

Anniversaries of 'first' settlement and the politics of Zionist commemoration

Liora R. Halperin

To cite this article: Liora R. Halperin (2021) Anniversaries of 'first' settlement and the politics of Zionist commemoration, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 44:6, 1068-1087, DOI: [10.1080/01419870.2020.1866770](https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1866770)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1866770>



Published online: 17 Feb 2021.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



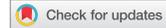
Article views: 12



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Anniversaries of ‘first’ settlement and the politics of Zionist commemoration

Liora R. Halperin 

Department of History, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, USA

ABSTRACT

This article centres on stylized commemorative events staged in Israel in 1962 and 1982 to mark, respectively, 80 and 100 years since the consensual beginning of the “First Aliyah,” the first wave of Jewish rural settlement in Palestine. Focusing on protocols of 1962 and 1982 Knesset sessions, commemorative medals, military parades, summer camps, and local commemorations, it shows that multiple competing Zionist parties used the rhetoric of “firstness” to negotiate and redefine primacy in light of the political present. Drawing from scholarship on settler memory in other settings, it also positions the settlement event as not a onetime historical occurrence but a sacralized referent used to frame and justify ongoing settlement and participate in historical erasures.

ARTICLE HISTORY Received 30 April 2020; Accepted 30 November 2020

KEYWORDS Zionism; memory; settler colonialism; Israel; Palestine; First Aliyah

On 4 December 1962, the Israeli parliament (Knesset) held a special session to celebrate the “Year of the First Ones” (Shenat Rishonim), a year of country-wide festivities to mark the eightieth anniversary of the nationally-recognized beginning of the first wave (First Aliyah) of European Jewish rural settlement in Palestine (Ben-Artzi 1997; Eliav 1981). Nearly twenty years later, on 8 February 1982, it convened again to mark the 100th anniversary of that date. The settler colonial project, Patrick Wolfe has notably written, is “a structure, not an event” (Wolfe 2006, 388). Indeed, in both 1962 and 1982, Israel was continuing the pre-1948 Zionist project of land settlement on behalf of the Jewish people, in the former case within the boundaries established by the 1949 ceasefire, and in the latter case also in territories Israel had conquered during the 1967 war, including the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan, and East Jerusalem. But emphasis on settler structures and ongoing practices, though useful in clarifying certain logics of ongoing Israeli state formation (Robinson 2013; Degani 2015), can cause us to forget the significance of the settlement

CONTACT Liora R. Halperin  lhalper@uw.edu

© 2021 Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

“event,” not only as a discrete moment or period of encounter in the late nineteenth century that must be evaluated in the context of its own time and place (Shafir 1996; Ben-Bassat 2009; Ben-Bassat 2013), but also as a sacralized form suitable for integration into subsequent commemorative discourses, which themselves generate and reinforce structures (Trouillot 1995; Bruyneel 2016).

Indeed, celebrations of the past never simply narrate the past: the past is structured by acts of memory themselves (Matsuda 1996; Ross 2002). Scholarship on Zionist collective memory (Zerubavel 1995; Gertz 2000) has ably reflected the function of mythic and mythicized past events in navigating the politics of the present, but has evaded the centrality of modern settlement events *per se*. Instead, they and other more recent work has emphasized the way modern Zionist commemorative rhetoric centres ancient myth, specifically myths of Jewish heroic death or defeat, in contexts of contemporary loss or casualties (Bitan 1997; Guesnet 2004; Helman 2006; Brog 2010). This historical and discursive ancient past, no doubt, is one of several distinctive features of the Zionist project. The 1962 and 1982 Knesset events, however, were explicit commemorations of modern settler “firsts.” Zionist members of Knesset delivered reflections for the occasion that narrated the beginning of settlement, and its associated places, processes, and figures, as sites of memory that embodied their own parties’ political stances. As Jill Lepore argues regarding the collective memory of the American Revolutionary War, founding pasts exist outside the political dynamics of the present and are easily consolidated into sites of collective trans-political values that can be coopted by multiple groups (Lepore 2010, 7).

The year 1882 in fact had predated—by 15 years—the Zionist movement that would later claim it as its settlement starting date. It was not in fact the first effort at Jewish rural land settlement in this era, which had been attempted several years prior by urban Jews from Jerusalem and Safed (Bartal 2010). Moreover, the agricultural colonies founded with private capital in the last decades of the nineteenth century, in search of economic productivization and enhanced spiritual connection to the land, didn’t seem entirely “Zionist” to all observers even in retrospect. Unlike the secularized, Socialist Zionists who became the hegemonic leadership of Jewish Palestine come the 1920s under the banner of “Hebrew [Jewish-only] Labor,” the “First Aliyah” farmers, in communities known initially as *kolonyot* and later as *moshavot*, (a Hebrew translation of “colonies”) were notable for their religiosity, capitalistic orientation, reliance on foreign Jewish philanthropic support, and tendency to hire Arab rather than Jewish Labor well into the twentieth century. Erstwhile workers in the established colonies, Socialist (Labor) Zionist elites in fact labelled their predecessors “First” and themselves “Second” after World War I—in speeches, opinion pieces, and historical scholarship—in order to mark the former as retrograde, reactionary, and

exploitative. The presumption that the “Second Aliyah” superseded the first pervades scholarship about Zionism across political divides (Penslar 1991; Shafir 1996; Shafir 2007; Piterberg 2008, 65; Dowty 2012, 36; Shapira 2012, 46). Yet the First Aliyah, as a retrospective commemorative framework, also allowed the private colonists themselves, part of the Jewish economic—though not political or cultural—elite during the mandate period (Lissak 1981; Ben-Porat 1999; Karlinsky 2005), to articulate their own support for private enterprise within the very framework of “firstness” meant to sideline them (Halperin 2021). With the rising hegemony of Labor, moreover, several other Zionist constituencies on the political centre and right also looked to the nineteenth century colonies and their narrative of the past in search of an alternative settler narrative, one rooted in values that they accused the Labor governments of the Yishuv and Israel of neglecting: religiosity military force, and economic pragmatism, which they had earlier cited in justifying their use of native Palestinian labour. Articulations of these “firsts,” both by those who denigrated them and those who praised them and their economic model, participated in an internal process of commemorating and constituting a useable Zionist past.

