

and Sabras in particular.⁷² This is emigration of the petty bourgeoisie, both "old" and "new", who are, according to Borochoy, the class most needy for national territory and, more importantly, who were the vanguards of Zionism; the actual creators of the Jewish State.

Emigration of Sabras back to Diaspora is, therefore, an extremely sensitive issue in Israel, for it may be taken to signify the ultimate bankruptcy of Zionism and its territorial solution to the Jewish question. After all, only 20 percent of world Jewry have chosen to become citizens of the Jewish State, and of this 20 percent, even Sabras, the more deeply rooted "native Israelis", are beginning to sail away back to "Diaspora". Not only that, emigration of Sabras may itself constitute a disincentive to Aliyah. It also designates a vicious circle: the early Jewish settlers pushed out the indigenous Palestinians and now recent Jewish immigrants are pushing out the only indigenous Israelis.

This view of the petty bourgeois settlers is contrasted with the view from Diaspora. The current emigration/immigration dynamics are not troubling the latter. On the contrary, these dynamics are taken to provide a relieving excuse for the absence of commitment to Zionism (in terms of Aliyah) on the part of the traditional and "new" Jewish petty bourgeoisie, who are still residing in Diaspora. These dynamics (specifically with regard to emigration (Yeridah) of Sabra Jews), in fact, provide legitimization for the advocacy of a new position: dynamic integration of Diaspora and Israel (ironically parallel to the "open-bridges" policy advocated by the Israeli "Hawks" with regard to the "Diaspora" of the Palestinians).

This new position is expressed most eloquently in Ginzberg's recommendations on Israel's manpower development strategy. In Ginzberg's words: