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Urban Arcadias:

Émigré Experts, Spatial Knowledge, and the Rise of Zionist-Israeli Planning, 1933-1953

By

Shira Wilkof

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Architecture

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Nezar AlSayyad, Chair

Professor Andrew Shanken

Professor Kerwin Klein

Summer 2017

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ABSTRACT

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This study provides a first history of the emergence of urban and national planning in Jewish Palestine/Israel (1933-1953), placing it in the wider context of the international planning movement and the flow of knowledge, ideas and expertise within it. I do so by critically excavating the individual work of three German-émigré planners during the British Mandate period, all of whom later became senior state planners in early statehood: Eliezer Leonid Brutzkus (1907-1987), Ariel Anselm Kahane (1907-1986), and Artur Glikson (1911-1966). Their planning work, which has mostly escaped the scholars' radar, embodies a unique encounter between German cultural sensibilities and professional traditions, British colonial practices and the Zionist ideology. Operating at a time of global turmoil, each produced a distinct imagination for national "Urban Arcadias", grounded in the local settler enterprise, yet enthusiastically participating in the universal quest for a new social order.

Essentially a work of planning history, this project also combines the perspectives of social history, history of the built-environment disciplines and Middle East studies. It takes as its point of departure underexplored aspects of *planning*, a distinct policy expertise that originated in fin-de-siècle industrial Europe and which evolved in the first half of the twentieth-century from a voluntarist, urban field to an influential public policy expertise concerned with large-scale planning. It highlights crucial, yet largely neglected, questions regarding *spatial policy*, including national and regional land use, town-country relations, settlement structure, demography and economy, and their encounter with emergent ideas on state interventionism and technocracy.

Following an introductory chapter, which considers historiographical and theoretical aspects, a separate chapter is devoted to the work of each of the three planners during the British Mandate period. It progresses chronologically from Brutzkus' introduction of *functional-economic* planning in the late 1930's, to Kahane's *formalistic-aesthetic techno-utopian* proposals for postwar reconstruction, and then moving on to Glikson's *environmentalist* approach, which

matured in his postwar exchange with the urban critic Lewis Mumford. The final chapter discusses how their cumulative insight was brought to bear, and compete on, post-1948 national planning, as co-founders of the first Israeli national planning team. Particular emphasis is placed on the planners' varying conceptions of the local Palestinian population as they were either incorporated into, or removed from, their various plans. The Afterword suggests signposts for future research in connection with the postwar New Towns movement worldwide.

This research provides new insights regarding the rise of planning at a formative period of institutionalization. It illuminates both the diverse disciplinary knowledge that informed its rise and the cutting-edge work by transnational planners operating in the cultural and geographical margins of the West. As well, it pushes the boundaries of the field of *planning history*, demonstrating the historiographical potential in addressing this distinct set of questions to the built environment fields and beyond, as revealed through this specific case study. Thus, the findings call for a revision of one of the founding myths of Israeli nation-building by countering the conventional “architectural modernist” narrative of early statehood planning, associated with the Bauhaus-graduate Arie Sharon—the head of the first national planning team—and the aesthetic traditions and social utopianism that he espoused. Instead, I reveal how a cross-range of *planning* ideas, obscured by the overarching architectural narrative, were in fact the crucial locus of influence. Further, this unknown groundwork of *planners and planning knowledge* during the Mandate period, and especially the agency of Brutzkus, both explored here for the first time, call for a rereading of the transition from the pre-Independence Zionist rural pioneering ethos to the post-Independence ‘urban turn.’

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Archive Abbreviations

BGA	Ben Gurion Archives of the Research Institute for the Study of Israel and Zionism, Ben Gurion University, Sde Boker, Israel
CZA	Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, Israel
GHU	Geography Department, Hebrew University
ISA	Israel State Archives, Jerusalem, Israel
LIA	The Pinhas Lavon Institute for Labor Movement Research Archives, Tel Aviv
LMP	Lewis Mumford Papers, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania
PTHA	Petah Tikva Historical Archive
RIBA	RIBA Library Drawings and Archives Collection, London
TAHA	Tel Aviv Municipal Historical Archives
TGA	The German-Speaking Jewry Heritage Museum Archives, Tefen
TH	Technische Hochschule Berlin-Charlottenburg
ASC	Avital Schechter Collection
CFC	Chanan Frenkel Collection
JDK	Josh and Dolly Kahane Collection
YAC	Yael Aloni Collection

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Chapter 1 | Introduction

On February 16, 2017, a new exhibition, entitled “The City Engineer: Yaakov Ben Sira and the Planning of the White City,” opened at the Gallery of the Architect’s House in Jaffa. Organized by the *Israel Association of United Architects*, the exhibition was dedicated to Ben Sira’s work as the Municipal Engineer of Tel Aviv between 1929-1950. During his tenure, Tel Aviv experienced dramatic urban growth from which it emerged as one of the world’s capitals of the International Style. In 2004, this urban campaign won international recognition when “The White City of Tel Aviv” was declared an UNSECO world heritage site. [Fig. 1].

The exhibition focused on Ben Sira’s immense contribution to the shaping of Tel Aviv’s modern urban landscape. The exhibition walls were filled with images of Ben Sira’s clean-lined, white-stuccoed schools, housing projects, public space, iconic squares and colonnades, while the accompanying texts described his passionate struggle against the spread of the eclectic style. According to the curators, the exhibition provides a comprehensive account both of Ben Sira’s “practical and conceptual” oeuvre.¹ They explain that its goal is to reclaim his position among the most influential modernist architects who operated in Jewish Palestine during that period, and to bring public awareness to Ben Sira’s crucial impact, an impact “no less” meaningful than that of those modernist architects, “perhaps even greater.”²

Despite the rich display of materials, the exhibition presented only a partial story of Ben Sira’s work. In effect, the exhibition fell into a classic pitfall: the conflation between planning and architecture, and the submergence of the *spatial policy* issues of the former by the latter’s concern for *design* and *form*. The agenda of Ben Sira, who was trained as a civil engineer, was far more sweeping than modernist design and urban-scale modernization. A large portion of his public work was dedicated to *planning policy* questions at the national level, through which he emerged as a leading planning advocate in Jewish Palestine. As he grappled with the challenges of Tel Aviv, the largest and fastest growing metropolitan area at the time (and still today), he became one of the most prominent voices within a new class of urban administrators in Palestine Jewry. Later, he would have a direct impact on shaping the young country’s national planning policy post-1948, as well as related legal mechanisms and the national urban landscape.

However, these professional accomplishments—arguably of much greater importance and impact than the individual buildings he designed in Tel Aviv—were nowhere to be found in the exhibition panels nor mentioned in the accompanying texts. This omission is far from being an isolated incident limited to the confines of Israeli academia. The case of the Ben Sira’s exhibition, which purported to encompass his *entire* practical and conceptual work, yet neglects

¹ Yossi Klein and Eran Tamir-Tawil, “The City Engineer: Yaakov Ben Sira and the Planning of the White City,” Exhibition Announcement, accessed March 21, 2017, https://cdn-media.web-view.net/i/wjzeec8dww/16.02.17__0.pdf.

² Hila Shemer, “The Man Who Engineered Tel Aviv: Yaakov Shifan (Ben Sira), the Father of the White City,” *Xnet*, accessed February 24, 2017, <http://xnet.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4922358,00.html>.

a major aspect of his career, touches upon one of the underlying motivations for this dissertation: *the lack of a distinct, independent, and well-established tradition of planning history*, and, as a result, the diffusion and co-option of the field's history by neighboring disciplines, from geography to sociology, urban history, and in our case, architectural history.

The historiographical submergence of planning by architecture reflects a more general phenomenon.³ Once considered in tandem, core architectural questions regarding aesthetics, formal qualities, design, and arrangement of three-dimensional objects pushed aside core questions of *planning policy*, such as land use, zoning, urban functions, rural-urban relations, metropolitan cooperation, and regional and national planning. Rarely can an analysis be found that treats these two interrelated sets of questions together in a well-balanced manner. The result is a design-focused historical discourse that either filters the latter set of questions through the prism of the former, at best, or wholly overlooks them, at worst.⁴

Planning history, by and large, is not treated as a distinct trajectory, one that merits independent historical investigation. Yet the benefits for the study of the built environment in developing such a historical trajectory are well worth contemplating. It can consider planning issues that have been unaddressed in the interstices of built-environment history, open exciting opportunities for cross fertilization, as well as highlight productive tensions between planning and other built-environment fields.

Planning history is also essential for the field of planning itself. Suffering from a chronic identity crisis, firm historiographical foundations can help planning to “assert its distinctiveness as an autonomous field.”⁵ Further, planning, as an academic field and profession, has overall not developed a self-critical tradition.⁶ The presence of a distinct historical discipline, with its own scholarly community, methodology and analytical tools, can foster a self-reflective, conscious historical discourse, thereby contributing to the “collective imagination about planning’s possibilities, limitations and professional identity.”⁷

³ Nonetheless, the Israeli case does have distinct features, given the special role architectural modernism holds in the construction of Zionist/Israeli identity and the nation-building narrative. I will discuss these relations in the Afterword.

⁴ This is true for both the conservative strand within architectural history, which privileges the autonomy of form as well as recent trends in the direction of incorporating cultural, historical and political contexts. For an excellent example of a programmatic essay that reflects this shifting paradigm, see Sibel Bozdogan, “Architectural History in Professional Education: Reflections on Postcolonial Challenges to the Modern Survey,” *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984) 52, no. 4 (May 1, 1999): 207. Nonetheless, other scholarly groups from the city-making disciplines that are not explicitly architectural in orientation increasingly turn to issues related to policy, management and urban apparatus. This includes The Society for American City and Regional Planning History (SACRPH) as well as The European Association for Urban History (EAUH). I thank Professor Andrew Shaken for this insight.

⁵ Susan S. Fainstein and Scott Campbell, eds., *Readings in Planning Theory*, 3rd ed, Studies in Urban and Social Change (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 4. For a useful discussion on the field's identity crisis, see Dowell Myers and Tridib Banerjee, “Toward Greater Heights for Planning: Reconciling the Differences between Profession, Practice, and Academic Field,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71, no. 2 (June 30, 2005): 121–29.

⁶ See Margaret Crawford, “Why Planners Need Anthropologists” (working paper, August 2016). I thank Professor Crawford for sharing with me this manuscript.

⁷ Fainstein and Campbell, *Readings in Planning Theory*, 4.

This dissertation is a journey into these neglected questions of planning history. I seek to peel off the homogenizing white stucco of “modernist architecture,” and allow for hidden layers and hues underneath to resurface. In this process, I explore the unknown story of the rise of planning in Jewish Palestine, in which Ben Sira, as well as the main protagonists of this study, played key roles.

As their story unfolds, a new reading emerges regarding one of the founding myths within Israeli spatial history: the inherently architectural modernist nature of the Israeli New Towns Plan of early statehood. This study shows how that program, which came to be known as the Sharon Plan (after its chief planner, modernist Arie Sharon) and hence associated with Sharon’s design agenda, was actually deeply rooted within the then-emergent field of planning and its diverse ideas about large-scale demographic, economic and spatial policy, but was appropriated over the years by architectural historiography.

Through this particular case, I raise wider questions concerning the international planning movement, the bodies of knowledge that informed it, and the way it participated in the great transformations of the mid 20-century and the making of the modern built environment.



Fig. 1. “The City Engineer: Yaakov Ben Sira and the Planning of the White City” Exhibition. Top: Exhibition banner (Source: www.isra-arch.org.il); Bottom: Exhibition view (Photo: Shira Wilkof)

Mapping Transnational Planning History

Since its inception in the late nineteenth century, the field of planning has been characterized by multiple interpretations regarding its domain, practice, methodology, disciplinary orientation and academic alliances. The lack of both consensual theoretical foundations and a coherent sense of professional identity constitutes what Susan Feinstein and Scott Campbell describe as an “elusive field of study,” which still “remains a diminutive newcomer surrounded by larger, more

established fields.”⁸ The perennial identity crisis projects onto the attempts to create a solid body of disciplinary historiography. Planning history, like planning itself, both draws on, and at the same time is dwarfed by, related fields from the spatial, social and human disciplines, ranging from architecture, geography, urban history, and urban sociology, to economics, law, political science and public policy. It suffers from a lack of academic institutionalization in the form of academic programs or teaching chairs that are dedicated to it.⁹

For our discussion, I will adopt a general characterization of planning as a “twentieth-century, public-sector, bureaucratic profession.”¹⁰ Based on this definition, I will delineate the elusive contours of planning history. I will trace the evolution, conventions, trends, and future directions of the field, while placing a special emphasis on the shifts and relations between the national and international perspectives.

The common story told of modern planning is that it emerged in the late nineteenth century, in response to the rise of the industrial city.¹¹ An eclectic mix of urban administrators, housing reformists, lawyers, technical experts and visionaries, all joined forces in creating this new spatial expertise that would mitigate the negative effects of *laissez-faire* capitalism in the cities in pursuit of the “good city.”¹²

Critical historians treat the birth of this new administrative expertise suspiciously. They demonstrate how, along with its reformist and socially progressive thrust, planning also ensured uninterrupted capitalist accumulation, as it prevented social unrest while enabling increased spatial efficiency. As such, they further argue, planning enabled the preservation of the existing

⁸ Ibid, 4. See also Simin Davoudi and John Pendlebury, “Centenary Paper: The Evolution of Planning as an Academic Discipline,” *Town Planning Review* 81, no. 6 (2010): 613–646.

⁹ This is my personal observation, based on my close familiarity with the field in Israel and the United States, and, to a lesser extent in Europe. I am not familiar with academic graduate programs or academic chairs principally devoted to planning history. Planning history usually is a secondary consideration, tethered to other areas of interest such as Urban History and Theory, Architectural History or Planning Theory. Perhaps one indication of this state of affairs is that I was not able to locate scholarly literature that addresses the lack of institutionalization of planning history in graduate programs or academic chairs.

¹⁰ Fainstein and Campbell, *Readings in Planning Theory*, 5. They follow Peter Hall’s elegant definition of planning as a “twentieth-century response to the nineteenth-century industrial city.” In Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, UK ; New York, NY, USA: Blackwell, 1988). Of course, we distinguish here between town planning as an ancient activity, which dates back to ancient times, and modern planning, a field of knowledge and expertise that arose in late nineteenth century. For a discussion on important antecedents, from Haussmann’s Paris to Olmsted’s urban parks in the United States, see Stephen V. Ward, *Planning the Twentieth-Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World* (Chichester: Wiley, 2002), 11-44.

¹¹ The classic study remains Sutcliffe, who points to a specific moment and place of birth: Frankfurt, 1891, with the invention of zoning (*Les Adickes*). See Anthony Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States, and France, 1780-1914*, Comparative Studies in Social and Economic History / General Editor, J. R. Kellett 3 (Oxford (Oxfordshire): Blackwell, 1981). Coming from a Eurocentric perspective, Sutcliffe tended to overlook the colonial experience as an important factor in shaping the field’s practices of socio-spatial control in industrial Europe. In this context, see, e.g., Robert K. Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (Routledge, 2013).

¹² A professional struggle between various technical experts arose already from the outset regarding the nature of the new field. Engineers, surveyors and architects each sought to become the parent discipline and thereby to shape the new field in its own image. See Davoudi and Pendlebury, “Centenary Paper”, 618-620.

order. On the one hand, it pushed aside radical socialist solutions that called for the abolition of private property, and, on the other, anti-urban utopian communitarian reactions, which flourished throughout the century in the form of experimental model communities.¹³

Three basic eras characterize its history. Feinstein and Campbell provide a useful periodization. The first is the *formative years* (late 1800s-until 1910), in which planners had not yet identified themselves as planners; the second period (1910-1945), characterized by “institutionalization, professionalization and self-recognition of planning, together with the rise of regional and planning efforts;” and the third period, *the postwar era* of “standardization, crisis and diversification of planning.” This third period started with a so-called golden age, in connection with the high modernist peak during the immediate postwar years of reconstruction and decolonization. It was followed by an epistemological crisis in the 1960s, and a contemporary restructuring of the field under the regime of global capitalism and the rise of neoliberalism.¹⁴

That town planning was an international movement from its beginnings was already acknowledged in the pioneering historiographical works in the 1970s and early 1980s.¹⁵ Scholars such as Sutcliffe pointed to the “international diffusion of planning” taking place within an emergent transnational network of technical and reformist milieu.¹⁶ In the decades leading to 1914, a dynamic exchange of knowledge took place in various forms, from international associations and publications to exhibitions and events, so much so that, according to Ward, its “unusually international character put it in the vanguard of transnational professionalism.”¹⁷

¹³ For interesting attempts at providing Marxist historiographies regarding the emergence of planning, see Leonardo Benevolo, *The Origins of Modern Town Planning*, (Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1967). University Press, 1986); Richard E. Foglesong, *Planning the Capitalist City: The Colonial Era to the 1920s* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1986). For a more moderate left-wing orientation, see Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 1988.

¹⁴ On planning in the neoliberal era, see, e.g., Vanessa Watson, “‘The Planned City Sweeps the Poor Away...’: Urban Planning and 21st Century Urbanisation,” *Progress in Planning*, 72, no. 3 (October 2009): 151–93; Tore Sager, “Neo-Liberal Urban Planning Policies: A Literature Survey 1990–2010,” *Progress in Planning*, Neo-liberal Urban Planning Policies: A Literature Survey 1990–2010, 76, no. 4 (November 2011): 147–99. For a useful introduction to neoliberalism, its history, ideology, and relations with the State, see David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, First Edition (Oxford University Press, USA, 2005).