In rescuing or elevating “firsts,” these acts of memory-making simultaneously participated in erasing and forgetting other competing pasts. Jean M. O’Brien, in her study of the nineteenth century New England colonies, calls this process “firsting.” Firsting, which consists of repeated and exhaustive litanies of “first” people and things—roads, schools, births, harvests, and most of all, settlements—identifies instances of land settlement as moments of historical rupture. In the American case, they constitute “a straightforward scripting choice that subtly argues for the sole legitimacy of New English ways” (O’Brien 2010, 6). In 1948, just months after Israeli statehood, the Petah Tikva colony (est. 1878; re-est. 1883) northeast of Tel Aviv and Jaffa, published an anniversary book complete with historical narratives, photographs, and a 10-page section enumerating firsts including “first manufacturing,” “first houses,” “first roads,” “first granary,” “first borders,” “first budget,” “first taxes” and “first casualties” (Trofe 1948, 36–45). Firsting, as we will see, displaces native claims (including, in some cases, native Jewish claims), in part by evading the existence of other populations and emphasizing (or resolving) disputes about primacy within an internal settler discourse. As Massachusetts and Connecticut towns feared declining influence relative to larger manufacturing centres down the Atlantic coast, they turned with enthusiasm to commemorative activities (O’Brien, xix). Firsting, O’Brien argues, enabled colonists to articulate settler history as the sole legitimate history, erase indigenous rights to place, and claim their own primacy within an American society in which they had ceased to dominate politically. Similarly, attention to memory in the mid-twentieth century by the towns and cities that had emerged out of the “First Aliyah” colonies occurred not despite being

overshadowed within Zionist narrative, but because of that occlusion. However, the very discourse about “firstness” between First and Second Aliyah spokespeople not only took the supersession of Palestine’s Palestinians and Palestine-ness as their agreed upon goal, but produced and reproduced that supersession via these retrospective discourses. To adapt Wolfe’s insight about the frontier, the discourse of “firstness” is not simply “misleading”; it is a “performative representation” that helps displacement to occur (Wolfe 1999, 165). In this article, I follow the construction Zionist of “firstness” by examining commemorative sites including protocols of the 1962 and 1982 Knesset sessions, medals, military parades, summer camps, and local commemorations.

The 1962 “Year of the First Ones”

Though private agriculturalist interests initiated both the 1962 and the 1982 commemorative events, in practice these celebrations of the past became opportunities for multiple parties to claim “firstness.” On July 22, 1962, Yitzhak Ziv-Av, head of the Israeli Farmers’ Federation, wrote to Prime Minister David Ben Gurion with a suggestion: declare the upcoming Hebrew year, 1962–1963, “The Year of Farmers” (*Shenat ikarim*). He thanked Ben Gurion for his opening greetings at a commemorative event held a few days earlier, where the leader of the Labor Zionist ruling Mapai Party commented that the First Aliyah “brought about a historical turning point in the vision of the national revival [*hazon ha-tekumah*].” Ziv-Av imagined that a commemorative year would be marked in schools, youth groups, and immigrant absorption centres. Eighty years before, he said, the year 1882 had been “the year of a change of values [*shinui ‘arakhin*] in the national revival” and this moment deserved to be commemorated.¹ Ben Gurion agreed, saying that such a recognition would “give glory to the state.” The Knesset ultimately approved a planned year of events and publications, many in the former colonies (*moshavot*) themselves, but decided on the broader term “Year of the First Ones (*rishonim*).”²

In placing the First Aliyah on the symbolic national agenda, Ziv-Av hoped for the revision of a historical narrative that he believed had systematically excluded the achievements of the farmers he believed mattered: those who cultivated land under private ownership. In an interview with Yosef (Tommy) Lapid in *Maariv* in December 1962, Ziv-Av called *moshavot* the exemplar of transhistorical Jewish Palestine settlement: “the *moshavot* are the red thread in Jewish history since ancient times ... and to today.” Unfortunately, Ziv-Av thought, the mainstream Israeli narration of settlement history focused on socialist-oriented immigrants rather than those who had preceded them in the late nineteenth century: “The First Ones, long may they live, would have had to wait another eighty years before their merits

were praised and recognized if an energetic Jew [Ziv-Av himself] hadn't decided that it was time to honorably remove the yellow stain of Boaz" (Lapid, 1962). The "stain of Boaz" stuck to those farmers involved in early twentieth century labour disputes with Jewish workers who protested their employment of Arab labourers. The term came from a comment by Ahad Ha-Am (Asher Ginzburg), who in 1912 compared private farmers to Boaz in the biblical book of Ruth, who hired and oversaw labourers but did not undertake manual labour. Ahad Ha-Am used the term ambivalently at the time, criticizing the private farmers' approach but praising them as "close to the land" and "very different in [their] inclinations from the urban Jew." Soon, however, it became a wholly derogatory Labor Zionist epithet for the First Aliyah farmers and their communities (Ahad Ha-Am 1912).

In practice, however, the Year of the First Ones was not specifically a celebration of the "First Aliyah" but rather a broad celebration of Zionist settlement that could be claimed by multiple parties. The Israel Coins and Medals Corporation put out a commemorative medal that depicted a Jewish man planting in a swamp, coupled with the text of Leviticus 26:45: "I will remember the covenant of their ancestors [lit: first ones, *brit rishonim*]." The image evokes the sense of the land's emptiness: aside from the swamp, the pioneer, his planting, and his water tower are the only active forces on an otherwise blank space. The English language version of the pamphlet advertising the medals printed the text "First Settlers Year" in a woodblock-style font that evokes the Old West and strongly alludes to the mystique and heroism of the American frontier, likely in an appeal to American Jewish buyers.³ A modern rhetoric of settler firstness thus draws from an ancient sense of restarting the temporal clock in law and in space through settlement of the Land of Canaan. In the 1950s, Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion gathered together a study group on the book of Joshua, which describes the ancient Israelites conquest of settlement in a multiethnic Canaan, as his government developed the vision of divinely mandated settlement and conquest that led to national cohesion and strength (Havrelock 2020, 163).

After approving the commemoration, Ben Gurion used the occasion to pen a long introductory essay to that year's Government Yearbook. In it, he undermined First Aliyah claims to primacy both by situating them in a longer history of Jewish Aliyah (literally, ascent) and by reconfiguring the nature of "firstness" itself so as to elevate later arrivals over earlier ones. This was a longstanding Labor Zionist strategy: their ambivalent view of the colony farmers and desire to claim primacy had led Labor Zionists to construct the idea of the "First Aliyah" in the first place. Labor leader Berl Katznelson had said in 1944, "Firstness is not related to chronology, not the merit [*zekhut*] of the one who had the luck to come first to make Aliyah." Firstness, Katznelson had said, is proven through personal characteristics including "firstness" in "volunteering, exploratory thinking [*gishushei mahshavah*],

drawing from the source [*she'ivah min ha-makor*], taking down divisions [*hapalat mehitzot*], digging deep to the essence" (Katznelson 1953). Without the Second Aliyah, Ben Gurion had written in 1955, we would have remained "exilic and atrophied, subjugated to foreigners and dependent on the goodwill of the Arab majority, like the Yishuv that was established in the twenty-five years before the Second Aliyah" (Ben-Gurion 1955, 268–270). In his 1962 essay, Ben-Gurion also admitted that "the turn to settling the land out of independent pioneering initiative" marked a significant break and that "the crown of the first founders of agriculture" indeed goes to the founders of nineteenth century colonies. But he emphasized that the label "First Ones" [*rishonim*] should belong to those who brought pioneering innovation.

