish solidarity with Israel. Defending democratic Israel and democratic-pluralistic values unites countries which host great, free Jewish communities, and form the core of newly enhanced Jewish solidarity; this, and excellent Israeli/American relations on the threshold of the 21st Century, vindicates the grand English-speaking-world orientation Zionism has demonstrated since the beginning of the previous century. Yet, the increasing 'Americanization' of Israel calls attention to the danger of Israel's cultural assimilation. Indeed, deep and stable world Jewry's identification with and support of embattled democratic Israel will be insured only when the Judaic component of 'Jewish/democratic' Israel will be much more vibrant, free and pluralistic than it is nowadays.

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‘Land for the People and not People for the Land’ The Jewish Territorialistic Organization (ITO), the Zionist Movement and Jewish Immigration in the Early Twentieth Century

Gur Alroey

In August 1907, after the Seventh Zionist Congress, Israel Zangwill, together with approximately forty people, left the Zionist Organization and established the Jewish Territorialistic Organization (ITO). This paper focuses on the ideological confrontation between the ITO and the Zionist movement. In contrast to the Zionist movement, the Jewish Territorialistic Organization was altogether unwilling to place the fate of the entire Jewish people on a single piece of territory that might well never be acquired. Furthermore, this article examines the ‘Galveston Plan’ that was the first and the last attempt of the ITO to settle Jewish immigrants in Western America. The article compares between two small immigrant groups that reached different designated countries under the auspices of specific ideas.