¹⁵ Despite important antecedent works, such as Ashworth’s *The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning* (1954) and Benevolo’s *The Origins of Modern Town Planning* (1967), the self-conscious legacies of the field usually mark its beginning in the mid-1970s and early 1980s, with the British-led establishment of “The Planning History Group” in 1974. See “The Planning History Group,” *Planning Perspectives* 1, no. 2 (May 1986): 130–130. Further, as Meller and Hein argue, “the original Editorial Board of the Planning Perspectives, appointed in 1986 by Cherry and Sutcliffe, is a roll call of many pioneers of modern planning history.” This included historians “Gordon Cherry and Tony Sutcliffe in the UK; Donald A Krueckeberg and the founders of the Society of City and Regional Planning in the USA; and the German, Italian, and French contributions especially the work of Gerhard Fehl and Gerd Albers, Donatella Calabi and Georgio Piccinato, and many others from all over the world.” In Helen Meller and Carola Hein, “Report on ‘Planning History Workshop’ Held at TU Delft, June 11–13, 2015,” *Planning Perspectives* 31, no. 1 (2016): 122. Another important landmark is the book series, *Studies in History, Planning and the Environment* (E & FN Spon), launched in 1980 and edited by Sutcliffe and Cherry.

¹⁶ Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, esp. 179-188. Another interesting early example of transnational history is Michael Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1900-1940* (Mansell, 1985).

¹⁷ Ward, *Planning the Twentieth-Century City*, 121.

This early acknowledgment of its transnational nature notwithstanding, much of the historiographical focus in subsequent years has turned to national trajectories. Studies explored local processes of institutionalization and legislation, land use patterns and key actors within these developments, all in connection with their social, economic and political dynamics within the national framework. The cumulative result of these efforts provides necessary context about the different national planning traditions, and it lays the foundations for comparative research.¹⁸ However, their circumscribed geographical focus is joined by another limitation. These studies tend, by and large, to produce descriptive, supposedly disinterested narrative, but one which is written from an establishmentarian perspective, as it were, “from within.”

A corrective for these limitations came as critical insights drawn from post-colonial studies since the 1970s were picked up by a group of historians from the design and spatial disciplines. These studies opened new ways to explore the international dimension of the field, while adding the missing, yet crucial, colonial context to an overall Eurocentric discourse. Examining the flows between the metropolitan core and colonial periphery, scholars highlighted the inherently colonial roots within the making of European urbanism and town planning, thereby unsettling the Eurocentric narrative of the rise of the modern city.

Landmark works included King’s 1974 seminal study, *The Bungalow*, on the global dissemination of the Bengali Bungalow, and AlSayyad’s *Forms of Dominance*, on the making of colonial urbanism in various contexts and their enduring legacies.¹⁹ AlSayyad further examined notions of hybridity in spatial production, collapsing such dichotomies between ‘traditional-modern’ and ‘west-east’, and analyzing their global implications.²⁰ These two, as well as other scholars, pointed to bidirectional traffic of experts, architectural forms, ideas, professional knowledge, and cultural imaginations between the colonies and the metropole, as well as to the implications of colonial urban culture for both former imperial regions and Western urban culture.²¹

¹⁸ Thus, in the same year (1981) that Sutcliffe, a British scholar, published his international analysis on planning, *Towards the Planned City*, he also published a thorough study on domestic national planning, *British Town Planning: The Formative Years* (Leicester, Leicester University Press). Other notable examples of scholars who follow this national trajectory are Helen Meller (Britain) and Gerd Albers (Germany). In the Israeli context, though more a legal, policy-oriented analysis rather than a strictly historical approach, one can point to the studies by Rachele Alterman on the Israeli planning system, which also incorporates some comparative aspects.

¹⁹ Anthony D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Nezar AlSayyad, ed., *Forms of Dominance: on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992).

²⁰ Nezar Alsayyad, ed., *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment* (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2000); Nezar Alsayyad, ed., *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism*, 1 edition (Routledge, 2001).

²¹ See, e.g., Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1989); Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1991.); Mia Fuller, *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism*, Architext Series (London ; New York: Routledge, 2007); Jane M. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire : Postcolonialism and the City* (London ; New York : Routledge, 1996); Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten, eds., *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past--Rebellions for the Future* (London: Black Dog, 2010).

Concomitantly, this critical impulse also circled back to the national trajectories. Following the rise of national studies and collective memory by the late 1980s, spatial scholars began to critically reflect on the physical making of their own national entities.²² Drawing on the Foucauldian power/knowledge matrix, they analyzed the top-down physical and symbolic construction of the national landscape, and the ideological alliances between planners and the state, especially during the postwar heyday of high modernist ideology.²³ Upending the traditional national storylines of planning, they revealed what Yiftachel terms “the dark side of planning.”²⁴

More recently, the transnational turn across the humanities and social society has reached planning history, giving a new impetus to explore cross-border connections and exchanges.²⁵ In this development, Sutcliffe’s early observations about an ‘international diffusion’ have come full circle, further enhanced today by understandings drawn from other disciplines on technocracy, internationalism, professionalization and globalization.²⁶ The work of Pierre Yves Sounier on what he terms the “Urban Internationale,” the international sphere of professional exchange in

²² The year 1983 seems to mark the emergence of national studies. Three of the groundbreaking analyses of nationalism—Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*, Eric Hobsbawm’s *The Invention of Tradition* and Ernest Gellner’s *Nations and Nationalism*—were published that year.

²³ For the by- now classic study on high modernist ideology, see James C Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, Yale Agrarian Studies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

²⁴ Yiftachel, O. (1998) 'Planning and Social Control: Exploring the Dark Side', *Journal of Planning Literature*, 12: 4: 395-406. Research is ample. Selected examples include James Holston, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). Lawrence J Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*, 2nd ed (New York: Routledge, 2008); Vikramaditya Prakash, *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity Inpostcolonial India*, Studies in Modernity and National Identity (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002). Brenda S. A. Yeoh, *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment* (NUS Press, 2003); Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space, and Political Cultures in Indonesia*, Architext Series (New York: Routledge, 2000).

²⁵ Defining the contours of transnational history in relation to concepts such as international or global history is a topic of ongoing debate. In the distinction between internationalism and transnationalism, a useful starting point is the role of the sovereign state. While “internationalism is built upon the existence of sovereign states [...] in a “transnational” context, nations lose their central position as the definer of human identities.” According to this view, an essential concept is *shared knowledge* and the network of specialists who make this knowledge universal. When “their expertise is shared throughout the world”, these networks become transnational, “ceasing to belong to a specific country or countries.” In Akira Iriye, “Davide Rodogno, Bernhard Struck, and Jakob Vogel, Editors. Shaping the Transnational Sphere: Experts, Networks and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s,” *The American Historical Review* 121, no. 1 (February 1, 2016): 208–9.

I follow Tyrell’s distinction between transnational history and global history or globalization. For Tyrell, transnational history “refers to a broad range of phenomena cutting across national boundaries; it is both less than global history and yet more, in the sense that not all history across national boundaries is global or the product of globalization, but all – at least for modern history – is transnational.” In Ian Tyrrell, “Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice,” *Journal of Global History* 4, no. 03 (2009): 454. For an interesting discussion about the Transnational Turn in history, its origins and relation to these and other similar concepts, see Pierre-Yves Saunier, “Learning by Doing: Notes about the Making of the Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History,” *Journal of Modern European History* 6, no. 2 (2008): 159–180.

²⁶ For example, see Stephan Stach, “Expert Cultures in Central and Eastern Europe: The Internationalization of Knowledge and the Transformation of Nation States since World War I,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 64, no. 5 (July 1, 2012): 971–73; Vincent Lagendijk, Schot, Johan, and Vincent Lagendijk, “Technocratic Internationalism in the Interwar Years: Building Europe on Motorways and Electricity Networks.” *Journal of Modern European History* 6, No. 2 (2008): 196–217.

the first half of the twentieth century, was especially influential in setting the conceptual framework for transnationalism in planning.²⁷ And Daniel Rodgers now-classic *Atlantic Crossings* opened new ways to explore a transatlantic vector of flows among professionals, civil society organizations, policy-makers and intellectuals during the first half of the twentieth century.²⁸

Planning historians such as Stephen Ward, Robert Freestone and Rosemary Wakeman have worked during the past several years to provide a systematic mapping of the transnational planning activity.²⁹ Joined by others, these studies cover a wide range of transnational exchange spanning international organizations, micro-histories of individual transitional careers, and regional and interpersonal connections. The temporal scope is equally broad, from the early pre-1914 transatlantic exchange to the Cold War's West-East contact and beyond to Global South-North connections.³⁰

A recent promising avenue looks closely at the activity of the IFHP (International Federation for Housing and Town Planning) during the interwar period, then the largest international forum for exchange on planning and urbanism.³¹ Despite its vast activities and international reach, the IFHP is hardly known, as compared with the much-studied, celebrated CIAM, which operated at the same time and was much smaller in numbers. Riboldazzi's goal is to reclaim the position of IFHP as a "very important focus of debate for the formation of international modern architecture and town planning" of the interwar period.³²

Being currently in the midst of a transitional moment, this trend is far from being exhausted. This is perhaps best captured in the observations made by the editors of the first-ever

²⁷ Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Sketches from the Urban Internationale, 1910–50: Voluntary Associations, International Institutions and US Philanthropic Foundations," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25, no. 2 (June 1, 2001): 380–403.

²⁸ Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998).

²⁹ Ward, *Planning the Twentieth-Century City*; "A Pioneer 'Global Intelligence Corps'? The Internationalisation of Planning Practice, 1890–1939," *The Town Planning Review* 76, no. 2 (January 1, 2005): 119–41; "What Did the Germans Ever Do for Us? A Century of British Learning about and Imagining Modern Town Planning," *Planning Perspectives* 25, no. 2 (2010): 117–140; Robert Freestone and Marco Amati, eds., *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture* (Farnham Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2014). Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2016).

³⁰ For an especially useful overview, see the essay collection, Patsy Healey and Robert Upton, eds., *Crossing Borders: International Exchange and Planning Practices* (Routledge, 2010). Other examples include Carola Hein, "The Exchange of Planning Ideas from Europe to the USA after the Second World War: Introductory Thoughts and a Call for Further Research," *Planning Perspectives* 29, no. 2 (2014): 143–51. Ellen Shoshkes, *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: A Transnational Life in Urban Planning and Design* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013); William Whyte, "The 1910 Royal Institute of British Architects' Conference: A Focus for International Town Planning?," *Urban History* 39, no. 1 (2012): 149–65.

³¹ Michael A. Geertse, "Defining the Universal City. The International Federation for Housing and Town Planning and Transnational Planning Dialogue 1913–1945" (PhD Dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2012); Phillip Wagner, "Facilitating Planning Communication across Borders: The International Federation for Housing and Town Planning in the Interwar Period," *Planning Perspectives* 31, no. 2 (2016): 299–311. Renzo Riboldazzi, "The IFHTP Congresses between the Wars: A Source for Studies on Modern Town Planning," *Town Planning Review* 84, no. 2 (January 1, 2013): 159–70.

³² Riboldazzi, "The IFHTP Congresses between the Wars," 159.

Routledge Handbook for Planning History, expected in 2018),³³ who point to various future directions in exploring transnational planning history:

It is a growing field and will lead to novel research foci that include the role of language in transnational exchanges, the study of commodity flows and diverse migratory movements, and the ways in which they have carried ideas of urban form and function, transforming urban and rural spaces around the world.³⁴

Another intriguing development is related to the growing interest in planning activities in the interwar period and their continuities with the postwar “Golden Age” of high modernism and its massive state-led developmental schemes, a much-explored period. While the interwar period was a crucial intellectual and experimental hotbed for the period that followed, it has been understudied, overshadowed, perhaps, by the major achievements of the later period. Increasingly, however, studies have turned to explore the interwar period, revealing the rich transnational exchange of ideas on national policy, economy and spatial planning that took place in both international professional forums and various local contexts. They demonstrate how, despite its modest outcomes, it was nonetheless a crucial period of gestation and experimentation, which primarily came to fruition in the postwar period of war reconstruction and nation-building.³⁵

This study contributes both to well-established, as well as new themes, in the field. I make a conscious choice to focus on the national scale. I do so in order to provide a first history of the emergence of planning in Jewish Palestine/Israel, thereby providing a missing link both to local area studies and to the field of planning historiography. However, I do so without losing sight of the crucial *international* context in which this national phenomenon took place. I situate the local case within the wider context of the international planning movement and its circulation of ideas, knowledge and individuals. In this way, I seek to tell a national story which, despite its subject-matter, is stripped of national chauvinism and Zionist-Israeli exceptionalism. At the same time, I do not wish to lose sight of distinctive features that arise from this specific case and might have more general implications for the international field of planning history.

As will emerge, this project adds to the growing scholarship on the transnational ascendance of regional and national planning during the interwar period and the kinds of disciplinary knowledge that informed this process. Following the trauma of the Great War and the Great Depression, the interwar years witnessed the rise of state interventionism and

³³ “The Routledge Handbook of Planning History (Hardback) - Routledge,” accessed February 26, 2017, <https://www.routledge.com/The-Routledge-Handbook-of-Planning-History/Hein/p/book/9781138856981>.

³⁴ Meller and Hein, “Report on ‘Planning History Workshop’”, 127.

³⁵ Helen Meller and Heleni Porfyriou, eds., *Planting New Towns in Europe in the Interwar Years: Experiments and Dreams for Future Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016); K. A. Kholodilin and M. G. Meerovich, “Housing Policy in Soviet Russia and Germany between the Two World Wars: Comparative Analysis of Two Systems,” *Journal of Urban History*, May 23, 2016. A promising parallel development is the increasing historicization of the late postwar decades, the 1960s-1980s. For example, see the papers of Jennifer Shannon Mack and Daria Bocharnikova, presented in The European Association of Urban History Conference, Helsinki, 2016, in the session on “Reconsidering Mass Housing and Environmental Thought after 1945.” “Sessions | EAUH 2016,” accessed March 26, 2017, <https://eauh2016.net/programme/sessions/>.

technocracy, as nations aspired to create stable societies as the key to a peaceful future. In the face of these emerging trends, urban planners, practitioners of a field with barely half-a-century-old of professional standing, sought to carve out a space for their unique expertise as an indispensable public policy field. Their efforts resulted in a transformative leap from the urban scale to regional and national planning, and its expansion beyond *physical* planning to the inclusion of other aspects of planning, derived from such social science areas as economics, demographics, and sociology.

The émigré-community of Zionist planners in Palestine were enthusiastic participants in this professional quest, characterized by a high degree of experimentation and a utopian thrust. As a result, the conceptual work of the local planners during the 1930s and 1940s is of special interest. The work of Brutzkus (chapter 2), for instance, stands as one of the earliest systematic applications of the emergent idea of national planning. He developed an original economic-functional model of national planning, “a semi-urban” vision, weaving together macro-economic and demographic planning with traditional physical planning. In the field of regional planning, the creative interpretation presented by each of the planners examined in this study—ranging from an economic-demographic perspective to design-factionalist and environmental—illuminates the vibrant international quest for a new large-scale spatial order. It demonstrates the paths not taken, those utopian blueprints that were never realized, and the way they were envisioned to be realized in the creation of a peaceful future world order.

The conceptual work of these planners was originally conceived under imperial rule, but was realized only after 1948 (albeit partially), by a new nation-state and in an age that was witnessing the creation of a new world order. The sharp transition from “dreams” to “reality” manifested in this case provides a powerful lens through which to examine the continuities between interwar experimentation and the era of state interventionism and high modernism after 1945. As will emerge, this case especially reveals how the postwar New Towns movement was intrinsically rooted within the experiences of the preceding period, entangled, as it were, within interwar “politics of territory and settlement, national planning, and a cross-range of planning ideas” (see chapter 5).³⁶

Planning and Zionist Colonization

That both Zionism and modern planning emerged during the final decades of the nineteenth century and were founded on a similar worldview, rooted in modernity, has been neatly observed

³⁶ Rosemary Wakeman to author, Email Correspondence, September 30, 2016.

by sociologist Smadar Sharon.³⁷ But a discussion about the meaning of this historical juxtaposition, and the nature of the connection between them, requires further elaboration.

This question is further heightened by the fact that for both planning and Zionism, the interwar years were an especially transformative period. In the planning sphere, these years witnessed the rise of the field from a voluntarist activity, with barely half-a-century of professional standing, to an indispensable public policy field by the end of WWII. Concomitantly, in Palestine, the end of World War I marked the commencement of the three-decade long British Mandatory rule in Palestine (1920-1948), during which Palestine experienced a period of accelerated Jewish colonization. During this time, most of its social, economic political, and settling institutions were formed, providing the framework that enabled Zionism to establish an independent Jewish state by 1948.