Any number of generations in Jewish history, he felt, could claim innovation. Moving backwards from 1962, he notes that while 1948 was the founding of the state, it was preceded by "decades of action and pioneering creativity." "The terms common among us now for the First, Second, and Third Aliyah, are incorrect and misleading." They obscure the Yemenite, Sephardic, and Ashkenazi communities that built the longstanding traditional Jewish communities of urban Palestine and who, in some cases, got involved in rural settlement come the late nineteenth century. (Ben-Gurion 1962, ii-iv.). Ben Gurion is ostensibly acknowledging the erasure accomplished by the paradigm of numbered aliyot in obscuring Jewish immigrants who arrived in Palestine before 1882. But his comments about "innovation" suggest that Jewish claims to firstness on the basis of historical continuity are provisional. Palestinian Muslim and Christian populations have no claims whatsoever within this Zionist management of firsts.

In practice, the 1882 and "First Aliyah" referent of the commemoration became largely obscured in the country-wide programmes connected to it. In the Summer of 1963, more than 25,000 children of all ages participated in summer camp activities in Tel Aviv linked to the celebrations. A representative of the Agricultural Laborers Union, affiliated with Labor Zionists, commended "the educational aspect of this project for the second generation."⁴ Each morning, children would sing the Labor Zionist song "*Anu nihyeh ha-rishonim*" (We will be the First Ones) despite the fact, newspapers reported, that educators had warned the Culture Department of the Education Ministry that they didn't want to impose Zionism in such heavy-handed way in the summer camps. As it turned out, "The children were actually very interested in this 'antiquated' topic" and found that the popular songs [*shlagerim*] from early the days of settlement worked well in a "competition" with more contemporary songs. The programming encompassed multiple periods in the history of the Yishuv, with every group taking on different topics.

Hillel Barzel, head of the city's cultural department, reported that children from multiple socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds, including Palestinian

citizens of the state ("Arabs"), had taken on the activities enthusiastically, likely, in the latter case, out of a desire to establish themselves as loyal citizens within a state that still kept them under the restrictions of a military government (Sorek 2015). In a revealing statement, reporter Aryeh Kinarti noted that "the topic of the First Ones excited the kids in the summer camps no less than that of the Indians [*Indianim*], Blacks [*Kushim*], Eskimos [*Eskimosim*], and the heroes of Anderson and Grimm, and other 'traditional' summer camp topics" (Kinarti 1963). Summer camps for American and European children during the interwar period often involved exoticizing and appropriating the identities of non-white others as a means of escape from the present (Van Slyck 2006, 212). In the United States, they would also reenact iconic elements of America's settler colonial narrative, for example Columbus' "discovery" of America (Paris 2010, 216). Zionist camps seemed to have engaged in the exoticization of both iconic foreign "others" and representatives of the Zionist pre-state settler past who themselves are Orientalized.

The year concluded with a nighttime IDF parade in Petah Tikva on September 4, 1963. The parade route was lined with advanced lighting, barricades, and watchtowers. Prime Minister Levi Eshkol (Labor), Army Chief of Staff Zvi Tzur, and Commander of the Central Command, Yaakov Geva, were in attendance. A few minutes before eight pm, a convoy of twenty-eight elders representing the first fourteen settlements in the country took their places alongside the stage. When the Prime minister gave the sign, the elders would be led by escorts to receive a blessing from him. The elders would then be handed the flags of the first settlements, which would be planted in the middle of the road as the IDF band played songs associated with the First Ones. A large model of a tree would be lit up, symbolizing the "bush of pioneering" that burns and is not consumed "from the days of the First Ones until our days." At the end, the elders would return to their seats and the Oldest of the Guards, Avraham Shapira, then ninety-two, would say the Shehecheyanu prayer (*Mitz'ad leili*, 1963). In this militarized commemorative event, moshavot became army battalions, and First Ones became their (literal) standard bearers, all as the IDF conducted its central mission to defend the frontiers of Israeli settlement against Arabs understood to be, one and all, outsiders and invaders.

But what standard, exactly, were they bearing? What values or ideologies were encoded in those flags? Ziv-Av and members of the Farmers' Federation would have had no doubt: they stood for private farming and individual initiative that dated back to the late nineteenth century. But the framework of "firstness" was malleable enough that representatives of parties could interpret those flags according to their own self-image. As we will presently see in our treatment of the December 1962 Knesset session, the right wing Herut saw them as banners of early militarism and territorial conquest,

religious parties (both Zionist and non-Zionist) as ensigns of piety and Jewish tradition, and the Liberal Party, the bastion of the agriculturalist elite, in relation to the moshava past, present, and future.

Postures of firstness

On December 4, 1962, in the special Knesset session, MKs were given the opportunity to praise and offer reflections on the First Ones (Yeshivah hagigit, 1962). Each, as we will see, interpreted the notion of firstness differently and inserted their own political logic into their framing of the past. That the First Aliyah could be so readily and flexibly appropriated speaks to its malleability as a historical cipher for Zionist authenticity, for firstness, for roots in the land.

The Zionist militant right was reflected in the Herut party, which had evolved from the Revisionist Zionist movement and become the chief opposition to Labor. For decades, it had echoed aspects of the private farmers' narratives of pragmatism, pro-capitalism, and devotion to national interests rather than "political" ones: ethnoreligious solidarity rather than class-based politics. Finding certain of their economic values reflected in "founders" who had preceded both them and Labor Zionists they suggested that Israeli society make a turn to the right not only to reject Labor politics and forge a new path, but to return the Zionist settlement project to its true roots.

Abba Ahimeir, a disciple of Revisionist founder Vladimir Jabotinsky, had already taken to defending the moshavot in the 1950s and attacking Labor for denying them their due. In a series of articles in his party's newspaper, *Herut*, Ahimeir criticized early socialist Zionist immigrants, who "preferred to come to Palestine and not to immigrate to America, a place where it would have been necessary to really work and not chatter and write about work." The Zionist left, he claimed, had imported a detrimental "politics" and "hatred" into the internal dynamics of the Yishuv, "something that was almost unknown until then." The workers' "hatred" was directed against "those who gave them a living, the farmers in the moshavot and the businessmen in Jaffa."

