

was presented as the heroic Jew in Zionist literature. From its inception, the concept of "Aliyah" (immigration) versus "Yerida" (emigration) has a connotation of blackmail that exerts moral pressure on Jews to immigrate to "Eretz Yesrael". This has been used since H. Bialik until the present time as a non-material "incentive" for immigration.

Similarly, Zionists used religious sentiments based on archaic Bibli-cism, the strongest of which was the "redemption" of the land -- the Pro-mised Land -- as a Divine Command. In Zionist practice, the land is re-deemed once it is colonized and settled by Jews. The "return-to-the-soil" appeal in "spiritual" Zionism, as well as later on in proletarian Zionism, was a non-material incentive used precisely for guaranteeing the material base for a Zionist State superstructure in Palestine, both territorial and demographic.

The emergence of Labor "socialist" Zionism provided the most solid ideological incentive for Jewish immigration; the whole idea of constructing utopian socialism in collective living forms (the kibbutz) and "labor sector" (the Histadrut) were most appealing to East European Jews, who were very involved in the revolutionary debates and actual struggle in the East European scene, then disappointed by the defeat of the first Russian revolution. It is important to indicate that even then in the Yeshuv, ideological incen-tives were not sufficiently effective in recruiting pioneers; Judah Matras indicates that the provision of material incentives (such as subsidized or guaranteed housing, employment and services) was necessary, and that indi-viduals with skill and/or wealth were recruited to, and if they were re-cruited did not long remain in, the rural settlements.⁶⁶

Since the Zionist movement made explicit its objective of establish-