The phenomenon of Zionism has been a source of ongoing charged academic debate, framed by contemporary political realities. In its broadest sense, historians commonly examine Zionism as a national and settlement movement that raised the banner of modernity, secularism, and technocracy.³⁸ One critical line of analysis considers Jewish settlement in Palestine as a colonialist phenomenon.³⁹ These studies explore the characteristics of the Zionist settler society, emphasizing the fundamental Zionist demand for ethnic exclusiveness and its firm refusal to “any suggestion of Native assimilation.”⁴⁰ Further, they analyze the political, economic and spatial strategies of the Zionist movement as they were employed in the displacement, exclusion and marginalization of the native Arab population within the pre- and post-1948 context.⁴¹

A major feature of the colonization process was the organized nature of this settlement endeavor, a point that has been made by scholars from both critical and centrist sides.⁴² National institutions engaged settlement experts—agronomists, sociologists, economists, engineers, and technical experts—who guided these process, presenting “an unparalleled example of deliberate, explicit planning.”⁴³

Drawing on these critical insights, I approach the Zionist settlement as a colonialist phenomenon in which both stories—Zionist nation-building and the dispossession of the native Arab community—as inseparable. Zionist settlement, in other words, was far from being “solely

³⁷ Smadar Sharon, “Planners, the State, and the Shaping of National Space in the 1950s,” *Theory and Criticism* 29 (Autumn 2006): 31–58–48.

³⁸ Tamar Novick, “Milk & Honey: Technologies of Plenty in the Making of a Holy Land, 1880-1960” (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2014), 5.

³⁹ For a useful background, see Gershon Shafir, “Zionism and Colonialism: A Comparative Approach,” in *The Israel/Palestine Question*, ed. Ilan Pappé (London ; New York: Routledge, 1999), 72–85; Patrick Wolfe, “Purchase by Other Means: The Palestine Nakba and Zionism’s Conquest of Economics,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 2, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 133–71.

⁴⁰ Wolfe, ‘Purchase by Other Means,’ 136.

⁴¹ Geographer Oren Yiftachel has discussed these processes of continuous Judaization as part of what he terms Zionist-Israeli “Ethnocracy.” See Oren Yiftachel, *Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

⁴² Derek Jonathan Penslar, *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870-1918*, The Modern Jewish Experience (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); Wolfe, ‘Purchase by Other Means’.

⁴³ Wolfe, ‘Purchase by Other Means,’ 137.

an internal Jewish affair.”⁴⁴ As a result, questions concerning the role of the *idea of planning*—especially the role of its agents, the planners—in this national endeavor, arise throughout this study: How did planners negotiate between their professional imperative, originally based on a reformist, socially progressive redistributive approach for the “common good,” and their sectorial territorial ambitions and demand for ethnic exclusiveness?

As will emerge, the strong identification of the planners with the Zionist endeavor led them to lend their professional expertise in the service of national interests. The overwhelming majority of the burgeoning Zionist planner community were émigrés from Central and Eastern Europe. Trained in European technical schools as architects, civil engineers, and town planners, they emigrated to Palestine in the 1920s and 1930s, escaping an increasingly unstable and unwelcoming Europe. What guided their professional work was the national imperative. They focused their efforts on the Jewish sector and the emerging Jewish commonwealth. They conceived of themselves as the exclusive bearers of invaluable settlement expertise, and, by virtue of their expertise, they sought to fashion Jewish settlement patterns according to up-to-date professional norms. However, the political dictate pushed aside professional claims for social progressiveness and spatial inclusiveness. The reformist thrust that accompanied the rise of *idea of planning* in industrial Europe was, once put into the local context, largely restricted to the Jewish colonization project.

During the 1930s and 1940s, these émigré-professionals became the self-appointed advocates of the emergent *idea of planning* within the Jewish community. They indefatigably propagated the value of planning for long-term Zionist aspirations among professional circles, decision-makers and the general Jewish public. Coming from leading European academic institutions, they were well-versed in the prevalent professional discourse and were determined to create a model planning paradigm for a model society. In Jewish Palestine, they found an especially fertile ground to experiment with the new spatial tool of planning while also contributing to the wider national community.

For these practitioners, planning was the ultimate key in preparing the ground for a socially progressive, economically robust Jewish commonwealth. What for Europe and the UK had been a belated and still experimental policy *response* to the decades-long ravaging effects of urban industrialization, was now conceived by these planners as a *prescriptive* blueprint for nation-building. Planning, in other words, served as a tool for a speculative state-to-be and for *national imagination*.⁴⁵ During the 1940s, planners actively sought to create a proto-national shadow planning system. This, however, for reasons discussed later in this chapter, was to no avail until independence (see chapter 5).

This active engagement with the planning of the Jewish sector puts into sharp relief their silence regarding the Arab local population and their own spatial presence. Their vigorous efforts to plan the future national presence by drawing tentative maps and assembling statistical data about the Jewish population, were not matched by any similar effort regarding the local

⁴⁴ Shafir, *Zionism and Colonialism*, 73.

⁴⁵ I thank Professor Nezar AlSayyad for this observation.

Palestinian population. As a result, despite the fact that the Palestinian community constituted the majority of the country's population, these planners largely overlooked the realities of Palestinian settlement, realities, land-use activities and development patterns. As well, no inclusive, multi-ethnic socio-spatial visions were presented by the planners.

The Palestinian presence was mentioned in passing, at best, or simply overlooked. In shared spaces, such as mixed cities, the planners distinguished between two kinds of populations (chapter 2), carefully restricting their attention to the Jewish population and their land-use activities, in addition to seeking ways to increase Jewish power within these municipal administrations (chapter 5). In rural areas, Palestinian communities were represented in the maps of the planners as nondescript, static entities (chapter 3). After 1948, the first national master plan did not include those Arab communities that remained after the *Nakba* (chapter 5).⁴⁶

In light of the planners' alignment with the national ideology, one might assume that the well-organized settler society would have warmly embraced the spatial expertise offered by the planners. However, this was far from being the case. From the planners' perspective, they faced two obstacles in their advocacy work within Palestine Jewry, for both of which the planners were considered inimical to the national cause. First, a fixed territorial unit with clear boundaries, a planning prerequisite, was at odds with the fundamental Zionist strategy of ever-increasing expansion, as expressed in the well-known motto, "wherever the Jewish plow plows its last furrow, that is where the border will run." Porous and ever-growing boundaries for Jewish territories served, in other words, the national interest. Second, for this reason, the planners call for Jewish public control over private ownership and speculative investment within the Jewish *urban areas* was seen naïve at best, and detrimental, at worst.

More profoundly, the deep anti-urban, agrarian ideological bent within Palestine Jewry created a basic tension between the urban-oriented planners and the national settlement ethos (see chapter 2).⁴⁷ Zionism was founded on the key idea of return to the Land of the Bible. It emphasized agrarian colonization of Palestine as the means for spiritual regeneration and national reclamation of the historic land. The primacy of agrarian colonization was formalized in the early 1920s, following the domination of the movement's political institutions by the Socialist Zionism. Inspired by East European revolutionary circles, Socialist Zionism imbued the agrarian ideal with the notion of an egalitarian Jewish society, composed of a broad peasant

⁴⁶ Between 1947-1949, more than 400 Palestinian villages were destroyed or depopulated. Some 750,000 Palestinians were expelled and made refugees, and about 150,000 Palestinians remained within Israel proper by the end of the war. See Walid Khalidi, ed., *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2006). Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

This "soft" strategy of *erasure* by means of ostensible cartographic *transparency* continues to undergird contemporary Israel's policy regarding Palestinian communities, both within Israel proper and in the West Bank, complemented/by other active means of displacement and expulsion. See Yiftachel, *Ethnocracy*. For periodic reports on state of the Bedouin population in the Negev, housing demolitions and planning restrictions in East Jerusalem, and the encroaching expulsion of the West Bank Palestinian community from Area C and the Jordan Valley, see "Bimkom.Org | Bimkom," accessed March 26, 2017, <http://bimkom.org/eng/>.

⁴⁷ For an introduction to Zionist settlement ideology, see Yosef Gorni, *From Rosh Pina and Degania to Dimona: A History of Constructive Zionism* (Tel Aviv: MOD Books, 1989).

class. A single, overarching paradigm of collectivist pioneering—the collectivist *Kibbutz* and the cooperative *Moshava*—emerged as the ultimate path of Zionist settlement. Urban life was deemed ideologically inferior, a bygone relic deemed to disappear.

This ideological bent presented an interesting twist in planning advocacy in Jewish Palestine. The presence of national planning advocates was a prevalent phenomenon within the international planning movement, as local planning enthusiasts dedicated their public career to promoting the new field of expertise within their respective countries.⁴⁸ However, while in industrial Europe and North America, advocacy focused on the advantages in restraining *laissez-faire* capitalism for the common good, in Zionist Palestine, the emphasis was on overcoming the anti-urban bias within both the political leadership and the general public.⁴⁹

Planners were the first group within the Zionist community to think systematically about *urban* planned settlement at a time when *rural* collectivism was the ideological dictum. Thus, the emerging field of urban and national planning in Jewish Palestine was distinctive in that its advocates ushered in the transition from an exclusively rural focus to a formal endorsement of large-scale urbanization. Based on their pre-state work, these planners seized the moment of independence in 1948 and carved out for themselves the role as a stand-bearer of an indispensable national expertise. This dissertation follows this process of reception of the idea of planning, from the 1930s until the formulation of first national master plans (1948-1951).

Mapping Local Planning Historiography

During the past three decades, much critical research has been carried out about Israeli nation-building. “New Historians” and “New Geographers,” as these circles of critical scholars have come to be known, have been joined by others from across the humanities and social sciences. They analyze the physical, symbolic and mental construction of nationhood, and the way these processes frame contemporary power relations, identity and culture. A substantial body of knowledge has emerged, collectively challenging the establishmentarian scholarship that dominated the landscape of Israeli academia for decades. These developments were not picked up by the scant literature about planning history.⁵⁰

The work of geographer Shalom Reichman (1935-1992) remains an isolated, and the most substantial, attempt to address planning history within the Israeli context. Reichman remains the only scholar who directly engaged in creating a historical narrative concerning

⁴⁸ Perhaps the most famous example is Sir Frederik Osborn, the champion of the British New Towns. Antecedents are discussed in Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, 173-179.

⁴⁹ In parallel, planners exerted major efforts to convince of the need to control spatial processes in the emerging cities, based on private capital and entrepreneurship. The struggle against land speculation and unplanned suburbanization were front and center of the agenda of these planners.

⁵⁰ Indeed, critical planning theorists have touched upon aspects of planning *history* and scholars from different disciplines have tackled different aspects of *planning* in relation to their subject-matter. While providing important insights in their respective fields, none of these studies resulted in producing any new *historiographical* accounts.

planning issues. He explored the evolution of national and regional planning, legislation, town-country relations, settlement structure, and mapped the planners' community. He also pointed to important continuities between the pre- and post-state periods.⁵¹

Reichman's work is especially crucial as he operated during the 1970s and 1980s, at time when he was still able to still communicate with the first generation of planners, leaving behind an indispensable body of first-hand accounts and materials. Nonetheless, his studies are suffused with an establishmentarian undertone and tend to be descriptive at the expense of analytical or theoretical engagement. As well, the research and its conclusions are already over thirty years old.⁵²

Research on planning history has not advanced much beyond Reichman's work. The limited scholarship that ensued is found principally in a number of master theses and doctoral dissertations.⁵³ These studies have several limitations. First, they tend to focus on the post-1948 period, the moment of decision-making and implementation during early statehood. Further, they accept Reichman's studies as authoritative, reproducing his arguments with little critical reexamination or original interpretation (a point that I will elaborate on in chapter 5). The result is that the current state of national planning narrative is outdated, parochial in its geographical scope, and circumscribed in the period that it covers.

This study proposes a corrective. It reveals the rich context of planning in the pre-state period against the background of the flows of professional knowledge, cultural attitudes, and ideologies that travelled with the planners from Europe to Palestine. It joins the scholarly efforts to "reinsert" an international dimension into the discussion about Zionism and Israel, "thereby rescuing it from a narrative of a singular history trapped within itself."⁵⁴

⁵¹ His two most important studies in planning history are Shalom Reichman, *From Foothold to Settled Territory, the Jewish Settlement 1918-1948* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1979); and Shalom Reichman and Mira Yehudai, *A Survey of Innovative Planning, 1948-1965 (Part 1)* (Jerusalem: The Department of Geography, The Hebrew University and The Planning Administration, The Ministry of Interior, 1984). These works are quoted extensively by local geographers, sociologists and historians of Zionism and Israel.

⁵² Reichman was engaged both in academia and service in the public sector. He served in various capacities in the planning administration and other governmental roles. For a biographical description, see "Prof. Shalom Reichman," accessed March 26, 2017, http://geo.haifa.ac.il/~bargal/history/english/reichman_english.html.

⁵³ These include Avital Schechter, "Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats: The Israeli Experience in Physical Planning During Israel's Early Years" (Technion - Israel Institute of Technology, 1990); Anat Bar-Cohen, "Legislative Process of the Planning and Building Law 5725-1965 in the Context of 'Planning Institutions' (Chapter Two of Law) and 'Schemes' (Chapter Three of Law)" (PhD Dissertation, Bar Ilan University, 2007); Michal Givoli, "The Beginning of Physical Planning in Israel: Analysis of the First Comprehensive Plan of Israel" (Technion - Israel Institute of Technology, 1993). Other planning historians, such as Noa Heisler Rubin and Benjamin Hyman, focus on the British Mandate period, exploring the activities of the British planners.

⁵⁴ Smadar Sharon, "The Import and Translation of the Colonial Italian Settlement Model for the Lakish Region," in *Zionism and Empires*, ed. Yehouda Shenhav (Tel Aviv: Van Leer Institute Press / Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2015), 303.

Methodology and Resources

This study critically excavates the distinct and individual contributions of three key planners, who in 1948 co-founded the Israeli Planning Department and led its first mass settlement schemes: German-émigrés Eliezer Leonid Brutzkus (1907-1987), Ariel Anselm Kahane (1907-1986), and Arthur Glikson (1911-1966). A separate chapter is devoted to the work of each of them during the British Mandate period, progressing chronologically from Brutzkus' introduction of functional-economic planning in the late 1930's, to Kahane's formalistic-aesthetic proposals for postwar reconstruction, and moving on to Glikson's environmentalist approach, which matured in the 1950s.

Each chapter describes the intellectual evolution of its respective planner, with special attention given to how particular European background of each came to shape his encounter with the political and urban reality in British-ruled Palestine. I address matters of family background and professional agenda, ideological orientation, émigré identity, their advocacy work and their reception within the Zionist professional milieu and general public. As we proceed through our narrative of these three planners, the incubation of a local paradigm of national planning begins to unfold. The final chapter discusses their collaborative work after 1948 when, for the first time, they sat together at the drawing board and had to negotiate their competing notions within the context of the first national plan for population dispersal and the New Towns scheme.

Thus, the main body of this project (chapters 2-4) is comprised of a series of three separate intellectual biographies, with a postscript (chapter 5) that brings them together and explores their later collaborative work.⁵⁵ This choice of structure and approach emanated from the fact that their pre-state work was carried out individually, with hardly any interaction between them prior to 1948. However, unlike a traditional biography in the spirit of the “great masters,” this study critically situates each of these planners within a web of political, socio-cultural power structures, ideas, and people.⁵⁶

Further, this research provides the basis for upending this narrative. Since the work of these protagonists is largely unfamiliar within the body of scholarship (Glikson being perhaps the only relative exception), a consideration of their cumulative work challenges the standard “great master” narrative about the roots of Israeli planning, which has been nourished on the ethos of Arie Sharon's individual creativity and his architectural modernism. An examination of the work of these three individuals offers in-depth access to the diverse building blocks—a mélange of utopian hopes and intellectual forces, biases and blind spots—that shaped Israeli planning thought and practice, far removed from the accepted narrative, whose imagery associates it with architectural modernism à la Bauhaus. By revealing these planners' distinct stories, I am able to ask, following historian Kessler-Harris, “how the individual life helps us to

⁵⁵ On the return of the genre of intellectual biography to historical scholarship, and its potential and pitfalls, see Malachi Hacohen, “Rediscovering Intellectual Biography—and Its Limits,” *History of Political Economy* 39, no. 1 (January 1, 2007): 9–29.

⁵⁶ The classic example for a traditional “great masters” biography in the field of planning history is Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier* (The MIT Press, 1977).

make sense of a piece of the historical process “ and to put some of these pieces together (chapter 5).⁵⁷

A central goal of this project is to create as firm a foundation as possible for future research in the field of planning history. Two archival lacunae characterized my data collection: the first is fact that two of the three main protagonists have been under the scholarly radar (Brutzkus and Kahane); and the second that there is no national archive in Israel dedicated to the history of the built environment and design professions. The upshot is that while the dissertation draws on archives located in Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom, and, especially Israel, it pays special attention to the gathering of materials maintained in various non-archival settings throughout Israel. Copious planning materials are maintained in various ad-hoc settings, ranging from the institutional, through the non-archival, to private collections held by family members at various levels of preservation.

The case of architect-planner Heinz Rau serves as a telling instance of the limitations in gathering records. Rau, a German-émigré practitioner, was a central figure in shaping early statehood planning. He is viewed as an unusually original, well-regarded architect and thinker who was active in Mandate Palestine from his arrival from Berlin in the mid-1930s.⁵⁸ Despite my initial hopes, however, I was not able to gather sufficient data about him for a rounded analysis.