Instead, he believed, the private colonies in all of their stages deserved to be lauded. They established trade in wine and citrus, which became the largest branch of the economy. They employed hundreds of Jews (in addition to Arab workers, whom he did not mention). Not only did the Zionist left "not lift a finger to do any of those things, they related to [the colonies] negatively." "That which the Zionist left got involved with remained weak." (Ahimeir 1954). In another article several years later, Ahimeir accused ideological Labor Zionists of directing their hatred at "the [Jewish] son of the First Aliyah who disliked [Friedrich] Engels' Erfurt Program and [wasn't] ready to delve into the theories of [Socialist Zionist thinker Ber] Borochov"

instead of decrying “the Arab thief who killed his guard friend in the middle of the night.” (Ahimeir 1957). Denigrating Labor, and their class warfare that seemed to displace the more appropriate ethnic struggle, had been the Revisionist *modus operandi* since the founding of the party in 1925, but this text is notable for its explicit evocation of the First Aliyah past. As Labor Zionists celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the Second Aliyah in 1954, Ahimeir suggested that the occasion should be cause for reflection: “How and why did Zionist and settlement history get so distorted?” (Ahimeir 1954) The distortion of the early private colonists mattered to Ahimeir not because they became Revisionists—they generally did not—but because in retrospect they seemed to embody an economically Liberal ethos that had become, alongside militarism, the central calling card of the Revisionist movement. National unity, the ultimate desideratum of right-wing nationalism, could be bolstered through alliance with a group that seemed to sit outside—and, crucially, prior to—the left-right divide (Neumann 1964, 3).

At the 1962 special Knesset session. Herut MK Esther Raziell-Naor painted the colonists with a decidedly militaristic brush: “these First Ones were path-breakers” not in the sense of an abstract “innovation”, but because they deliberately acquired land through the “force of the liberator” [*koah ha-meshahrer*]. “The lands to which the force of the liberator didn’t come are not in our control today, fifteen years after the founding of the state.” Speaking five years before Israel’s conquests of 1967, Raziell-Naor supported the broad Zionist consensus around “Judaizing” [*Yihud*] the Negev and Galilee. A few settlements were founded in the Galilee during the “days of the First Ones,” she noted, using rhetoric that closely mirrors the “firsting” practices identified by O’Brien, but the region as a whole is “still waiting, standing mostly desolate, waiting for the Jewish Man to come to it” (Yeshivah hagigit, 359). Indeed, she implied, military strength, not Labor ideology or symbolic pioneering, would ensure the Zionist future: “Because days came where the wonderful Conquest of Labor was not sufficient, and it wasn’t even enough [simply] to conquer land and own it” it was necessary to adopt the “reverse commandment: ‘to beat plowshares into swords’” and to adopt a right-wing platform: “political and military pioneering.” Raziell-Naor never mentions the “First Aliyah” specifically and indeed suggests a progression from a failed Labor Zionist paradigm to a Revisionist paradigm of outright aspiration for conquest after World War I. The firsts worthy of recognition, she nonetheless implied, were purely committed to settlement and territorial acquisition, without the distraction of leftist labour ideology.

Religious parties, in contrast, emphasized the distinctive religiosity of First Aliyah colonists, who—in contrast to the Labor Zionist activists who denigrated them—retained their traditional observances, established synagogues, and continued to centre prayer and liturgy in local commemorations of settlement. Yitzhak Refael, representing the National Religious Party

(Mafdal), which had joined Mapai in the governing coalition, emphasized the roots of the so-called “New Yishuv” in the religious communities who immigrated to Palestine in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and established new Jewish communities outside the walls of Jerusalem. All of these developments, in urban as well as rural Jewish settlement, were brought about “by the hand of God, an awakening, and directing hand.” Neither Israeli citizens nor observers from abroad should assume that the transformative effect of Zionism came through a secularization process. Quite the contrary: “The First Ones were full and complete Jews, full in their aspirations, and complete in their faith. Everywhere they came, wherever they put down stakes, they also established a tent for the Torah of God, which always accompanied them on their obstacle-ridden journey, and strengthened them on their dangerous mission.” Citing the Talmud in connection with the recent foundation of a religious kibbutz in the Beit She’an (Beisan) valley, Mitzpe Gilboa (now Ma’ale Gilboa), he said, “What is the difference between the earlier generation, for whom miracles occurred and us, for whom miracles do not occur? ... The previous generations were wholly dedicated to the sanctification of God’s name [while we are not as dedicated to the sanctification of God’s name].” (Yeshivah hagigit, 361). Any settlement activity not undertaken by God-fearing Jews would be compromised. A decade later, a similar set of sentiments would animate Gush Emunim, the religious movement that undertook rural settlement in the West Bank and beyond with a similar combination of pioneering sentiment and religious imperative (Feige 2009).

Non-Zionist religious parties, too, could find affinities with the religious settlers of the First Aliyah who, after all, had been motivated in part by piety. Menachem Parush, from the non-Zionist party Agudat Yisrael, initially appeared to disparage the very framework of the event, asserting (like Ben-Gurion) that “Aliyah to the Land of Israel never stopped.” Nonetheless, he, too, could find special meaning in the anniversary date being celebrated—1882—and in the First Aliyah specifically. The Rosh Pinna colony’s initial regulations that year, he said, obligated all residents to observe land-based Jewish law related to planting and harvesting and, he added, “the vast majority of the first colonies had regulations like this,” built synagogues and ritual baths, and opened houses of Jewish learning. To him the first moshavot were signs not of a radically new political movement, the first step of a transformation, but the inheritors of a spiritual Zionism, a longing for Zion that had nothing to do with statehood or sovereignty. This apparent tension between denial of the First Aliyah colonies’ “firstness” claims but emphasis nonetheless on their religiosity had characterized the engagement of the so-called “Old Yishuv” with the colonies from their beginnings, as Yehoshua Kaniel has shown (Kaniel 1981). Similarly, Yaakov Katz from Po’alei Agudat Yisra’el, a splinter group of Agudat Yisrael that represented the interests of ultra-

orthodox workers, stated that the project of Jewish life in Israel could continue effectively only if the next generation based their efforts on a “pure and refined nationalism [*le’umiyut*], unmixed and not taken from a non-Jewish way of life.” (Yeshivah hagigit, 365–66). Nationalism is defined here in a religious sense, “apolitical” in its own way in ostensibly preceding and transcending modern politics.

While Herut saw militarism and land conquest as the legacy of the first rural settlers and the religious parties emphasized those Jews’ piety and traditionalism, the Liberal Party saw this celebration as uniquely their own. The Liberal Party had been founded in 1961 through a merger between the urban professionals of the Progressive Party and the General Zionists, which had attracted owners of capital and private farmers since the times of the British Mandate. (Karlinsky 2005; Shamir 2000).

In his comments, Liberal Party MK Joseph Sapir, the prominent citrus owner and former mayor of Petah Tikva, praised First Aliyah First Ones explicitly for their “noble modesty which is hard to find these days,” a reference to the “non-ideological” self-image that farmers had been promoting, and which had been pejoratively attributed to them, since the early part of the century. Alluding to Ben Gurion’s effort to sideline those who “simply” arrived “first,” Sapir also insisted that the firstness of the First Aliyah was not simply chronological; rather, its associated founders and communities embodied three sets of essential national characteristics. (Yeshivah hagigit, 359).

