THE FOUNDING MYTHS OF ISRAEL

NATIONALISM, SOCIALISM, AND THE MAKING OF THE JEWISH STATE

Zeev Sternhell

Translated by David Maisel

Contents _____

Preface	ix
A Note on the Transliteration of Hebrew Names and the Translation of Hebrew Book Titles	xv
Introduction Nationalism, Socialism, and Nationalist Socialism	3
Chapter One	
The Primacy of the Nation: Aaron David Gordon and the Ethos	
of Nation-Building	47
The Negation of the Diaspora	47
What Is a Nation?	52
Nationalism versus Socialism: The Amelioration of Man,	
Nation, or Society?	59
The Right to the Land: The Power of History	68
Chapter Two	
The Worker as the Agent of National Resurrection	74
The Heritage of the Second Aliyah	74
The First Stages of the Shift to the Right	80
The Elimination of the Marxist Po'alei Tzion Party	92
The Founding of Ahdut Ha'avoda	107
Experiential Socialism	121
Chapter Three	
Socialism in the Service of the Nation: Berl Katznelson and	
"Constructive" Socialism	134
The Legend and the Reality	134
The Nation above All	146
From "Productivist" to Nationalist Socialism	153
Chapter Four	
Ends and Means: The Labor Ideology and the Histadrut	178
The Bases of Power	178
Taking over the Collective Settlements: The Establishment	110
of the Nir Company	192

viii CONTENTS

The Cult of Discipline and Authority: The Destruction of	
Gdud Ha'avoda (the Labor Corps)	198
Chapter Five	
The Triumph of Nationalist Socialism: "From Class to Nation"	217
What Is a Class?	217
The Collaboration with the Middle Classes	233
The Struggle over Workers' Education	244
Chapter Six	
Democracy and Equality on Trial	264
The Hegemony of the Apparatus and the Poverty of	
Intellectual Life	264
Oligarchy and Conformism	270
Equality: Principle and Practice	282
The Failure of the Family Wage	290
Class Warfare in the Histadrut	306
Epilogue	
From the State-in-the-Making to the Nation-State	318
Notes	347
Glossary	391
Bibliography	399
Index	409