The case of Kahane is an opposite example. As part of my dissertation research, I located his papers, stacked away in a metal closet at the Geography Department of the Hebrew University. Disorganized and unmarked, they had managed to be preserved by staff, but the fear was that these valuable materials would eventually be lost without a suitable archival setting for their preservation. Thanks to the generous support of "Traces of German-Jewish History", a joint project of the *Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach* and Franz Rosenzweig Minerva Research Center (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem), funds were found to ensure the preservation of this collection. In March 2017, it was cataloged and transferred to the Hebrew University archives.⁵⁹ A conference marking their transfer was held that same month, in which researchers and journalists were presented with the archival findings.⁶⁰

The scope of this study, nonetheless, is limited to the Zionist planners' community. Despite initial expectations, I did not find any evidence regarding connections and exchanges between Jewish planners (our protagonists included) and their Palestinian peers. At this point, it seems safe to assume that the planners whom I examined operated within exclusively Jewish circles and its spatial issues. As a result, I took special caution to circumscribe the scope of my discussion to the Jewish-Zionist community, avoiding any more general statements about the entire planning community in Palestine. I did so with the hope that in the future, much-needed research into the Palestinian planners will be conducted, shedding new light on the Palestinian

⁵⁷Alice Kessler-Harris, "Why Biography?," *The American Historical Review* 114, no. 3 (2009):626-627.

⁵⁸ For a biographical account on Rau, see Myra Warhaftig, *They Laid the Foundation: Lives and Works of German-Speaking Jewish Architects in Palestine: 1918-1948*, trans. Andrea Lerner (Tübingen : New York, N.Y: Wasmuth, 2007), 300-307.

⁵⁹ For more information about the project and its archival catalog, see *The Reichman Kahane Collection*, accessed March 24, 2017, <http://rosenzweig.huji.ac.il/book/kahane-reichman-collection>.

⁶⁰ The conference, "In the Field and in the Archive: A Look into the Planning History of Jerusalem and Israel," Yad Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerusalem, took place on March 5, 2017. See the conference program, accessed April 7, 2017, <http://www.ybz.org.il/?CategoryID=712&ArticleID=2630#.WOd2b6IIE2w>.

side, and perhaps even revealing surprising professional connections that transcended ethno-social tensions.⁶¹

Chapter Outline

The second chapter focuses on Eliezer Leonid Brutzkus (1907-1987). Arguably the most influential figure in the consolidation of national planning, Brutzkus' career spanned five decades, from his pioneering plans for mass urbanization in the 1930s to his longstanding service as a senior state planner in the post-Independence era. During this period, he developed a unique approach to planning, which combined economic-physiocratic thought with pastoral idealism. The chapter traces the roots of this approach, both from the lessons of economic resilience learned from the Great Depression and the scholarly tradition of Diaspora Jewish social scientists, focusing on demography, statistics and productivization schemes in Eastern Europe. Especially influential was the work of his father, Boris Ber Brutzkus, a leading Russian-German liberal economist, who had collaborated with Friedrich von Hayek.

Armed with these ideas, Brutzkus, the son, was one of the earliest planners who championed an urban vision for Jewish Palestine, at a time when rural pioneering was the ideological dictum. Many of his plan's tenets were adopted in the post-1948 New Towns Plan, and they continued to underpin Israel's urbanization schemes well into the 1970s.

The third chapter centers on Ariel (Anselm) Kahane (1907-1986), a key state planner who in the 1940's produced an original body of thought on urban planning, yet whose work has so far eluded scholarly interest. The son of Arthur Kahane, the chief dramaturg of the Max Reinhardt Theater, Kahane embodied perhaps one of the most profound, albeit largely unknown, encounters between high-minded German culture and the waning British Imperial planning apparatus. While working as the senior draughtsman for the colonial chief planner of Palestine, Kahane devised an alternative, technocratic philosophy of "Total Planning," in which planners would assume a leading role. His work also included "The Scattered Town," a universal model of extreme urban decentralization, as well as a regional "Total Plan" (for Tel Aviv), the first comprehensive metropolitan planning scheme in Palestine.

In 1945, he initiated the first national planning exhibition to be held in Zionist Palestine, where he presented to the general public the idea of regional and national planning. He later fleshed out these ideas in his capacity as the Chief Planner of the Western Galilee (1948-1953), a depopulated Arab region which was reconstructed as a Jewish rural-urban area. Given all of his pioneering work, the question that occupies this chapter is why his contribution to urban planning has been largely overlooked.

The fourth chapter focuses on Arthur Glikson (1911-1966), a key state planner who emerged as an international theorist of environmental design. Glikson became one of the most original voices of the environmental critique of CIAM urbanism in the postwar period, and his

⁶¹ For background on the politics of Palestinian archival records in Israel and the practices of their erasure, see Rona Sela, "The Genealogy of Colonial Plunder and Erasure – Israel's Control over Palestinian Archives," *Social Semiotics* 0, no. 0 (March 3, 2017): 1–29.

connections extended from Team X to central figures in the American environmentalist movement (including Mumford, MacKaye and Aldo). While his design projects in early statehood have received some scholarly attention, mainly in the context of nation-building, this chapter is a first attempt to mine the richness of his environmentalist planning thought and place it within its broader international context.

Glikson, a German-Jewish émigré to Palestine, was a close follower of Ernst Fuhrmann, an eccentric German thinker known for his model of *Biosophy*, a plant-based theory of humanity that defined vegetation as a source of cultural truth. In Palestine, he was active in an émigré-group of Fuhrmann's disciples, which included, among others, the Jewish theologian Josef Schächter (1901-1994), a member of the Vienna Circle, and Paul Engelmann (1891-1965), arguably Adolf Loos' closest acolyte.

For over two decades, Glikson maintained a spirited correspondence with Mumford, during which he developed a Geddesian ecological approach to planning. During his years as a key state planner (1948-1956), he introduced ecological principles into the sweeping developmental plans of the New Towns, and he later used this experience to develop a universal model of ecological planning. By documenting Glikson's work, insights are gained into the mid-twentieth century exchange between German and Anglo-American ecological thought, occurring at a time of shifting geopolitical hegemonies from the former to the latter and the rise of a new postwar world order.

The fifth chapter examines the post-independence New Towns plan devised by the Planning Department, in connection with the discussion in my earlier chapters. While our planners were first seated together around the drawing board only in May 1948, foundations to planning policy had already been laid since the early 1940s. The first part of this chapter covers the period prior to 1948, presenting newly excavated findings concerning unknown professional associations and collective initiatives, as well as key moments in the rise of national planning. It also maps out the web of connections and key agents in this processes. The second part focuses on the continuities and ruptures from the previous period, the internal competition between architects and planners, and between "our" planners (notably between the approaches taken by Brutzkus versus Glikson). It concludes with an analysis of the Sharon Plan, and shows how in essence it was Brutzkus who was the main engine behind the plan.

The Afterword briefly discusses the postwar international New Towns movement, the moment in time at which our story comes to end. It suggests signposts for future research, and concludes with final thoughts about the contribution of the dissertation project.

Chapter 2 | “A Semi-Urban Nation”: Brutzkus and the Economic Turn

“We live in an era of planning.”⁶²
(E. Brutzkus, 1943)

In August 1933, 26-year old Leonid (Eliezer) Brutzkus arrived in Palestine. Having completed his formal studies in civil and agricultural engineering at the TH (*Technische Hochschule*) Berlin-Charlottenburg and Munich earlier that year, he immediately immersed himself in questions regarding the future of Jewish colonization in Palestine.⁶³ Within several years, by the late 1930s, the Russian-born Brutzkus emerged as a pioneering thinker in the field of national planning and one of its most indefatigable advocates in Zionist Palestine [Fig. 2]. The story of Brutzkus (1907-1987) and his distinctive planning theory is a useful point of departure to examine the emergence of national planning in the interwar period, in both its local and international contexts. Brutzkus shifted the disciplinary focus from traditional concerns of form, design and function to a spatial-economic perspective that responded to the global economic and political realities of the 1930s. He did so by merging new economic-demographic understandings from the Great Depression with the latest trends in the field of physical planning, most notably planned decentralization and the rise of national planning.

For Palestine, the result was a sweeping vision of a national, “semi-urban lifestyle,” a landscape resilient to economic disasters, socially integrated and spiritually regenerating. Having at first been rejected on ideological grounds by the rural-oriented socialist Zionist leadership, many of these ideas found their way into the post-1948 mass settlement schemes and continued to serve as a national norm in Israel well into the 1970s.

Internationally, Brutzkus’ thinking stands as one of the earliest systematic applications of the emergent idea of national planning. The years straddling World War II are marked by a transformative leap in the field of planning. From an expertise responding to the challenges of the fin-de-siècle industrial city, it expanded after the Great War to include regional and national concerns, and culminated in its institutionalization as a leading public policy expertise in the post-1945 era, the profession’s “golden age.”⁶⁴ Brutzkus’ Coastal Chain Plan for a “semi urban” lifestyle, devised as early as 1937, was one of the first examples of this innovative methodology applied, albeit tentatively, to a national territory in its entirety. The upshot was that national planning, originally developed in industrial countries as a means to mitigate the growing divide between town and county, was now adopted by Brutzkus as a *prescription* for nation-building.

⁶² Eliezer Leonid Brutzkus, “On the Question of Our Urban Settlement,” *Journal of the Association of Engineers & Architects in Palestine* 5, no. 2 (December 1943): 14.

⁶³ Eliezer Brutzkus, *The Documentation of Planning Thought* (unpublished manuscript, 1985), 132. I wish to thank economic historians Yuval Yonay, Arie Krampf and Yanai Spitzer for helping me to formulate the ideas in this chapter.

⁶⁴ To use Helen Meller’s terms; see Helen Elizabeth Meller, *Towns, Plans, and Society in Modern Britain* (Cambridge [u.a.]: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Planning expertise was to provide a blueprint, the ultimate formula for creating an economically resilient nation, worthy of emulation by other nations.

This chapter offers a first critical evaluation of the pre-1948 ideas and work of Brutzkus, who was one of the most influential figures in the local planning community in Palestine/Israel as well as an international harbinger of post-war technocratic national planning. In particular, this chapter seeks to reconstruct Brutzkus' rich intellectual background in the context of both the transnational transfer of ideas and expertise and the encounter between economic ideas and planning culture in the interwar period.

Brutzkus' affinity for economic thought, and his sustained collaboration with economists, also discloses a fascinating personal trajectory. It reveals an unknown exchange between father and son: The father, Boris Ber Brutzkus, a prominent liberal economist who collaborated with Friedrich Hayek and was a fierce critic of Soviet totalitarianism; the son, an emergent technocrat, a firm believer in the ability of science and experts to better the human condition and, especially, national planning to guide the Zionist project. In this sense, the intellectual biographies and the affinities between father and son illuminate a hidden genealogy of Israeli planning, which begins in late nineteenth-century Jewish economic life in Russia, continues in 1920s Berlin and ends in Palestine.

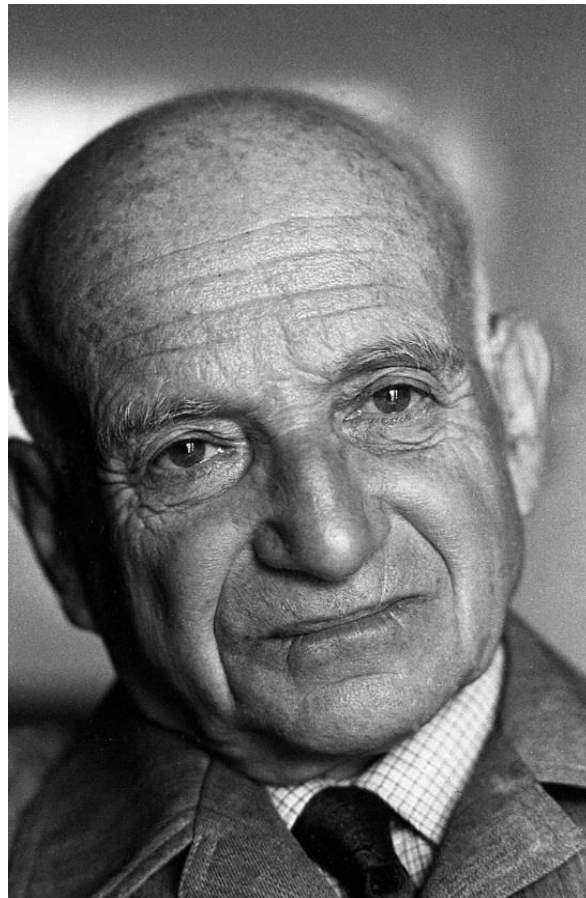


Fig. 2. Eliezer Brutzkus (Courtesy of Irit Doley)

Upon independence in 1948, the younger Brutzkus was a founding member of the National Planning Department, becoming one of the key planners of the Israeli New Towns in the early statehood period. As such, Brutzkus' formative years during the 1930s, characterized by conceptual experimentation and consolidation of his lifelong planning credo, provide an important context for the ideas that informed the post-independence mass housing schemes.

Exploring Brutzkus' work in the pre-state years offers two significant insights. First, within the local arena, the scarce scholarship on planning history has tended to focus on the immediate post-independence period (1948-1958), a time of accelerated development and profound transformation of the national landscape.⁶⁵ While these studies emphasize the actual on-the-ground results and their enduring demographic, economic and cultural impact on Israeli space and society, there is hardly any regard given to the preceding period that informed this massive state endeavor (see chapter 5).

Further, these studies tend to examine these national processes as an isolated, self-contained case, celebrating Israeli exceptionalism. By so doing, they overlook the international professional knowledge and expertise embedded within these local processes. The result is that we still know very little about the ideas, knowledge and norms that were brought by, and reworked within, the mostly-émigré professional community in Palestine, providing the necessary expertise for the national undertaking. Brutzkus' case is illustrative of this historiographical lacuna. Even though he is held in the highest esteem within the Israeli professional community, having been "crowned" as the national "Father of Physical Proactive Planning," the pre-state groundwork that he laid down, the international sources of influence on him and the formative decades that shaped his intellectual and professional perspective, all remain unexplored.⁶⁶

Second, this chapter enriches our knowledge regarding the broader developments in the field of planning during the interwar period. It highlights the manner by which the interwar period served as a crucial intellectual and experimental hotbed of much-explored postwar high modernism.⁶⁷ It thus joins a growing body of studies which pay increasing attention to the exchange that took place among transnational networks of experts, the international frameworks

⁶⁵ For a general overview of the "first decade," see S. Ilan Troen and Noah Lucas, eds., *Israel: The First Decade of Independence*, SUNY Series in Israeli Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995). For studies that touch upon planning history and focus on the construction of the national space and News Towns, see Elisha Efrat, *Physical Planning Prospects in Israel During 50 Years of Statehood* (Galda & Wilch, 1998); Reichman and Yehudai, *A Survey*; Erika Spiegel, *New Towns in Israel*, (Praeger, New York: 1967); Miriam Tuvia and Michael Boneh, eds., *Building the Land: Public Housing in the 1950s* (Tel Aviv: Ha'Kibbutz Hameuchad, 1999); Zvi Tzameret, Aviva Halamish, and Esther Meir-Glitzstein, eds., *The Development Towns*, vol. 24, Idan Series (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2009).

⁶⁶ This title was given to him by the planning historian Shalom Reichman (1935-1992). See Schechter, "Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats," 66. In 1983, Brutzkus was the first person to receive the "Israeli Planners Association" Award for lifelong contribution to the field, along with two other members of the founding team of the Planning Department.

⁶⁷ For the interwar period see Ward, *Planning the Twentieth Century City*, 81-156; Meller and Porfyriou, *Planting New Towns*.

that supported these flows, and the connections between the international and various national contexts (see chapter 1).⁶⁸

In this context, one of the most interesting unexplored questions is the nature of the disciplinary leap from an urban to a national expertise during the interwar period. Especially intriguing is the question of the incorporation of new disciplinary fields that occurred as part of this process. With the rise of state interventionism in the West in the 1920s and 1930s, urban planners, practitioners in a nascent field with barely half-a-century of professional standing, sought to carve out a space for their expertise as an essential field of public policy. In addition to the traditional built environment disciplines, most notably engineering and architecture, they incorporated new understandings coming from other branches of the social sciences, ranging from economy to geography, demography and sociology, in order to better address these national tasks. How did this “totalizing” professional orientation emerge and what sets of knowledge were embedded within this dramatic leap to a national policy expertise? In particular, when and how did the economic discourse enter the field? How did it play out against traditional professional matters of form and design, and within the context of competing political-economic structures?

This chapter takes initial steps towards filling in the lacunae at both the local and international levels and bridging between them. What is unique about Brutzkus’ concept of national planning is that he connected two distinct spheres, the economic and the spatial, at a very early moment.⁶⁹ Although operating from the geographical fringes of Palestine, he nonetheless was tapped into the latest economic and planning debates of the interwar period. Thus, he was able to effectively introduce economic ideas into the realm of urban planning and fashion it as a form of national policy expertise for the purpose of nation-building.