First, he said, the First Aliyah had laid the foundations for self-rule and “independent statist institutions.” He clarified what he meant by independent: “not in a communal framework, but through nuclei for building an independent, sovereign, and democratic state.” (360). These terms—*independent, democratic*—evoked the rhetoric of the General Zionist party in the 1950s, which held that support of the [Jewish] individual was the true meaning of democracy (Rozin 2011, 75; Rozin 2016). Moreover, he stressed, the importance of land settlement was not, as Labor ideologues would have suggested, primarily a method for Jewish cultural revitalization but rather “the foundation of a national economy.” (Yeshivah hagigit, 360). Second, the moshavot set the borders of the country—indeed, the pattern of Jewish land settlement had shaped the United Nations partition plan. Echoing the comments of the Herut MK, he lamented, “if only there were more First Ones and if only the Hebrew plow had been extended out over the remaining parts of the land” then the shock of Hebrew weaponry, when the time came, could have burst through new areas and walls [*lifrotz tehumim ve-homot*].” (ibid) When, five years later, Israel captured the West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalem, the Sinai, and the Golan Heights in the Six Day War, this counterfactual wish would become a reality. Third, the moshavot seemed to embody an ethos of security. Their “deep political-security sense,” he said, allowed them to

realize the necessity of having “Hebrew weaponry to defend their territorial conquests.” Through a selective reading of the moshavot, Sapir created an image of a society defined by its individual initiative, territorial conquest through land purchase, and ethos of security, one that reflected some of the perspectives of Herut, but within a claim to moderation and capitalist pragmatism.

In 1965, the Liberal Party joined with Herut to form Gahal and in 1973 the Likud Party was founded, now an amalgam of traditional capitalist interests and right-wing ethnonationalism. Indeed, the former group’s legacy as a moderate, centrist party went far in giving legitimacy to Herut, known for its *lack* of moderation and its non-centrism. The General Zionists, wrote Itzhak Carmin in a 1951 survey, “took pride in standing above the Zionist party battles, in working for the general interests of the Jewish national home” and offering “a balancing factor” that could wield a “wholesome influence” amidst the “extremes of partisanship” (Carmin 1951, 83–84). “There could be no question,” writes political scientist Jonathan Mendilow, “of its efficacy in conferring legitimacy on Herut, seeing that it was a long-established, moderate, centrist party” (Mendilow 2003, 40). The First Aliyah, the settlement “first” outside the politics of the present, was thus symbolically integrated into the party that would oversee Israel’s ongoing settlement efforts.

The 1982 100th anniversary

The Zionist project of land settlement and development never ceased. Before the conquests of the Six Day War in 1967, the Israeli government began to peg the Negev in the South and Galilee in the North as sites of Jewish population dispersion and funded development towns and other Jewish settlements (Ben-Porat 1989, 28). After Israel’s land conquests during the 1967 Six Day War, development and displacement continued in the Galilee and Negev, though a programme Israel called “Judaization” (Ghanem and Ghanem 2001, 88–89) and began in the newly occupied territories. The drive for settlement both before and after 1967 came in part from immigrant demand for housing but its particular urgency and geographic distribution in peripheral and border areas—where most Jewish immigrants did not want to live (Kemp 2002)—reflected ongoing regional threats, militant groups made up of Palestinian refugees who now resided in Jordan, Lebanon, or Gaza, and, within the Israeli political process, Palestinian Citizens of Israel who began to unite across political divides around the threat and practice of ongoing land confiscations (Sorek 2015, 49–59). Many Israeli Jews perceived attacks, anti-Zionist rhetoric, and civil rights organizing, to different extents, as extensions of the anti-Zionist rhetoric and violent resistance that they had faced from within Palestine before 1948. Such incidents continually reminded the state

and its Jewish citizens of the precarity of Zionist political control over space despite Israeli military strength. "Settlement is on-going," Kevin Bruyneel writes of American settler colonialism, "because politically the matter of claims to space are not settled. They are contested. Settlement is thus a practice, a status, and a site of conflict" (Bruyneel 2016, 353).

Labor-led governments between 1967 and 1977, though they spoke of captured lands as bargaining chips for eventual peace treaties, saw strategic and security rationales for settlement and initiated construction and infrastructure planning in East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, the Jordan Valley, and Northern Sinai (Lesch 1979, 35). Settlement throughout the Occupied Territories accelerated through both state investment and retroactively recognized settler initiative after the Likud Party took power in 1977. Settlement after 1977 thus occurred within a broader context of renewed political support for private enterprise and religious Zionism, skepticism about Labor Zionist history and claims, and support for a new movement that saw itself as continuing the story of settler bravery on the new frontier. As the international community called upon Israel to return conquered lands in the context of peace negotiations and reiterated its position that civilian settlements in Occupied Territories constituted a violation of international law, the principle that had animated Ottoman-era settlement now pertained again. In the absence of international approval—in the case of unauthorized settlement, even Israeli state approval—Israel and its settlers established communities on the premise that facts on the ground would ensure Jewish security and primacy, with or without a formal extension of borders, and would shape any borders to be drawn in the future.

By the 1970s, "the dormant codes of the immigrant-settler political culture, "had been reawakened" (Kimmerling 2003, 38). As the settler movement grew, its supporters connected themselves to the historical legacy of Zionist settlement and appealed to a broader, ongoing belief across the Zionist spectrum that settlers and settlement were the uncontroversial bedrock of the Zionist project. On February 8, 1982, the Knesset convened a special session to mark one hundred years of settlement in the Land of Israel. Knesset chairman Menahem Savidor (Likud) praised Yitzhak Ziv-Av, the head of the Farmers' Federation who had promoted the Year of the First Ones in 1962–3 and who also chaired the public committee for this celebration: he had "not allowed history to pass over the mute heroes of the revival. He extracted them from the abyss of forgetting" (Yeshivah meyuhe-det, 1982, 7).

Now, too, Knesset members had contemporary settlers on their minds: those in the Occupied Territories. Israel was on the verge of withdrawing around 2,500 settlers from the Yamit corridor in the Northern Sinai in the context of the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty of 1979 as it continued to expand settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Anziska 2018). Geula Cohen,

a fighter in the mandate-era Revisionist Etzel and Lehi militias, Likud Knesset member, and founder of the pro-settlement Tehiya Party, used the opportunity to make a statement. She suggested that the gathering instead take place “in the only place where the principal fight for preserving Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel is happening: the Yamit corridor.” Cohen knew the suggestion would be rejected, but she was using it to grandstand: “If the Knesset doesn’t accept this proposal we will be witnesses here to a cynical display by the Knesset, which is using its voice to elevate settlement while taking up an axe in its hand to uproot it” The commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the First Aliyah was not going to pass in isolation from a debate about settlement. Yet that ensuing session did not feature disagreement about settlement writ large. It confirmed not only that right-wing supporters of settlement in the Occupied Territories saw the settlers of eras past as models, but that all Zionist Knesset members who spoke wished to elevate Zionism’s settler origins and settler ideology despite their different strategies regarding contemporary settlement and regional foreign policy (Yeshivah meyuheadet, 2–3).