⁶⁸ Pierre Yves Sounier’s term “Urban Internationale,” to define the international sphere of professional exchange in the first half of the twentieth century, was especially influential in setting this trajectory. See Pierre-Yves Saunier, “Sketches from the Urban Internationale, 1910–50: Voluntary Associations, International Institutions and US Philanthropic Foundations,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25, no. 2 (June 1, 2001): 380–403. On the IFHP (International Federation for Housing and Town Planning), the largest international forum for professional exchange during the interwar period, see Geertse, “Defining the Universal City”; Renzo Riboldazzi, “The IFHTP Congresses between the Wars: A Source for Studies on Modern Town Planning,” *Town Planning Review* 84, no. 2 (January 1, 2013): 159–70. For the postwar period, see Andreas Joch, “‘Must Our Cities Remain Ugly?’ – America’s Urban Crisis and the European City: Transatlantic Perspectives on Urban Development, 1945–1970,” *Planning Perspectives* 29, no. 2 (2014): 165–87.

⁶⁹ Brutzkus’ attempts to incorporate economic thought into planning were part of a wider trend. A fascinating example is the American planning discourse in the 1940’s revolving around the concept of a “mature economy” and the way that it informed the professional culture. See Andrew Michael Shanken, *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture on the American Home Front*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 59-95.

We begin with an introduction to the urban-rural divide in Zionist Palestine in the 1930s, the trigger for Brutzkus' economic-spatial theory, which is briefly outlined thereafter. We then move to analyze the response by the local Zionist economists to the urban situation. A dissident group of economists, including Brutzkus' father, who argued for an ideological reorientation of the existing settlement strategy, moving from a rural to an urban focus. The remainder of the chapter focuses on Brutzkus' spatial response to the economic call and his 1938 Coastal Plan, the first national plan. [Fig. 3].



Fig. 3. Brutzkus, recipient of the first “Israeli Planners Association” Award for lifelong contribution, 1983, second on the right. Architect Arie Sharon (second on the left) and Zvi Hashimshoni (center) were co-recipients (courtesy of Efraim Shlain).

The Zionist Rural-Urban Divide

The end of World War I and the commencement of the three-decade long British rule in Palestine (1917-1948) marked a key moment in Zionist colonization in Palestine. Emerging in the second half of the nineteenth-century as the Jewish national revival movement, Zionism was based on the key idea of return to the Land of the Bible. It emphasized *agrarian colonization* of Palestine as the means for spiritual regeneration and national reclamation of the historic land.⁷⁰ Successive waves of settlers began to arrive in Ottoman Palestine in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, carrying divergent ideological-religious orientations and establishing various urban and rural communities.⁷¹ By 1917, there was an eclectic mix of urban and rural settlements, from smallholder villages and agricultural training plantations to garden suburbs and

⁷⁰ For an introduction to Zionist settlement ideology, see Yosef Gorni, *From Rosh Pina and Degania to Dimona: A History of Constructive Zionism* (Tel Aviv: MOD Books, 1989).

⁷¹ Zionist historiography marks the year 1882 as the starting point of the first wave of Zionist immigration (*First Aliyah*). It was followed by four other waves by the eve of Second World War, each with its own distinct national and ideological character. While the two first waves occurred under Ottoman rule (1882-1903, 1904-1914), the three remaining ones took place under the British Mandate (1921-1923, 1924-1929, 1933-1939).

neighborhoods.⁷² The Jewish colonizing agencies, primarily concerned with increasing Jewish population, while still seeking its ideological path, supported both urban and rural initiatives.⁷³

In the early 1920s, however, a restructuring of the formal colonization policy occurred as Socialist Zionism (also Labor Zionism or Labor Movement) became the dominant strand within the Zionist movement.⁷⁴ Inspired by East European revolutionary circles, Socialist Zionism imbued the rural ideal with the notion of an egalitarian Jewish society, composed of a broad peasant class. Coupled with the intensification of the Arab-Jewish conflict during the 1920s and 1930s and the strategic efforts to expand Jewish landholdings into the periphery, an overarching paradigm of *collectivist pioneering* emerged as the ultimate path of Zionist colonization. Under a determined socialist leadership in Palestine, the lion's share of public Zionist funds was directed toward the rural collectivist communities and supporting socialist institutions.⁷⁵ Agrarian collectivist communities, joining socialism with pioneering, emerged as the settlement archetype for the Zionist utopia.⁷⁶

Zionist rural collectivism was meant to solve both the “Jewish question” and the “urban question.” A new breed of Jews, farmers rooted to their land, would replace the feeble, urban-dwelling Jew of the Diaspora, who was preoccupied with unproductive *Luftgeschäfte* (literally, “air business”).⁷⁷ The creative forces unleashed by the “New Jew” would outweigh the attraction of congregating in the cities, thereby completely avoiding the town-country antagonism that had beset industrial Europe. With the creation of a robust, technologically advanced rural sector, the increasingly overcrowded metropolises and concomitant decline of rural areas of Europe would be completely eliminated in this Jewish model society.⁷⁸

⁷² For a useful background see Irit Amit, “The organization of the Zionist space at the end of the Ottoman period,” in *Settlement Geography of Israel: Spatial Experiments*, ed. Bat-Chen Pierct, vol. 1 (Tel Aviv: The Open University, 1997), 1-99; Shalom Reichman, “Geographical elements in the Zionist settlement system at the end of the Othoman period,” *Eretz Israel* 17 (n.d.): 117–27. On agricultural settlement, see Ran Aaronsohn and Gila Brand, *Rothschild and Early Jewish Colonization in Palestine*, Israel Studies in Historical Geography (Jerusalem: Rowman & Littlefield, Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2000).

⁷³ For the pre-1914 policy of the colonizing agencies, see Derek Jonathan Penslar, *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870-1918* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

⁷⁴ Socialist Zionism, Labor Zionism and the Labor Movement will be used alternately. Its political successor, the Mapai/Labor Party, continued to dominate Israeli politics until 1977.

⁷⁵ Erik Cohen, *The City in the Zionist Ideology*. (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, Institute of Urban and Regional Studies, 1970), esp. 2-8. See also Margalit Shilo, *Experiments in Settlement: The Palestine Office 1908-1914* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1988).

⁷⁶ However, it should be emphasized that while this novel settlement type was promoted by the national institutions, all the while voluntary groups and housing associations continued to operate independently with earlier, more traditional, forms of settlement. The Jewish Garden City Movement was a particularly notable example. See Liora Bigon and Yossi Katz, eds., *Garden Cities and Colonial Planning: Transnationality and Urban Ideas in Africa and Palestine*, 1 edition (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 2014).

⁷⁷ The key idea of the “New Jew,” the “Muscular Jew,” within Zionist ideology, is a topic of ongoing research. See, for example, Oz Almog, *The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew*, , trans. Haim Watzman (University of California Press, 2000).; Todd Samuel Presner, *Muscular Judaism: The Jewish Body and the Politics of Regeneration* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007); Yael Zerubavel, “Memory, the Rebirth of the Native, and the ‘Hebrew Bedouin’ identity,” *Social Research* 75, 1 (2008): 315–352.

⁷⁸ See Cohen, *The City*, 5-7. Interestingly, Cohen comments that whereas the utopian Marxian town-country synthesis was “never seriously attempted, not even in the Soviet Union,” Zionist Palestine presented “a unique

Two distinct Zionist types of agricultural communities emerged during those years: the collective *Kibbutz* and the cooperative *Moshav Ovdim* (workers village).⁷⁹ The spread of these revolutionary communities, it was hoped, would come to dominate the national landscape. With time, the city, deemed ideologically inferior, would become irrelevant, a bygone relic, destined to die out naturally.

These lofty settlement schemes were made possible due to the financial backing of the World Zionist Organization (WZO), the international umbrella organization for the Zionist movement. A unique model of collaboration, “non-capitalist constructivism,” was created, whereby the WZO provided the capital, and the socialists provided the pioneers who settled in these rural communities.⁸⁰ This arrangement was guided by an agrarian economic paradigm that dominated Zionist political-economic discourse. According to economic historian Arie Krampf, the agrarian approach was premised upon two basic assumptions.⁸¹

First, the assumption was that, unlike the urban sectors, in which industry, commerce and services were all expected to develop without any national support, agricultural settlements were not a profitable, self-standing enterprise. The presumed economic weakness of agriculture vis-à-vis the urban sectors led the colonization agencies to funnel most of the national funds to the collectivist rural sector, the flagship enterprise of Zionist settlement. Second, it relied on a European physiocratic assumption that natural resources and size of the agricultural sector determined the future population capacity of the land. This economic view also guided the British government in Palestine and was incorporated into its immigration policy, in the form of “economic absorptive capacity.”⁸² Thus, immigration permits were granted according to the projected “economic absorptive capacity,” a calculation based on the presumed development of the agricultural sector. In other words, the prospects for mass Jewish immigration and the establishment of a Jewish state depended upon the pace and scope of agricultural development. The upshot was that “economic absorptive capacity” became a matter of utmost political importance and a topic of heated debates between the colonizing agencies and the British government.

situation,” constituting “a serious and far-reaching attempt... to establish a modern and progressive society solely on a rural basis,” where cities “had no place in the blueprints of the future.” Ibid, 6.

⁷⁹ For an extensive study on the architectural evolution of the Kibbutz, see Freddy Kahana, *Not a City, Not a Village: The Architecture of the Kibbutz, 1910-1990* (Ramat Gan: Yad Tabenkin Research and Documentation Center of the United Kibbutz Movement, 2011).

⁸⁰ As coined by the historian Matityahu Mintz and quoted in Penslar, *Zionism and Technocracy*, 130. For further background, see also Ibid, 128-149; Yuval Yonay and Arie Krampf, “Israel,” in *Routledge Handbook of the History of Global Economic Thought*, ed. Vincent Barnett (Routledge, 2014), 190-191; Arie Krampf, *The National Origins of the Market Economy* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2015), 35.

⁸¹ Krampf, *The National Origins*, 21-22.

⁸² On the political debate concerning the “economic absorptive capacity” during the Mandate period, see Shalom Reichman, Yossi Katz, and Yair Paz, “The Absorptive Capacity of Palestine, 1882-1948,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 33, no. 2 (1997): 338–61; Ilan Troen, “Calculating the ‘Economic Absorptive Capacity’ of Palestine: A Study of the Political Uses of Scientific Research,” *Contemporary Jewry* 10, no. 2 (September 1, 1989): 19–38.

The Urban Boom

Despite the Zionist leadership's lofty aspirations and intensive efforts, the actual number of rural settlers was always very low.⁸³ The cities, however, were experiencing unparalleled growth. In fact, as Gelber argues, "rapid urbanization was the most conspicuous phenomenon in the social and economic life of Palestine Jewry between the wars."⁸⁴ During the 1920s and 1930s, successive waves of immigrants fleeing from increasingly unstable Eastern and Central Europe were flocking into the cities.⁸⁵ Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem, the three largest Jewish urban concentrations, each experienced dramatic growth. Tel Aviv, originally a garden suburb of Jaffa and the only exclusively Jewish city among the three, grew quickly into a sizeable metropolitan area: in the 22 years between 1914 and 1936, it expanded from 3,600 to 120,000 residents. It became the largest city and the center of political, economic and cultural life of the Jewish community.⁸⁶ Nearby to both Tel Aviv and Haifa, former agricultural settlements morphed into suburbs, while new ones were being constructed. By the eve of the Second World War, over 70% of the Jewish population in Palestine was concentrated in the growing metropolitan areas of the three 'big cities.'⁸⁷ [Fig. 4].



Tel Aviv Early 1930's



Haifa 1930's



Jerusalem c. 1940

Fig. 4. View of the three main cities in Mandate Palestine (Photo: Zlotan Kluger (left and center))

⁸³ The rural sector never encompassed more than one-third of the Jewish population. In the 1930s it was about 14%. Gelber, 5. The peak was 29% (reached in 1941), and it dropped to less than 20% by 1949. Cohen, 1970, 7 and 61.

⁸⁴ Yoav Gelber, *A New Homeland: The Immigration from Central Europe and Its Absorption in Eretz Israel 1933-1948* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1990), 5.

⁸⁵ Two distinct waves of immigration were particularly influential in this urbanization process. The Eastern-European wave (1924-1931) was followed by the Central-European one. Both waves are characterized by a high number of middle class urbanites. On the contribution of the latter wave to the urban fabric, see Gelber, *A New Homeland*, 375-475.

⁸⁶ This remarkable growth came at the expense of predominantly Arab Jaffa, and contributed to the growing national conflict, see Sharon Rotbard, *White City, Black City: Architecture and War in Tel Aviv and Jaffa* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2014).

⁸⁷ Eliezer Leonid Brutzkus, "Aims and Possibilities of Regional Planning," *HaBinyan: A Magazine of Architecture and Town Planning* 3 (August 1938): 31-36.

The Zionist leadership, however, continued with its political program. Refusing to acknowledge this burgeoning urban reality, showing as Erik Cohen put it in his seminal work “The City in the Zionist Ideology,” an “almost total disregard”, and “sometimes even outright hostility towards the city.”⁸⁸ According to him, neither a single statement was made by any prominent leader about an urban policy or what an urban future of Palestine might look like, nor were any new towns or cities effectively established during that period.⁸⁹ The socialist leadership, backed by WZO funding, chose to invest ever greater amounts in their socialist agrarian scheme. Public resources continued to be directed disproportionately to the small, yet politically powerful socialist pioneering sector, while urban development remained in the hands of private initiative, the free market and private capital.⁹⁰

This situation, Cohen argues, resulted in an ideological-political “chasm” between city and country.⁹¹ The socialist leadership continued to direct national capital to the small rural sector, seeking at once to build it up as their political stronghold, technological vanguard and ideological showcase. All the while, the cities, relying mostly on private capital, were not only where the majority of Palestine Jewry resided, but also became the center of non-socialist liberal Zionism.⁹² As Shalom Reichman observes, the combination of ideological conflict and the struggle over national financial resources turned the issue of urbanization into an ideological polemic between the socialist elite and non-socialist factions over the nature of the future Jewish society.⁹³

Becoming an Urban Critic

The planning problems that accompanied this rapid urbanization did not escape the eye of the young émigré-planner Brutzkus, who arrived in Palestine equipped with a combination of the knowledge, skills and, most importantly, the passion, to ameliorate the situation. Born in 1907 in Saint Petersburg, Russia, Brutzkus moved to Berlin with his family at the age of 15, following his father’s deportation from Soviet Russia.⁹⁴ He studied civil and agricultural engineering at the TU Berlin-Charlottenburg and later at TU Munich. During those years, he experienced what he described as the “early beginning of regional planning,” which seems to have left a sustained

⁸⁸ Cohen, *The City*, 8.

⁸⁹ Cohen, *The City*, 4 and 13. The only exception was the largely failed attempt to establish the city of Afula in the 1920s.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 2-9. However, as early as mid-1920s, Labor Zionism made several attempts to enter the urban-industrial sector, as described by Krampf, “Reception of the Developmental Approach,” 87-88. As well, urban workers received ongoing support from the *Histadrut* (the powerful labor union of the Jewish workers) and its various offshoots, from housing associations to social and community services. See. On the urban workers, see Iris Graicer, “Ideological Disputes as Factors in Shaping the Municipal Governance Map in Mandatory Palestine,” *Studies in the Geography of the Land of Israel* 14 (1994): 186–205.

⁹¹ Cohen, *The City*, 8.

⁹² Reichman, *From Foothold*, 83.

⁹³ Ibid, 83.

⁹⁴ The family was publically engaged in Zionist and Jewish matters. His uncle, Julius Brutzkus (1870-1951), was an active Zionist publicist, historian and politician.

impact on him.⁹⁵ His diploma thesis was a regional plan for a region nearby Berlin, conducted in the years 1932-1933.⁹⁶ According to him, it was the first thesis in the department in the field of regional planning, and it was conducted in coordination with the formal planning institution of the “province of Brandenburg.”⁹⁷

Upon his graduation in August 1933, Brutzkus emigrated to Palestine. After several years working in private firms in Tel Aviv as an architect and engineer, he was appointed in 1939 as the municipal engineer of the town of Beney Berak, originally a farmers’ community near Tel Aviv, which was undergoing rapid urbanization. He held the position until 1948, when he joined the founding team of the national Planning Department. During the final decade of the British Mandate, Brutzkus was an active voice in the built environment professional community, publishing, lecturing and holding various positions in professional organizations, both in formal and non-formal capacities.⁹⁸ In fact, as I will show later, he was a major engine behind the two most formative moments in shaping Israeli-Zionist national planning during the pre-state years (the 1944 Zionist shadow postwar reconstruction committee and the 1947 Settlement Reform Circle), involved in every important step towards the consolidation of national planning.⁹⁹

These years were also fundamental in shaping his later work as a key state planner and his lifelong mission as a public servant. In the twenty-five years of public service after independence, he served first as the head of the Research and Survey Unit (1948-1953) and then as the director of the National Planning Unit (1953-1973). In these capacities, he had a sustained impact on planning policies serving as a leading force behind the Israeli New Towns and guiding national population dispersal plans. After his retirement in 1973, he continued to be active, publishing and teaching (both at the Technion, Haifa and Ben Gurion University, Be’er Sheva), and continuing to advocate his planning ideas. He died in December 1987 as the result of a car accident.¹⁰⁰

*

Brutzkus arrived in Palestine in August 1933, as part of the initial stages of the Central-European immigration wave following the Nazi seizure of power.¹⁰¹ Having experienced first-hand the dramatic urban growth in Jewish Palestine, which took place in the years immediately following his immigration, he began advocating by 1937 for urban planning reform. Land

⁹⁵ Unfortunately, we know very little about his training and his teachers during those years. The university records were destroyed during World War II, and Brutzkus did not provide detailed information about that part of his life, as he did on his later work in Palestine.