Likud MKs, in particular, connected nineteenth century settlement to twentieth century settlement in the Occupied Territories. Savidor noted wistfully that, “If the founder of Rishon LeZion, [Zalman David] Levontin had indeed realized his plans near Gaza, or if Yoel [Moshe] Solomon had realized his intentions to strike root near Jericho, as he intended, and not in Umlebes [Petah Tikva], how much blood, how many casualties, and how many debates about the borders of Israel could have been spared from the following generations?” But celebration of “First Aliyah” founders was also a celebration of all Jewish settlers, “all workers and builders of the land in all settlement streams” who “turned a wasteland into a flowering Garden of Eden.”(Ibid., 6)

Minister of Agriculture Simha Erlich (General Zionists, and then Likud) echoed Savidor: “Settlement hasn’t ceased over 33 years of statehood.” On the contrary, the establishment of settlements [*yishuvim*], which had previously been done, in the British and Ottoman periods, “under the watchful eye of a foreign occupier” now occurs “publicly and without shame” [*be-resh galei*]. Settlements established hastily in Judea and Samaria [the West Bank], the Golan, and Gaza, he noted with approval, “are now getting more established through increased budgets and a widening of their human population base.” Overall, the agricultural sector is producing one billion dollars of export goods through the use of advanced technology including electronic irrigation computers that crunch numbers. “This is the agriculture of today” (Ibid., 16–17). He did not mention that Palestinians had flooded into unskilled agricultural labour. They, too, were responsible for this economic growth, which they benefitted less from (Farsakh 2005; Portugali 2013).

The Labor Zionist Alignment (Maarakh) Party, in the opposition at the time, supported evacuating Yamit but also favoured ongoing settlement in other areas of the Occupied Palestinian Territories. MK Shimon Peres shared in the full-throated praise of the Zionist settlement project and did not explicitly distinguish in his rhetoric between settlement then unfolding within the Green Line and that taking place in the Occupied Territories. He boasted of “861 new settlements, [including] 300 kibbutzim and 400 cooperative settlements and 4.5 million dunams cultivated, considered the best agriculture in the world, with the ability to produce an output of 20 billion shekels a year, [in commodities ranging] from oranges to flowers.” (Ibid., 21). In invoking oranges, Peres was celebrating the sector that had been most closely associated with private colonies before 1948. The citrus sector that still existed continued to rely on Palestinian labour. But here, too, he did not mention it. Rather, his rhetoric expressed an ongoing process of Jewish cultivation, improvised settler habitations, and shifting and faceless foes, a narrative in which neither 1948 nor 1967 was a decisive turning point:

The land that waited for them was arid and exposed. They lived in caves, thickets, tents, cabins, metal and fabric shacks, in camps and transit camps [*ma'abarot*] and abandoned houses and temporary apartments, small apartments. They worked in swamps, sands, rocks, feverish valleys and unknown hills. They fought against murderers, gangs, foreign powers and the Arab armies. Always few in number, without strategic reserves, lacking manpower, weapons, and resources, and they paid a heavy and cruel price. Until the day that they could turn back and see behind them a flowering and verdant land, whose reputation travelled as far as that of the best agricultural producers, the strongest armies, the most advanced societies (Ibid., 18).

The story Peres, Savidor, and Erlich were celebrating that day did not begin with statehood, with political organizing, or with ideas. It began with acts of settlement and continued with acts of settlement under Ottoman, British, and Israeli rule. Amidst the blistering and ongoing partisan fights over the specific contours of settlement, rival Zionist parties expressed an agreement about its centrality to Zionist memory and ongoing practice.

Just as in the 1962 summer camps, educators used anniversaries to blur the boundaries between Zionist parties as they attempted to initiate youth, many of them new immigrants, into the Zionist settler narrative through “firsting” practices. In the early twentieth century United States, Matthew Frye Jacobson has shown, immigrant children read schoolbooks that emphasized the European conquest of “an otherwise ‘savage’ continent” and communicated that to be American was “to have arrived on American shores on some kind of journey from Europe” on the basis of a “natural, God-given claim to North America.” Pride in the “legacy of conquest” Jacobson writes, is “integral to American nationalism and national belonging” (Jacobson 1998, 214). Newcomer white ethnics in the United States (including Eastern European

and some Ottoman Jews) had real, if tenuous, claims to membership in the (white) national collective, unlike Chinese arrivals, formerly enslaved African-Americans, and Native Americans. White ethnics were often especially enthusiastic about the nationalist narrative and resisted having it questioned (Zimmerman 2002, 14–15). Jewish immigrants to Israel may have arrived indifferent to late nineteenth century (or, for that matter, earlier twentieth century) histories, but found them particularly enchanting because they offered a path toward membership in the emerging collective, both against the Arabs of Palestine who had no such path, and diaspora Jews, whose families had (foolishly in the dominant view) not yet chosen it.

In 1985, Ziv-Av authored an educational curriculum for the Israeli Department of Education and the Jewish National Fund. He thought it correct to jointly celebrate three instances of firsting: the plowing of the “First Furrow” in Petah Tikva (1878), the establishment of Rosh Pinna (1882), and the founding of the Jewish National Fund (1901), all of which occurred around Hanukkah time and which Ziv-Av suggested should be marked together on a new holiday called “The celebration of the First Furrow.” His pamphlet consisted of a script to be read aloud by teachers and students. “Let us elevate the memory of the first of the First Ones [*rishonim*], they who established a long chain of colonies within the desolation of the land,” it began. The process of settlement to be celebrated was ongoing: “we will elevate the memory of First Ones in every generation ... Standing erect, we unite as ones continuing on the path of the First Ones by remembering them.” (Ziv-Av 1985, 2–15).

* * *

“Recognition of the past is influenced by the present,” wrote *Davar* writer (and future Sociology professor) Dan Horowitz in his coverage of the special Knesset session to mark The Year of the First Ones in 1962–3. “The residue of eighty years-worth of arguments and disagreements, ideological disputes and differences in values showed themselves in the Knesset yesterday.” This eighty-year history, not only its vaunted origins, “was reflected in the mirror of the Knesset via its many faces.” As such, he noted, the proceedings could offer great material for a historian: “Not a historian of the ‘First Ones,’ the people of the First Aliyah per se, but maybe first and foremost a historian of the history of Yishuv that also continues today” (Horowitz 1998). Horowitz had articulated our core insight: those gathered in the Knesset on the eightieth anniversary of the “First Aliyah” in 1962, like those who gathered in 1982, and those in and beyond the “First Aliyah” colonies who had been commemorating the “First Aliyah” for decades, were not telling the story of the First Aliyah. Rather, they were telling the evolving story of their own political evolution, contemporary anxieties, and future hopes through the malleable substance of the Zionist settler past. But the internal contention that reveals texture and multiplicity within the history of Zionism, which shows

us how not all Zionists built the image of the past in the same way or towards the same ends, also confines all claims to firstness to within the national conversation. Zionist firsting, the insistent and ongoing attention to First Ones and First Things, mutes and overwrites competing claims to space and place. The event of “first” settlement becomes a frame through which ongoing settlement is celebrated, negotiated, and justified, and its erasures obscured, within the political dynamics of the present.