⁹⁶ Joachim Nicolas Trezib, *Die Theorie Der Zentralen Orte in Israel Und Deutschland: Zur Rezeption Walter Christallers Im Kontext von Sharonplan Und Generalplan Ost* (München: Walter De Gruyter Inc, 2014), 261.

⁹⁷ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 132.

⁹⁸ For a fuller account, see Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, vol. 1-2.

⁹⁹ He was involved in the two most significant moments during the pre-state period: The Planning Committee (as a dominant voice albeit not as an official member) between 1944-1945, and the Settlement Reform Circle in late 1947, a lobby group which he co-founded and in which he served as a secretary, and which laid the foundations for the Israeli Planning Department.

¹⁰⁰ Brutzkus was hit by a car as a pedestrian on his way to teach a class at the Technion, an injury which caused his death several weeks later. Within the planners’ community, it is remembered until this day with a deep irony, since Brutzkus was a harsh opponent of the use of private cars and a lifelong advocate of public transportation.

¹⁰¹ On the German-Jewish immigration wave to Palestine, see discussion in chapter 3.

speculation, haphazard suburbanization and increasing congestion, urban ills that planners had so dreaded, became all too prevalent in the emergent metropolitan areas in Palestine. “Cities have been somewhat of a stepbrother to our settlement (enterprise),” he wrote, “the [Zionist] institutions never concerned themselves with the fundamental questions of the size of the city and the geographical distribution of the non-rural population. They were never interested in questions of regional and town planning.” He commented on the ideological irony in 1938, noting the leadership’s “internal contradiction,” whereby the ideological “negation of the city” only “assists in further concentration in the big city.”¹⁰² For Brutzkus, such urban growth presented a pressing professional concern, rather than a political-ideological issue.

In the face of these circumstances, Brutzkus viewed his expertise as not merely essential but indispensable. His goal was twofold: curbing the zeal of the socialist leaders, who were obsessed with their “unrealistic” notion of creating a rural paradise, while regulating what threatened to become unbridled *laissez faire* within the ever-growing cities. Perceiving himself as a carrier of exclusive policy and design innovations emanating from his particular set of experiences, from the late 1930s he called for the adoption of a national strategy for urban decentralization and for applying tools of National Planning. For him, urban decentralization was the only scientific, rational path for securing a sustainable self-contained Jewish presence.

Based on economic ideas, Brutzkus reached two conclusions regarding the urban reality in Palestine. First was a diagnosis of the “abnormal” form of rural-urban polarity in Jewish Palestine (what he termed as “polar model”), endangering in his view the entire Zionist project in Palestine. Second was a prognosis for the problem, in the form of planned urban decentralization of the Jewish population, namely, the creation of a chain of mid- and medium size towns guided by a Zionist central planning committee. Doing so, he reasoned, would correct this anomalous settlement polarity and put Jewish colonization back on a healthy track. Following a discussion about the economic foundations of his ideas, I will return to analyze his spatial thought.

An Economic Paradigm Shift

The Rapid Development Paradigm

The question of urbanization and its political-ideological implications had triggered a vibrant professional debate among local economists.¹⁰³ By the mid-1930s, the rural orientation, which had dominated Zionist economic discourse since the 1910s and had guided the allocation of national capital, was losing favor.¹⁰⁴ Economists began to challenge the national prioritization of

¹⁰² Eliezer Leonid Brutzkus, “A Semi-Urban Structure in Our Colonization,” *HaMeshek HaShitufi: The Cooperative Bulletin*, September 7, 1938, 43.

¹⁰³ There were several journals dealing with economic aspects of the Zionist endeavor during the mandate period. A particularly important journal was the socialist *Hameshek Hashitufi* (The Cooperative Bulletin). Others were *Mishar Ve’Ta’asiah* (Commerce and industry), *Palestine and Near East Magazine* (from 1933: *Palestine and Middle East Economic Magazine*) and *Palnews, Bulletin of the Palestine Economic Society*. See Yaakov Metzger, “The Economy of Mandatory Palestine: Reviewing the Development of Research in the Field,” in *Economy and Society in Mandatory Palestine, 1918-1948*, ed. Avi Bareli and Nahum Karlinsky (Sde Boker: The Ben-Gurion Research Center, 2003), 7–57, 14.

¹⁰⁴ The concept of a “dual economy” is a key theme within the study of economic history of Mandate Palestine. According to this idea, the Jewish economy developed independently of the local Palestinian economy and thus

the agricultural sector over urban industry, commerce and services. They pointed to the growing tension between the structure of Jewish economy and institutional funding policy. They argued that given the situation in which agriculture encompassed only 15% of local Jewish production, with urban industry and services accounting for the remainder, the official prioritization in favor of the rural section needed to be reconsidered. These calls became particularly acute after 1933, with the influx of Jewish refugees from German-speaking countries following the Nazi seizure of power. Arriving with private capital, this predominantly urban class, composed of a large number of industrialists, entrepreneurs and otherwise educated individuals, flocked into the cities. Their arrival led to unprecedented economic growth in the cities, contributing immensely to the rise of a distinct Jewish urban culture.¹⁰⁵

Against this background, a new economic strategy focusing on the urban sector began to emerge. According to Krampf, the 1930s mark the beginning of a paradigm shift in the local economic discourse from the *agrarian paradigm* to the *rapid development paradigm*, with an industrial-urban focus.¹⁰⁶ The new approach emphasized urban-based technologies, industries and manufacture as the central means of nation-building. The key for economic development was no longer to be found in the land and its natural resources, but rather in immigration itself. The rapid growth of markets, technologies and industry in the cities would become the prime national economic engine. Proponents of this view pointed to its immediate political advantage, namely that the “economic absorptive capacity,” a crucial element in British immigration policy, could be increased much more rapidly if it were to be based on dynamic urban development rather than relying on the more gradual, “static” agricultural development.¹⁰⁷ They determined that the growing urban sector would thus serve the national interest by legitimizing the Zionist demand for increased immigration in the face of Britain's increasingly stringent immigration policy.¹⁰⁸ Especially attentive to this new approach was the head of the Jewish Agency and the de-facto leader of the Palestine Jewry, David Ben Gurion, who pushed to provide quick solutions

created two separate national economics. For an introduction to the “dual economy” model, see Jacob Metzer, *The Divided Economy of Mandatory Palestine*, Cambridge Middle East Studies ; 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). For a critical perspective on the dual system in terms of a colonial project, see Baruch Kimmerling, *Zionism and Territory: The Socio-Territorial Dimensions of Zionist Politics* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1983); Baruch Kimmerling, *Zionism and Economy* (Cambridge, Mass: Schenkman, PubCo, 1983); Gershon Shafir, *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1882-1914* (University of California Press, 1996). For a modified “relational” perspective which challenges the dual model, see Zachary Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

¹⁰⁵ See Gelber, *A New Homeland*, for the wide-ranging impact of the German immigration on the Jewish community in Palestine; Krampf, *The National Origins*, 32-37 for a discussion on the economic aspects.

¹⁰⁶The following paragraphs are based on Krampf, “Reception of the Developmental Approach,” 9-89. The rapid development paradigm ultimately dominated national economic policy from the late 1930s until the mid-1950s. The leading exponent of the rural paradigm, however, was the German-Jewish Zionist leader, Arthur Ruppin (1876-1943), “The Father of Jewish Settlement in Palestine.” The powerful head of the Palestine Office of the WZO, Ruppin guided national colonization during the Ottoman period, in which capacity he fashioned the “non-capitalist constructivist” alliance between the rural pioneers and the formal colonization agencies. See Penslar, *Zionism and Technocracy*, 41-110, 128-154. For further background on his far-reaching impact on Zionist culture, see Etan Bloom, *Arthur Ruppin and the Production of Pre-Israeli Culture*, Studies in Jewish History and Culture ; v. 31. Y (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2011).

¹⁰⁷ Krampf, *The National Origins*, 90.

¹⁰⁸ By contrast, the agrarian school was more cautious. Assuming that an excess of immigration might lead to an economic crisis that would endanger the national project, it promoted a limited and selective immigration policy.

to accommodate mass immigration in the short term, despite internal opposition from within the central leadership.¹⁰⁹

Mixed Economy

The proponents of the new developmental approach drew inspiration from the wider economic debates taking place around the world. The idea of a "mixed economy," a new economic approach that had emerged in the 1930s in the West, became a central pillar of their new strategy. Following the Great Depression and the collapse of the global economic system, the question of the ability of the state to intervene in the market in order to maintain stability and reduce business cycles became a central topic of debate in international economic policy discourse. A new concept emerged, arguing that market economies can be guided by the state. With John Maynard Keynes' 1936 volume *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* providing the theoretical foundations, it offered a middle way based on economic interventionism, which was to steer a course between the unbridled *laissez-faire* capitalism and the dead hand of communist planned economy.¹¹⁰

These new economic ideas also entered the local Zionist discourse. For the fast development proponents, the tools of central national guidance and public investment were an opportunity to promote a national perspective, which would divert public resources from an almost exclusive focus on the rural sector to neglected urban sectors. They argued that a planned market economy would not only stabilize the economy of the Jewish community and prevent future economic crises, but with expert guidance the urban sector could enjoy enhanced growth and thus buttress the Jewish presence in Palestine.

What had been introduced into industrialized European countries as well as in the United States under the New Deal, as a means for stabilizing the economy, was reworked in Palestine as a means for *nation-building*.¹¹¹ The advantage of this "new set of hybridized economic and national ideas," Krampf argues, lies in the fact that they both served the Zionist interests while being in accordance with the western economic vanguard.¹¹²

Father, Boris Ber Brutzkus: Political-Economic Approach

Two economic experts were especially influential in shaping Brutzkus' economic perspective. The first one was the economist David Horowitz, perhaps the most outspoken and persistent

¹⁰⁹ This attitude later served as the economic legitimization for Ben Gurion's ambitious plans for mass immigration, the "one-million plan," in the early 1940s. On Ben Gurion's plan, see Dvora HaCohen, *From Fantasy to Reality: Ben Gurion's Plan for Mass Immigration, 1942–1945* (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense Press, 1994). See also Krampf, *The National Origins*, 40-48, esp. 42.

¹¹⁰ Roger E. Backhouse and Bradley W. Bateman, "Keynesianism," in *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*, ed. Steven N. Durlauf and Lawrence E. Blume, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Nature Publishing Group, 2008), 731–35, http://www.dictionaryofeconomics.com/article?id=pde2008_K000020.

¹¹¹ Krampf, *The National Origins*, 46.

¹¹² Krampf, "Reception of the Developmental Approach," 72.

advocate of the *rapid development* approach. Between 1934-1938, Horowitz progressed from being a marginal figure in the economics community into an economic advisor who gained the trust of Ben-Gurion and became the spokesperson of Zionist developmental strategy.¹¹³ The second was the father of Eliezer, Boris Ber Brutzkus, a leading European economist, the first professor of Economics at the Hebrew University.

During the brief three years between the father's immigration to Palestine in 1935 and his death in 1938, Horowitz and Boris Brutzkus each published individually a harsh critique against the ruling agrarian paradigm. They did so primarily through the same economics platform, the economics biweekly *Hameshek hashitufti* (The Cooperative Bulletin), a supplement of *Davar*, the most important daily newspaper of the Zionist labor movement.¹¹⁴ By 1938, Brutzkus the son had published there as well, using the economic ideas expressed by Horowitz and Brutzkus the father as scientific legitimization for his vision of urban reform.

In what follows, I trace the figure of the father, an underexplored, yet fascinating, thinker, whose work is linked to the rise of fin-de-siècle Jewish social sciences, on the one hand, and to the European liberal school of economics, on the other. The father's influence extended beyond the scope of his economic thought. His professional commitment to Jewish national affairs shaped the way the son conceived of the social responsibility of an expert, devoting his lifelong career to public service. I will also discuss the differences between the two, reflecting, perhaps, a generational shift from optimistic, pre-1914 European liberalism, to a proto-technocratic drive by the son towards an exclusively national state, shaped by the interwar realities.

Career in Europe

In 1935, Brutzkus the father, took the position of the newly-established Chair for Agrarian Economics at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. This was the first academic appointment in the field of economics for the young university, barely a decade old, and it marked the beginning of the academic professionalization of the field. Seeking a way out of Nazi Germany, Brutzkus, who was a recognized agrarian economist and an outspoken liberal advocate, declined a position at Birmingham University in England, which had been arranged by his colleague, Friedrich von Hayek.¹¹⁵ Instead, he followed his two sons, Leonid-Eliezer and David-Anatole, who had immigrated to Palestine from Berlin several years before. [Fig. 5]. The appointment was made possible thanks to funding from the Jewish National Fund (JNF), the main Zionist vehicle for land purchase and colonization in Palestine. It was the culmination of an extensive search for

¹¹³ See Krampf, "Reception of the Developmental Approach," 86. Horowitz's ideas on the ability to accommodate mass immigration within a short time were particularly appealing to Ben Gurion, see footnote 109. As well, Horowitz's rise to prominence marked the shift within the local economic discourse from the continental European school, which stressed physiocratic ideas, to the American-Anglophone focus on the private sector as a central component in national building. For a biographical sketch of Horowitz, see Ibid, 40-42.

¹¹⁴ "Davar," accessed March 8, 2016, <http://jhpress.nli.org.il/publications/davar-en.asp+&cd=2&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=il>.

¹¹⁵ John Howard Wilhelm, "The Soviet Economic Failure: Brutzkus Revisited," *Europe-Asia Studies* 45, no. 2 (January 1993): 346.

Jewish luminaries in the field of economics who would agree to contribute their knowledge to the success of the Zionist colonization effort.¹¹⁶ Hopes were high for the appointment of a scholar of his stature. Indeed, Brutzkus' inaugural speech was celebrated in the leading Jewish press in Palestine.¹¹⁷



Fig. 5. Boris Ber Brutzkus (1874-1936)
(Source: <http://yizkor.nypl.org/index.php?id=286>)

In spite of being a leading European economist of his time, Boris Brutzkus has long flown under the scholarly radar.¹¹⁸ His work reflects two career paths. While working as an economist, specializing in agrarian economy in Russia, Brutzkus also launched a career as a Jewish social scientist, researching Jewish statistics and economy in Russia.¹¹⁹ He operated

¹¹⁶ For a description of the academic search and the economists who were approached by the Hebrew University, see Yonay and Krampf, "Israel," 192.

¹¹⁷ "The Inaugural Lectures at the Hebrew University," *Davar*, January 5, 1936, 5.

¹¹⁸ This can be seen as part of the supplanting and ensuing historiographic erasure of the generation of European-trained economists by the younger, American-oriented generation, who came to dominate the academic field of economics in the 1950s. See Yonay and Krampf, "Israel" .Further, Brutzkus' brief career in Zionist Palestine until his death 1938 did not enable him to leave an imprint on local economic historiography. In an isolated essay written about him in 1993 (which in itself invites reflection on what seems to be Cold War polemics), the author commented that "it is a mystery why Brutzkus [...] was largely ignored all these years," an observation that is still valid today. See Wilhelm, "The Soviet Economic Failure," 354.

¹¹⁹ The rise of Jewish social sciences, or "Jewish Statistics," began in the 1880s, as Jewish demographers, political economists, anthropologists and physicians began to produce a growing body of literature on the Jews as a religious, national, and racial group. Using the methods and concepts of social sciences to analyze Jews and Judaism in changing conditions, they shifted interest from religion and philosophy to demography, economy, health and social organization, and focused on present-day conditions of Jewry. A leading research institution was YIVO See Cecile Esther Kuznitz, *YIVO and the Making of Modern Jewish Culture: Scholarship for the Yiddish Nation* (Cambridge

within the context of a growing body of Jewish social scientists, which combined both general academic research and public interest work concerning the Jewish community.¹²⁰

Born in 1874 in Courland (present-day Lithuania), Brutzkus completed his agronomy studies at the High School of Agriculture and Forestry in Novo Alexandria In 1898.¹²¹ He worked first as an agronomist at the Russian office of the French-based philanthropy JCA (Jewish Colonization Association), where he eventually became the director of agricultural services in Russia, supervising Jewish agricultural settlement experiments. He specialized in statistics and the economics of Jewish rural settlements and, later on, in Jewish economic life in Russia as a whole.¹²² This statistical research project, conducted in the turn of the century, was one of the precursors that paved the way for later Jewish social scientific work.¹²³

A staunch political liberal, he departed from both communism and Zionism.¹²⁴ For him, the key for Jewish survival was a liberal European order and he saw himself as a citizen in such a future country.¹²⁵ He believed that “the existence of the Jewish people is organically linked to the existence of basic liberal principles of toleration.”¹²⁶ He supported the idea of large multi-national states like Austro-Hungary and strove for a similar direction for the Russian Empire, where Jews would have equal standing.¹²⁷ In Russia, he advocated for agrarian reforms based on an independent peasantry and market rationalization.

By 1920, he became the dean of the Faculty of Agricultural Economy at the Academy of Agriculture in Saint Petersburg. Considering the October 1917 revolution a “tragedy” for “political, ideological, economic and above all moral reasons,” he continued to vocalize his liberal, anti-collectivist opinions.¹²⁸ After being imprisoned for a short period as part of mass arrests of anti-revolutionary intellectuals, he was expelled from the country in 1923.¹²⁹ The family then settled in Berlin. The sons, David and Eliezer Brutzkus, went to study at TU Berlin-Charlottenburg, a leading German university: the former studied architecture, the latter civil engineering. In Berlin, the father continued to research Jewish economy and society, and was

University Press, 2014); Hart Mitchell B., *Social Science and the Politics of Modern Jewish Identity* (Stanford University Press, 2016.)

¹²⁰ Throughout his life, Brutzkus was an extremely prolific writer, publishing extensively both in his scholarly field and on public matters in the Jewish press. For comprehensive lists of publications, both scholarly and general, see LIA/IV/104/36.

¹²¹ The biographical information is largely taken from an unpublished biographical sketch written by the son Eliezer Brutzkus and from Wilhelm, 1993. See Eliezer Brutzkus, “Boris Brutzkus,” May 1979, LIA/IV/104/36.

¹²² Brutzkus, “Boris Brutzkus,” LIA/IV/104/36, 1. In this capacity, he took extended study tours to Jewish agricultural communities across Lithuania, White Russia and southern Ukraine.

¹²³ See Mitchell B., *Social Science*, 9.

¹²⁴ Expect for a brief period in 1917, Brutzkus was never a member of any formal political party. For a description of his political activity, see Brutzkus “Boris Brutzkus,” LIA/IV/104/36, 1-2.

¹²⁵ Wilhelm, “The Soviet Economic Failure,” 344.

¹²⁶ Brutzkus, “Boris Brutzkus,” LIA/IV/104/36, 4.

¹²⁷ Wilhelm, “The Soviet Economic Failure,” 344.

¹²⁸ Brutzkus, “Boris Brutzkus,” LIA/IV/104/36, 3. Particularly notable was a public lecture given in Moscow in 1922 where before an audience of thousands of delegates, he attacked the Soviet regime for the catastrophic famine in southern Volga region, *Ibid*.

¹²⁹ This was an “unprecedented mild ‘punishment’ [which] as a matter-of-fact saved his life”, commented Brutzkus the son years later, *Ibid*.

associated with the local branch of the Yiddish Scientific Institute YIVO (*Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut*), a center for Jewish social research around which a community of leading Jewish social scientists gathered.¹³⁰ He collaborated closely with Jacob Lestschnisky, the head of YIVO's economics and statistics section and one of the prominent experts on Jewish demography at the time.¹³¹

His most significant work was “The Problem of Social Economy under Socialism” (1923). A harsh attack of the Soviet planned economy, this work positioned him within the circles of the leading European liberal economists.¹³² In the following years, he collaborated with prominent figures from the Austrian school, including Friedrich von Hayek and Ludwig von Mises.¹³³ In 1935, von Hayek included an English translation of this work as a companion to his edited volume *Collectivist Economic Planning*.¹³⁴

Brutzkus and von Hayek corresponded until the former's death in December 1938. Shortly before his death, on September 23rd, 1938, Brutzkus wrote his last letter to Hayek. Notwithstanding their shared anti-communist sentiments, Brutzkus expressed a revealing sense of urgency in light of the Nazi invasion of Poland. “The danger is now not from communism but from Nazism. From [the] human point Lenin and even [the Spanish inquisitor, Tomás de] Torquemada are closer to me than Rosenberg and his abhorrent “mythus [sic] of the XXth century.”¹³⁵

¹³⁰ Ibid, 4. Founded in Vilnius, Poland in 1925, YIVO had branches in Berlin, Warsaw and New York. It encompassed four main sections of research. In addition to the “economy and statistics” section located in the Berlin office, there were Yiddish linguistics, literature and folklore; history; and psychology and education. In Mitchell, *Social Science*, 71. See also footnote 117.

¹³¹ Brutzkus, “Boris Brutzkus,” LIA/IV/104/36, 4; Mitchell, *Social Science*, 71. On YIVO see Kuznitz, *YIVO and the Making of Modern Jewish Culture*; “Early Years,” *YIVO Institute for Jewish Research*, accessed March 14, 2016, <https://www.yivo.org/Early-Years>. On Lestschnisky, see Gur Alroey, “Demographers in the Service of the Nation: Liebmann Hersch, Jacob Lestschnisky, and the Early Study of Jewish Migration,” *Jewish History* 20, no. 3–4 (2006): 265–282.

¹³² Brutzkus, “Boris Brutzkus,” LIA/IV/104/36, 3. See Wilhelm, “The Soviet Economic Failure,” for a reevaluation of this neglected, yet arguably important, work.

¹³³ For a fuller list of economists, see Brutzkus, “Boris Brutzkus,” LIA/IV/104/36.

¹³⁴ Boris Brutzkus, “Economic Planning in Soviet Russia, with a Foreword by F. A. Hayek,” in *Collectivist Economic Planning*, ed. F.A. Hayek (Routledge and Sons, 1935). During his years in Berlin, Brutzkus was an anti-communist activist, and he was particularly close to Max Sering (1857-1938), a leading rightwing agrarian economist, who was involved in German Imperialism in Eastern Europe and Africa. Together, they even co-initiated in 1930 an anti-Soviet petition against the execution without trial of 48 intellectuals, which both Albert Einstein and Arnold Zweig signed (although the former later withdrew). Based on this experience, Brutzkus had tried to convince von Hayek in 1938 to initiate a similar protest of British intellectuals against anti-Jewish atrocities of Nazis in Vienna, similar to what had initiated eight years beforehand with Sering against Soviet brutality. In Brutzkus, “Boris Brutzkus,” 4, 6. On Sering, see Robert L. Nelson, “From Manitoba to the Memel: Max Sering, Inner Colonization and the German East,” *Social History* 35, no. 4 (November 1, 2010): 439–57.

¹³⁵ A Nazi propaganda book published in 1930 by Alfred Rosenberg, one of the central ideologists of the Nazi party. Letter quoted in Brutzkus, “Boris Brutzkus,” LIA/IV/104/36, 6. The quote was translated from German by Eliezer Brutzkus.

Liberalism vs. Mainstream Zionism

When Brutzkus settled in Jerusalem in 1935, he began teaching at the Hebrew University. Years of closely following Zionist colonization in Palestine, from as early as 1899, had prepared him for engagement in local affairs.¹³⁶ During the three years until his death, he confronted the socialist mainstream in an attempt to dissuade them from their pro-communist sympathies. Guided by the trauma of his last years in the Soviet Union, in his view the only regime possible for a future Jewish state was a liberal democracy. Private enterprise with a thriving urban class was a precondition for this.

The son picked up the father's rejection of the mainstream socialist-rural orientation as the theoretical legitimization for an urban vision of the future. By 1938, both the father and son were publishing in *Hameshek Hashitufti (Cooperative Bulletin)*; the former, as a renowned professional authority in the realm of agrarian economics and the latter, an emerging town planner, taking his first steps in the professional world. Drawing on the father's critique, the son proposed a structure for town-country relations grounded on a liberal orientation and viewed as suitable for the purposes of nation-building.

In 1937, Boris Brutzkus published a programmatic essay, "The Problem of Ordering Palestine Economy."¹³⁷ Perhaps the most systematic exposition of his political-economic vision, it was an unvarnished attack on socialist Zionism. The ideological thrust of his essay so differed from the party line of the host journal that the editors added a footnote that emphasized that the author's opinions represented a deviation from the journal's usual editorial orientation. Brutzkus argued that—

It is odd that the Jewish intelligentsia is especially taken by this (socialism), it must acknowledge the connection between Jewish emancipation and the triumph of liberal principles and the connection between this current crisis of this emancipation and the crisis of liberalism. One should have, as the writer of these words, endured the harshness of a totalitarian regime, one should have felt the wretched consequences of denying these [liberal] values under the banners of vulgar Marxism or national-socialism in order to properly appreciate the regime that has become in part a bygone thing.¹³⁸

Instead, he proposed a liberal democratic framework in which he assigned to the socialist agrarian pioneers a distinct, though limited, political-economic role. As the self-organized cooperative movement would necessarily compete with the private sector, the national contribution of the rural sector would manifest itself primarily in its capacity to mitigate the most

¹³⁶ Brutzkus' engagement with Zionist colonization in Palestine began as early as 1899. That year, he published under a pseudonym an essay entitled "The Ways of Jewish Colonization," where he critiqued the JCA colonization projects in Palestine on economic grounds. See Yossi Katz, "The Failure of the Established Moshavot and the Ideological Origins of the Sejera Farm: The Version of the Agronomist Ber Brutzkus," *Horizons in Geography*, no. 30 (January 1, 1989): 81–87. See Brutzkus, 1979 for a detailed description of his continuous interest in Zionist colonization. Between 1900-1914 he corresponded with A.D. Gordon, the spiritual leader of the labor Zionism, after meeting him at JCA farm in the Ukraine.

¹³⁷ Boris Brutzkus, "The Problem of Ordering Palestine Economy," *Cooperative Bulletin*, Davar, June 7, 1938, 117-123.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, 119.

undesirable social consequences of laissez faire capitalism, while also settling the frontiers and expanding Jewish territory. Putting it differently, this view proposed a co-existence between the cities, characterized by free enterprise, and a strong cooperative movement, centered in the rural sector, all under the conditions of liberal democracy.

*

Despite Brutzkus' inherent liberalism, when it came to the Zionist cause, he was ready to compromise. Principles of mixed economy and state interventionism were central vehicles in Jewish nation-building. He emphasized the undeniable "positive value of this intervention," explaining that "one cannot talk [anymore] about a free market" in capitalist countries, "but should see the market as ordered."¹³⁹ In Palestine, where "the establishment of a new country will pose the market with an array of complex and hard functions," he asserted, "the economy in the Jewish state will have to be ordered."¹⁴⁰ Brutzkus did not detail any specific mechanisms for intervention beyond a general recommendation to establish a Central Zionist committee to supervise these processes.

The only exception was made for land policy and physical planning. On this, his ideas bear remarkable resemblance to what his son already had begun advocating: urban decentralization guided by central planning coupled with increased public control over land. Rejecting complete nationalization of the land, he offered a mechanism for public land ownership in the form of "an expansion of the national land trust."¹⁴¹ His unease with this kind of measure was clear. He explained that while "these lines are written by an economist who fought in Russia until the last chance... against the nationalization of land," the "principles of political economy do not have hard and fast rules. A principle that is not appropriate for a country that holds one-sixth of a continent becomes relevant in a country where land will be scarce."¹⁴²

The father's suggestion went further. With Jewish mass immigration from Europe looming large on the horizon, "it is not possible that the Jewish population will concentrate in merely two urban centers (Haifa and Tel Aviv)." His conclusion was unequivocal: "We must establish a chain of small towns in the country."¹⁴³ Since this urban chain was the most concrete "guided" element in his otherwise general plan for a mixed economy, one can suggest that here the son's plan for urban decentralization, as discussed below, influenced the father's otherwise general reluctance towards state control, rather than the other way round. However, as we shall see, what for the father was a deviation from the deeply-rooted liberal tradition was taken by the son as a starting point for a proto-technocratic vision.

¹³⁹ B. Brutzkus, "The Problem," 120.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 122.

¹⁴¹ He referred to the JNF, which at the time controlled one-third of the Jewish land in Palestine. After 1948, the JNF lands became the basis for the national land trust.

¹⁴² B. Brutzkus, "The Problem," 122.

¹⁴³ Ibid, 122. A similar conclusion regarding the need for a chain of coastal towns appears in Boris Brutzkus' collection of lectures based on his course "Agricultural Economics", which was published postmortem by his students. Boris-Ber Brutzkus, *Agricultural Economics: Lessons at the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1942), 20.

Leonid Eliezer Brutzkus: The Birth of Physical-Economic Planning

Connecting Deproductivization and Space

Steeped in the world of economics, younger Brutzkus the son adopted the early voices of economists who began questioning the agrarian paradigm and who instead promoted an industrial-urban orientation. Their calls provided him with the scientific endorsement to promote his notions of urban reform.

In September 1938, three months after the aforementioned article of his father was published, Eliezer Brutzkus published his programmatic essay, “A Semi-Urban Structure in our Colonization.”¹⁴⁴ It was his first attempt to advocate his urban vision for the wider public. Sticking to a technical exposition of the topic, he refrained from any explicit ideological polemics. Instead, he grounded his urban reform on the principle of “deproductivization,” an especially controversial concept promoted by the rapid development economic school of thought, as an antithesis of “productivization,” a fundamental notion in the agrarian ethos.

Economists argued that the Zionist push towards the rural sector and increased productivization were anachronistic in light of economic trends in advanced capitalist countries. Since technological progress and agricultural mechanization have led to an increase in productivity and a drop in the number of farmers, they believed that the key to constructing a modern economy relied on a processes of deproductivization.¹⁴⁵ Horowitz argued that “the greater a country’s development [...] the greater the percentage of its ‘unproductive’ occupations—commerce, services and liberal professions.”¹⁴⁶ They suggested altering the original goal of having 30-50% of the workforce engaged in farming to a more modest goal of no more than 15-20%.

Eliezer Brutzkus took the notion of deproductivization as his point of departure. Since “it has been made clear in a satisfactory way that in a country with a high level of technology in agriculture, the number of farmers cannot be very large,” he concluded already in 1938 that the future of Zionism needed to be pursued in the context of city life. The works that he cited to support his argument were David Horowitz’s “Objections to the Theory of Productivization,” (1935) a particularly high-profile controversial piece, and his father’s essay, discussed above. Brutzkus, in other words, identified the potential of new ideas taken from a field with an already active professional debate, economics, for the benefit of promoting ideas in an incipient field of expertise, urban policy.¹⁴⁷ Almost immediately, he translated the economics-based attack on the

¹⁴⁴ Brutzkus, “A Semi-Urban Structure in Our Colonization.” The second part appeared on October 31, 1938, 231-327.

¹⁴⁵ Krampf, *The National Origins*, 56.

¹⁴⁶ Krampf, “Reception of the Developmental Approach,” 88.

¹⁴⁷ I elaborate on this point in chapter 5.

most fundamental principle of the existing ethos, namely socialism and agrarianism, into a call for urban reform. The goal was to supplement these economic conclusions by applying them as the basis of a clear, comprehensive urban policy.

Decades later, Brutzkus expanded on the moment of that paradigm shift in his uncompleted manuscript on the history of Israeli planning. Explaining the connection between nascent economic ideas and his own planning activities, he elaborated on the principle of Deproductivization as a turning point. According to him, “economic experts” have reached “a conclusive, authorized and persuasive diagnosis [which] showed clearly the fundamental flaw of the common wisdom” of the rural ethos. Those economists were Horowitz, who was, according to him, the central figure, and his father, who had separately “reached a similar unequivocal conclusion”.¹⁴⁸

Following these observations, he aligned himself with the new attitude: “the writer of these lines contributed his share in the second half of the British Mandate period to the [discussion on] basic issues of population dispersal and national planning”. These short, informative lines reveal his lifelong mission: a self-appointed urban expert who took upon himself the responsibility for spatializing these new economic understandings. For him, it was a top priority and the future of the Zionist enterprise depended upon it.

In this sense, the novelty in Brutzkus’ thinking did not lie in *producing* original spatial models or economic ideas. Rather, it was in being the first person in the local arena to successfully connect between two fields, economics and physical planning. He seized on the shifting trends in economics, a central arena for policy discourse, and used it to carve out a space for his nascent policy field.

The result was an expansion of, and merging between, these two disciplinary discourses. On the one hand, he spatialized economics, insisting on questions of geographical distribution within the context of spatially abstract questions concerning macroeconomic statistics. On the other hand, he rationalized, or even “totalized,” planning, by introducing the language of economics in connection with matters of large scale planning policy. In so doing, he expanded the traditional concern for aesthetics, form and function on the local level to include questions of demographic policy and economic development, and prepared the groundwork for the post-1948 national planning as an all-encompassing, comprehensive expertise.

The Polar Model and the Birth of the 40:40:20 Ratio

Throughout the remaining years of the Mandate period, Brutzkus developed a distinctive spatial-economic theory. As early as 1938, he concluded that in Jewish Palestine there had emerged a “polar” settlement pattern, namely, a sharp demographic imbalance between the sparsely populated rural areas and the exploding urban centers.¹⁴⁹ What worried him most was

¹⁴⁸ Eliezer Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 128, 131.

¹⁴⁹ Brutzkus, “A Semi-Urban Structure”; Brutzkus, “Aims and Possibilities”; Eliezer Leonid Brutzkus, “Regional Planning as a Colonization Instrument,” *HaMeshek HaShitufi: The Cooperative Bulletin*, February 28, 1938.

the concentration of the non-agricultural population in merely three cities, noting that already in 1936 Tel-Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem constituted 71.5% of the overall Jewish population in total, and 82.9% of the non-agricultural population. In other words, he argued, nearly four-fifths of the non-agricultural Jewish population resided in only three urban centers. When compared with urban-rural dispersions elsewhere, this imbalance was unprecedented.¹⁵⁰

In order to demonstrate the severe anomaly of the Jewish case, he distinguished between two groups of countries: well-established European countries and colonial lands in the New World that had undergone mass immigration. Brutzkus explained that in countries such as Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland, where territory is limited and population density is high, the percentage of inhabitants of the big cities within the overall non-agricultural population did not exceed 30%. However, in new settler nations, such as Argentina, Canada and Australia, all characterized by a high immigration rate and broad swathes of available land, there is a sharp polarity between the “big city” (100,000 or more inhabitants) and “pure rural settlements.” In these countries, he explained, most of the European immigrants tended to settle in the port cities and other points of entry, with a minute portion of the urban population venturing inland.