Notes

1. Letters from David Ben Gurion to Yitzhak Ziv-Av, July 22 and July 26 1962, CZA A483/74.
2. Letter from David Ben Gurion to Ziv-Av, August 1, 1962. CZA A483/74
3. Israel Coins and Medals Corporation, “Medalot shenat ha-rishonim 5723” [Year of the First Ones Medallions, 1962-3], No Date. CZA A483/74.
4. Letter from A. Herzfeld, on letter head of Histadrut ha-po‘alim ha-hakla‘iyim [Union of Agricultural Laborers] to Y. Ziv-Av, Farmers Federation, Tel Aviv, September 13, 1963, CZA A483/74.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

ORCID

Liora R. Halperin  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6205-0853>

References

- Ahad Ha-Am. 1912. “Sakh ha-kol” [All in all], *ha-Shiloah* 26:3 (Nisan 1912), Dated London 17 Adar 1912, http://benyehuda.org/ginzberg/Gnz_127.html#_ftn1.
- Ahimeir, Aba. 1954. [Aba Sirka], “Hiyuv u-shelilah ba-‘Aliyah ha-Sheniyah” [Positives and Negatives in the Second Aliyah], *Herut*, 24 December 1954, 3.
- Ahimeir, Aba. 1957. [Aba Sirka], “ha-Shomer,” *Herut*, 31 May 1957, 3.
- Anziska, Seth. 2018. *Preventing Palestine: A Political History from Camp David to Oslo*. Princeton: University Press.
- Bartal, Israel. 2010. “Al ha-rishoniyut: zeman u-makom ba-‘Aliyah ha-Rishonah.” [On Firstness: Time and Place in the First Aliyah].” In *Lesoheah tarbut ‘im ha-‘Aliyah ha-Rishonah*, [Talking Culture with the First Aliyah], edited by Yaffa Berlovitz, and Yosef Lang, 15–24. Tel Aviv: ha-Kibbutz ha-Me’uhad.
- Ben-Artzi, Yossi. 1997. *Early Jewish Settlement Patterns in Palestine, 1882–1914*. Israel Studies in Historical Geography. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University.
- Ben-Bassat, Yuval. 2009. “Proto-Zionist–Arab Encounters in Late Nineteenth-Century Palestine: Socioregional Dimensions.” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 38 (2): 42–63.
- Ben-Bassat, Yuval. 2013. *Petitioning the Sultan: Protests and Justice in Late Ottoman Palestine, 1865–1908*. Library of Ottoman Studies 42. London; New York: I.B. Tauris.

- Ben-Gurion, David. 1955. "Al he-avar ve-al he-atid" [On the past and the future], in *Hazon va-derekh* [Vision and path]. Vol. 5. Tel Aviv: 'Am 'oved, 267–296.
- Ben-Gurion, David. 1962. "'Rishonim" [First Ones]." In *Shenaton ha-memshalah* [Government Yearbook], 1962–3, edited by Reuven Alkalai, i–li. Jerusalem: Government Printer.
- Ben-Porat, Amir. 1989. *Divided We Stand: Class Structure in Israel from 1948 to the 1980s*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Ben-Porat, Amir. 1999. *Hekhan hem ha-burganim ha-hem?: toldot ha-burganut ha-Yisre'elit* [Where are Those Bourgeois People?: The History of the Israeli Bourgeoisie]. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
- Bitan, Dan. 1997. "'On sagi poreah': mitosim shel gevurah lohemet be-reshit ha-Tziyonut" ["Exalted Strength is Blooming': Myths of Fighting Heroism at the Beginnings of Zionism]." In *Mitos ve-zikaron: gilgulehah shel ha-toda'ah ha-Yisre'elit* [Myth and Memory: the Metamorphosis of Israeli Consciousness], edited by David Ohana, and Robert S. Wistrich, 167–188. Jerusalem; Tel Aviv: Van Leer Institute; ha-Kibbutz ha-me'uhad.
- Brog, Mooli. 2010. "'ha-Gimnasya 'Herzliya' megaleh et kivrot ha-makabim 1907–1911: le-heker 'itzuv shel zikaron kibutzi u-zehut le'umit" [the Herzliya Gymnasium Discovers the Graves of the Maccabees, 1907–1922: Researching the Making of Collective Memory and National Identity]." *Iyunim bi-Tekumat Yisra'el*, [Studies in the Rebirth of Israel] 20: 169–192.
- Bruyneel, Kevin. 2016. "Codename Geronimo: Settler Memory and the Production of American Statism." *Settler Colonial Studies* 6 (4): 349–364.
- Carmin, Itzhak. 1951. *The General Zionist World: A Four-Year Report on the World Confederation of General Zionists*. New York: World Confederation of General Zionists, American Office.
- Degani, Arnon Yehuda. 2015. "The Decline and Fall of the Israeli Military Government, 1948–1966: A Case of Settler-Colonial Consolidation?" *Settler Colonial Studies* 5 (1): 84–99.
- Dowty, Alan. 2012. *Israel/Palestine. 3rd ed., Fully rev. and Updated*. Cambridge, UK. Malden, Mass.: Polity.
- Eliav, Mordechai, ed. 1981. *Sefer ha-'Aliyah ha-Rishonah* [The First Aliyah]. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, Israel Ministry of Defense.
- Farsakh, Leila. 2005. *Palestinian Labour Migration to Israel: Labour, Land and Occupation*. Vol. 3. The Routledge Political Economy of the Middle East and North Africa Series. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Feige, Michael. 2009. *Settling in the Hearts: Jewish Fundamentalism in the Occupied Territories. Raphael Patai Series in Jewish Folklore and Anthropology*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Gertz, Nurith. 2000. *Myths in Israeli Culture: Captives of a Dream. Parkes-Wiener Series on Jewish Studies*. London; Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell.
- Ghanem, As'ad. 2001. *The Palestinian-Arab Minority in Israel, 1948–2000: A Political Study*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Guesnet, François. 2004. "Chanukah and Its Function in the Invention of a Jewish-Heroic Tradition in Early Zionism, 1880–1900." In *Nationalism, Zionism and Ethnic Mobilization of the Jews in 1900 and Beyond*, edited by Michael Berkowitz, 227–245. Leiden: Brill.
- Halperin, Liora R. 2021. *The Oldest Guard: Forging the Zionist Settler Past*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Havrelock, Rachel. 2020. *The Joshua Generation: Israeli Occupation and the Bible*. Princeton: University Press.

- Helman, Anat. 2006. "Place-Image and Memorial Day in 1920s and 1930s Petach Tikvah." *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 5 (1): 73–94.
- Horowitz, Dan. 1998. "Petihat 'Shenat Rishonim' ba-Knesset" [Opening of the 'Year of the First Ones' in the Knesset] *Davar*, 5 December 1962, 2.
- Jacobson, Matthew Frye. 1998. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 214.
- Kaniel, Yehoshua. 1981. *Hemshekh u-temurah: ha-Yishuv ha-Yashan veba-Yishuv he-Hadash bi-tekufat ha-'Aliyah ha-Rishonah veba-Sheniyah* [Continuity and Change: The Old Yishuv and the New Yishuv During the Periods of the First and Second Aliyah]. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi.
- Karlinsky, Nahum. 2005. *California Dreaming: Ideology, Society, and Technology in the Citrus Industry of Palestine, 1890–1939*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Katznelson, Berl. 1953. "Shlomo Lavi ben 70" [Shlomo Lavi turns 70], *Davar*, 21 December 1953, 2.
- Kemp, Adriana. 2002. "'Nedidat 'amim' o 'ha-be'erah ha-gedolah': shelitah medinatit ve-hitnagdut ba-sefar ha-Yisre'eli" ['Human Migration' or 'The Great Conflagration': State Control and Resistance in the Israeli Periphery]." In *Mizrahim be-Yisra'el: 'iyun bikorti mehudash* [Mizrahim in Israel: A Critical Observation Into Israel's Ethnicity], edited by Hannan Hever, Yehouda Shenhav, and Pnina Motzafi-Haller, 36–67. Tel Aviv: ha-Kibbutz ha-me'uhad; Van Leer Institute.
- Kimmerling, Baruch. 2003. *Politicide: Ariel Sharon's War Against the Palestinians*. London: Verso.
- Kinarti, Aryeh. 1963. "Shenat rishonim be-kaitanot" [Year of the First Ones in the summer camps], *La-merhav*, 16 August 1963, 4;8.
- Lapid, Yosef. 1962. "Matanah la-nasi" [A gift for the president]. *Maariv*, December 7.
- Lepore, Jill. 2010. *The Whites of Their Eyes: The Tea Party's Revolution and the Battle over American History*. Public Square (Princeton, N.J.). Princeton: University Press.
- Lesch, Ann Mosely. 1979. *Arab Politics in Palestine, 1917–1939: The Frustration of a Nationalist Movement*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Lissak, Moshe. 1981. *ha-Elitot shel ha-yishuv ha-Yehudi be-Eretz-Yisra'el bi-tekufat ha-Mandat: reka' hevratu u-defuse karyerah* [Jewish Elites in the Land of Israel during the mandate period: Social background and career patterns]. Tel-Aviv: 'Am 'oved.
- Matsuda, Matt K. 1996. *The Memory of the Modern*. New York . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mendilow, Jonathan. 2003. *Ideology, Party Change, and Electoral Campaigns in Israel, 1965–2001*. SUNY Series in Israeli Studies. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- "Mitz'ad leili shel Tzahal be-Petah Tikva yesayem ha-yom 'Shenat Rishonim'" [A nighttime IDF parade in Petah Tikva today will conclude the 'Year of the First Ones']. *La-merhav*, 4 September 1963, 6.
- Neumann, Emmanuel. 1964. "General Zionism as the Major Unifying Force in the Zionist Movement," *Excerpts from the Keynote Addressed Delivered at the Opening Session of the World Conference of General Zionists, Tel Aviv*, 26 December 1964. New York: World Union of General Zionists.
- O'Brien, Jean M. 2010. *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England. Indigenous Americas*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Paris, Leslie. 2010. *Children's Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp*. New York: New York University Press.

- Penslar, Derek Jonathan. 1991. *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870–1918*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Piterberg, Gabriel. 2008. *The Returns of Zionism: Myths, Politics and Scholarship in Israel*. London: Verso.
- Portugali, Juval. 2013. *Implicate Relations: Society and Space in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Robinson, Shira. 2013. *Citizen Strangers: Palestinians and the Birth of Israel's Liberal Settler State*. Stanford Studies in Middle Eastern and Islamic Societies and Cultures. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Ross, Kristin. 2002. *May '68 and Its Afterlives. May 1968 and Its Afterlives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rozin, Orit. 2011. *The Rise of the Individual in 1950s Israel: A Challenge to Collectivism*. Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press.
- Rozin, Orit. 2016. *A Home for All Jews: Citizenship, Rights, and National Identity in the New Israeli State*. Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press.
- Shafir, Gershon. 1996. *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882–1914*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Shafir, Gershon. 2007. "Zionism and Colonialism: A Comparative Approach." In *The Israel/Palestine Question: A Reader*, edited by Ilan Pappé, 2nd ed., 78–93. London; New York: Routledge.
- Shamir, Ronen. 2000. "Burganut yehudit be-Palastinah ha-kolonyalit: kavei meta'er le-seder yom mehkari [The Jewish Bourgeoisie in Colonial Palestine: Outline for a Research Agenda]." *Israeli Sociology* 3 (1): 133–48.
- Shapira, Anita. 2012. *Israel: A History*. Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press.
- Sorek, Tamir. 2015. *Palestinian Commemoration in Israel: Calendars, Monuments, and Martyrs*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Trofe, Eliezer. 1948. *Reshit: li-melot 70 shanah le-Fetah Tikva* [Beginning: on Petah Tikva's 70th anniversary] (638–708). Petah Tikva: sn.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 1995. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Van Slyck, Abigail Ayres. 2006. *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890–1960*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Wolfe, Patrick. 1999. *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*. London: Cassell.
- Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (4): 387–409.
- "Yeshivah hagigit shel ha-knesset le-tziyun Shenat Rishonim" [Festive session of the Knesset in order to mark the year of the First Ones]. *Divre ha-Knesset* 35 (7 December 1962): 353–66.
- "Yeshivah meyuhedet be-yom kinun ha-Knesset le-tziyun me'ah shenot hityashvut baretz," [Special Knesset session to mark 100 years of settlement in the Land], the 55th session of the Tenth Knesset—Second Sitting, Monday 15 Shevat/ 8 February 1982, Jerusalem, 16:02. CZA A483/74, 7.
- Zerubavel, Yael. 1995. *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Zimmerman, Jonathan. 2002. *Whose America?: Culture Wars in the Public Schools*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Ziv-Av, Yitzhak. 1985. "Bnei banim be-ikvot rishonim" [Sons in the footsteps of the Fathers]. Israel Department of Education; Jewish National Fund Teachers Movements. In CZA A483/74, 2–15.