The problem in Palestine was that while the local settlement structure should have aspired to the European model, given the similar conditions of small territory and high density, it in fact managed to rank first in demographic imbalance, exceeding that of any of the new settler nations. Even in Australia, he argued, the most extreme case, the overall population in the big cities amounted to only 62% of the overall non-agricultural population, compared to Palestine’s 82.9%. Brutzkus concluded that “[o]ur settlement structure in this regard [is] very abnormal.”¹⁵¹

As a result, Brutzkus offered an ideal demographic ratio to rectify the situation. He divided the population into three segments: big city dwellers, other urbanites and farmers. Given that processes of deproductivization are unavoidable, the number of farmers would remain small, ideally somewhere between that of Belgium’s 17% and the Netherlands’ 20.5%. The main goal, for the moment, was therefore to “change the current very unhealthy demographic distribution of 71.5:14.7:13.8 (big cities: other cities: farmers) to 40:40:20,” namely, to a more balanced ratio between the big city and smaller urban centers.¹⁵²

The importance of what seems to be a mere numerical rebalancing cannot be underestimated. First, it offered a direct implementation of the controversial economic principle of deproductivization in a concrete planning policy. Second, by 1948, this numeric ratio of 40:40:20 served as the underlying rationale for the New Towns scheme. Demographic projections were made for the New Towns with the primary goal of establishing a network of small- and medium-size towns, in which the 40% urbanites that were not big-city dwellers, would reside. The same international data that Brutzkus had presented in 1938 (with only several necessary updates in the figures and rankings in light of changed circumstances), provided the

¹⁵⁰ Eliezer Leonid Brutzkus, “On the Question,” *Journal of the Association of Engineers & Architects in Palestine* 5, no. 2 (December 1943): 13.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Brutzkus, “A Semi-Urban Structure,” 257.

foundation for the 1951 National Plan for Population Dispersal, the principal planning policy document of the New Towns policy (see chapter 5). [Fig. 6]

A telling indication of the persistence of Brutzkus' thesis is the 1950 National Planning Exhibition, a landmark exhibition in the local history of planning. The panels hung on the exhibition walls left little room for doubt regarding the thrust of the message being communicated. While one of the posters read that "75% of the population are crowded into the three cities," and was accompanied by the image of people packaged tightly within a sardine can [Fig. 7]; another one, entitled "Planning or Laissez-faire", showed a map depicting how "80% of the population are concentrated today in the center," with another map to its side showing the desired demographic distribution [Fig. 8].

היחס המספרי בין שני סוגי ערים אלה בארצות שונות ניתן להלן:

ערים קטנות	ערים גדולות	
מספר מיליון	מספר מיליון	
78%	22%	שוויצריה
75%	25%	צ'כוסלובקיה
72%	28%	בלגיה
66%	34%	צרפת, הולנד
59%	41%	גרמניה
52%	48%	בריטניה
46%	54%	ניו-זילנד
35%	65%	אוסטרליה
18%	82%	ישראל (יסוד המדינה)

אזור	תוכנית	תוכנית	תוכנית	תוכנית	תוכנית
	1938	1951	1951	1951	1951
צ'כוסלובקיה	108	38.3	61.7	10.0	16.2
שוויץ	101	20.8	79.2	16.0	20.2
בלגיה	269	17.0	83.0	20.4	24.5
צרפת	76	38.4	61.6	19.7	31.9
איטליה	137	47.3	52.7	17.3	32.8
דניה	84	34.9	65.1	21.7	33.3
הולאנד	246	20.5	79.5	28.1	35.5
ארצות הברית	16	22.0	78.0	29.6	38.0
גרמניה	142	28.9	72.1	30.4	42.1
ניו זילאנד	6	24.2	75.8	33.9	44.7
בריטניה הגדולה	192	6.4	93.6	45.2	48.3
אוסטרליה	0.9	22.7	77.3	47.8	61.9
ארץ ישראל	—	13.8	86.2	71.5	82.9
(הישוב היהודי)	—	—	—	—	17.1

Fig. 6. Statistical data. Right: Brutzkus' proposal, 1938, Left: Israeli first national plan, 1951, the relevant fields are circled (Source: Brutzkus, *A Semi-Urban Structure*, 39; Sharon, *Physical Planning*, 6).

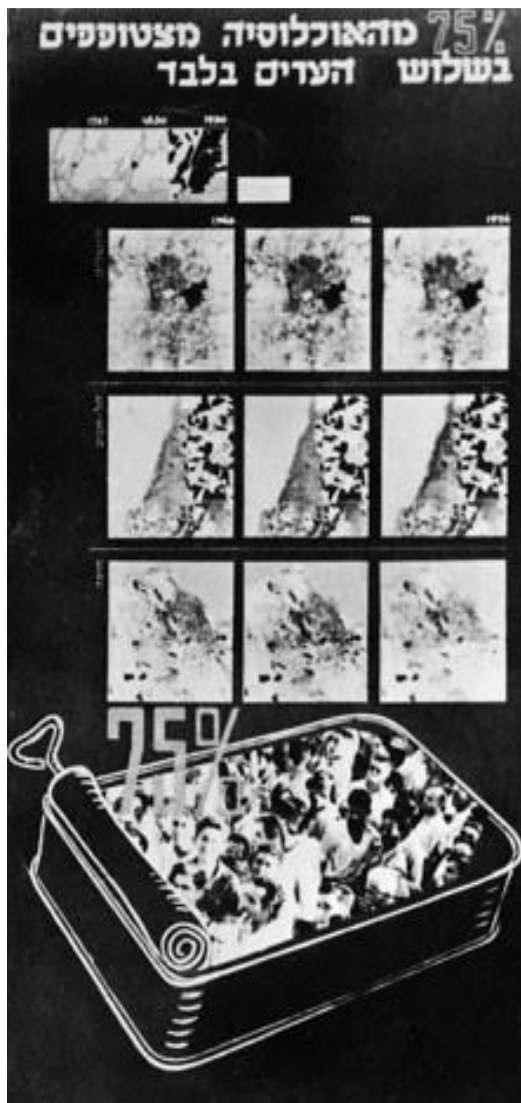


Fig. 7. The 1950 National Planning Exhibition. “75% of the population are crowded into the three cities.”

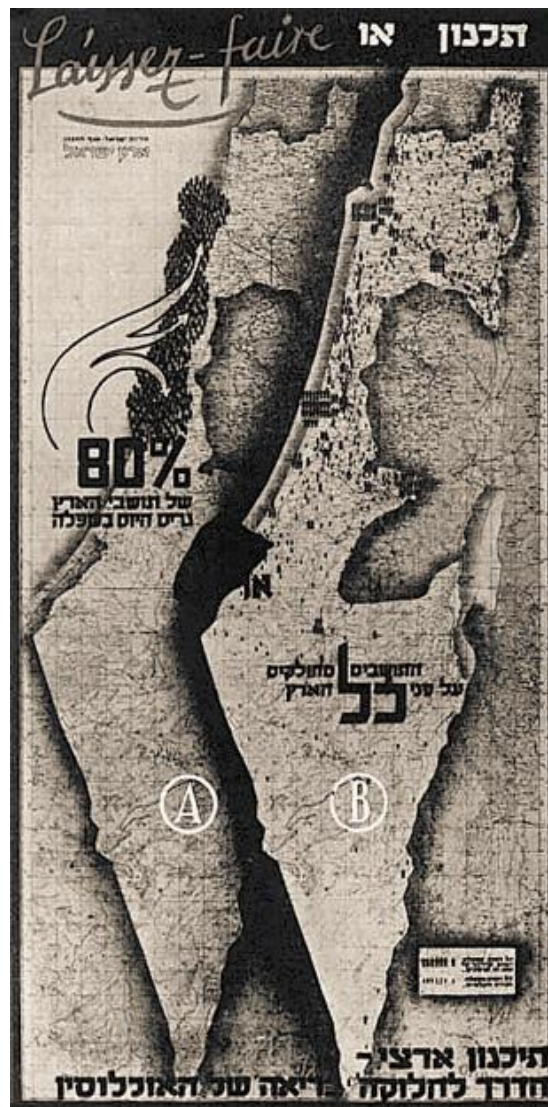


Fig. 8. “Planning or Laissez-faire”, in map A “80% of the population are concentrated today in the center,” map B shows the desired demographic distribution (Source: Arieh Sharon Foundation www.ariesharon.org)

First National Plan, 1938: The Coastal Chain

Despite the professional solutions that Brutzkus formulated, and his attempts to interest the Zionist leadership with his proposals, within the political reality of late 1930s Palestine, it was virtually impossible to translate his ideas on national urbanization into concrete maps and operational plans.¹⁵³ In the context of ever-increasing Jewish territorial expansion and escalating conflict with the Arab population, the boundaries of the future Jewish state were porous, uncertain and ever-changing. A fixed territorial unit, a prerequisite for any physical plan, was at odds with the fundamental Zionist strategy of conquering the land “acre by acre, goat by goat,” an ideological dictum to which Palestine Jewry, including the planners discussed, adhered to collectively.¹⁵⁴

The first opportunity to draw a national blueprint came with the British plan for the partition of Palestine, published in the summer of 1937. The Palestine Royal Commission of Inquiry (Peel Commission), established during a cycle of violent clashes between Arabs and Jews (1936-39), concluded that the conflict was unworkable. It recommended the abolition of the Mandatory government and the ultimate physical partition of the two nations, based on the demographic concentration of the respective populations.

According to the plan, the Jewish state was to cover only one-fifth of Mandatory Palestine, to consist mainly of the urbanized coastline and a stretch of rural settlements in the north [Fig. 9-10]. This truncated and limited plan stirred heated debate within Palestine Jewry, which resulted in a pragmatic decision to accept it, viewing it as a springboard for future expansion.¹⁵⁵ For Brutzkus the planner, however, it was a singular opportunity to put the patterns of settlement on a positive track. Albeit limited and circumscribed in scope, fixed boundaries enabled him to apply his new methodology for the first time and to demonstrate its advantages for the national cause.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ During the late 1930s, he approached key figures such as Arthur Ruppin, the economist David Horowitz and JNF's director Avraham Granot, among others. All these efforts were all in vain.

¹⁵⁴ On the Zionist “frontierist” attitude to borders, see Adriana Kemp, “Borders, Space and National Identity in Israel,” *Theory and Criticism*, no. 16 (2000): 13–43.

¹⁵⁵ On the Peel Commission and its reception, see Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1998* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2011).

¹⁵⁶ Brutzkus, “Aims and Possibilities,” 31. A parallel attempt had been made by David Horowitz, who used the occasion to promote a change in Zionist economic policy. Horowitz's plan emphasized the advantages of deproductivization, industrialization and human capital as the basis for a modern economy with severe constraints on land availability. See Reichman, “The Absorptive Capacity.”

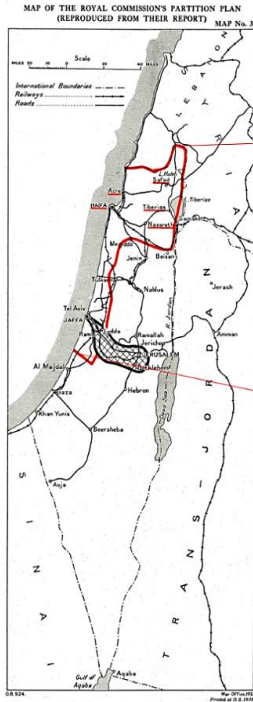


Fig. 9. The Peel Plan, 1938, the Jewish state marked in red (Source: Palestine Partition Committee Report ,1938)

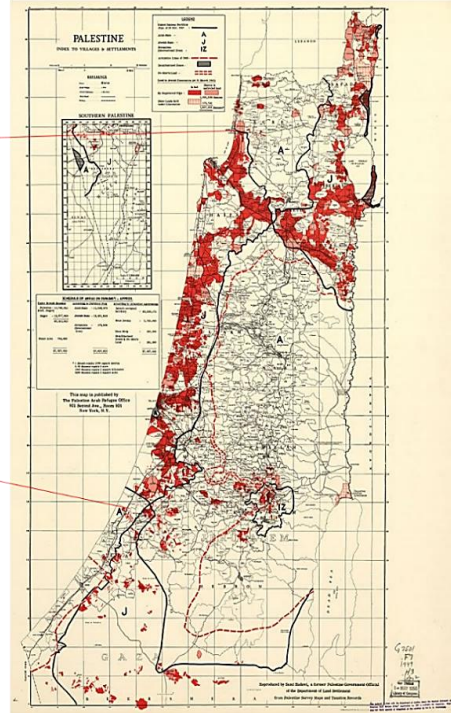


Fig. 10. The Jewish areas (in red) creating the N-shaped Settlement Pattern (Source: <http://history-of-israel.org>)

His vision for the tiny future state followed closely the principles of the new field of national planning (to which will return later in the chapter). According to his plan, new urban centers and industry were to be located on the coastal sands in the west, while agriculture was to be carried out on the fertile farming lands to the east, a pattern that already appeared in coastal settlements [Fig. 11]. The backbone of Brutzkus' plan was a chain of small- and medium-sized garden cities running along the Mediterranean coast between Tel Aviv and Haifa. These low-density towns, set twenty kilometers (12.5 miles) apart from one another, were to be built in the gaps between the existing cities. An advanced transportation system running north-south consisting of an electric train in the east and an "Autostrada" to the west, would ensure efficient commuting. Stretches of planted forest and open lands would serve as buffers between the cities.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ Brutzkus, "Aims and Possibilities," 33-35.



Fig. 11. National separation of land use: Agriculture on the fertile lands in the east, residence and industry on the coastal sands. Nahariyah Tourist Bulletin (Source: Omer, *Water Towers in Israel*)

The plan included a general scheme for the urban layout of these coastal garden cities. [Fig. 12]. The natural contours and the overall linear orientation of the future state along the coast gave each such city a rectangular gridiron layout. A modern adaptation of a garden city, the city center was to be located at the geometric midpoint, surrounded by a vast green park in which the main commercial, civil and public facilities were to be located.¹⁵⁸ Strict separation of uses, an industrial strip and the intercity electric railway, were all to be located to the east of the residential areas. The latter was conceived as a “fixed number of neighborhoods, each consisting of 1200-1500 residents,” and providing basic public services, echoing the innovative neighborhood concept coming from across the Atlantic.¹⁵⁹

A hierarchical road network was to divert vehicular through traffic away from these residential quarters. The beach and seafront featured highly, and were designated for entertainment and recreation. Catering to a future urban lifestyle, it included a stretch of “cafes and entertainment,” an activity deemed ideologically inferior by the reigning puritan socialist pioneering ethos as being a symbol of urban decadence.¹⁶⁰

While the vantage point was national, the immediate context was regional. The chain of cities was in fact a chain of bounded, self-sufficient regions. Brutzkus put special emphasis on the regional context and the connection between the coastal cities to their hinterland in the east. The new towns were to maintain a close connection with their respective rural hinterland by means of functioning centers of services, industry and employment, with the latter supplying

¹⁵⁸ The urban layout drew directly on the idea of “The Organic City Units” devised by architect and planner Alexander Klein (1879-1961), a professor at the Technion, Haifa and a leading Zionist practitioner during the pre-state period. Ibid, 34. For an exposition of this idea, see Alexander Klein, “New Town Planning Methods, Organic City Units in Haifa Bay,” 1940, 25–27. See also Eli Maslovski, *Urban Utopias in the Service of the Zionist Enterprise: Urban Design of Jewish Towns during the British Mandate and the First Years of Israel Statehood*, Master's Thesis (*Technion - Israel Institute of Technology, 2016*), 139-170.

¹⁵⁹ I use here the term to refer to the collective set of ideas on the neighborhood, originating from two leading ideas: The Neighborhood Unit (Clarence Perry) and the Radburn model (Clarence Stein and Henry Wright). Both conceived in the 1920s, they undergirded the rise of what Patricios defines as the “neighborhood concept” in the 1930s. See Nicholas Patricios, “Urban Design Principles of the Original Neighborhood Concepts,” *Urban Morphology* 6, no. 1 (2002): 21–32.

¹⁶⁰ Brutzkus, “Aims and Possibilities,” 33.

these cities their agricultural produce. The multiplicity of regions would give the future state its distinctive semi-urban character.

The semi-urban lifestyle enabled Jewish Palestine to overcome the paucity of territory while maximizing the efficient use of the land to accommodate mass immigration, modern industries and agriculture, and, at the same time, interweaving seamlessly with the Zionist rural ethos. These highly cohesive regions, based on the latest economic understandings, preserved the pastoral-romantic overtone of the Zionist ideology. The upshot was that for Brutzkus, these restrictions of territory and density of population became a planning advantage. He saw it as a unique opportunity for an effective application of planned decentralization, which could actually serve as an international exemplar. “There is no other place in the world in which it will be easier to achieve such a structure [semi-urban] than in the Land of Israel, since here there is an exceptional case – new settlement with high population density.¹⁶¹”

¹⁶¹ Brutzkus, 1938a, 33.

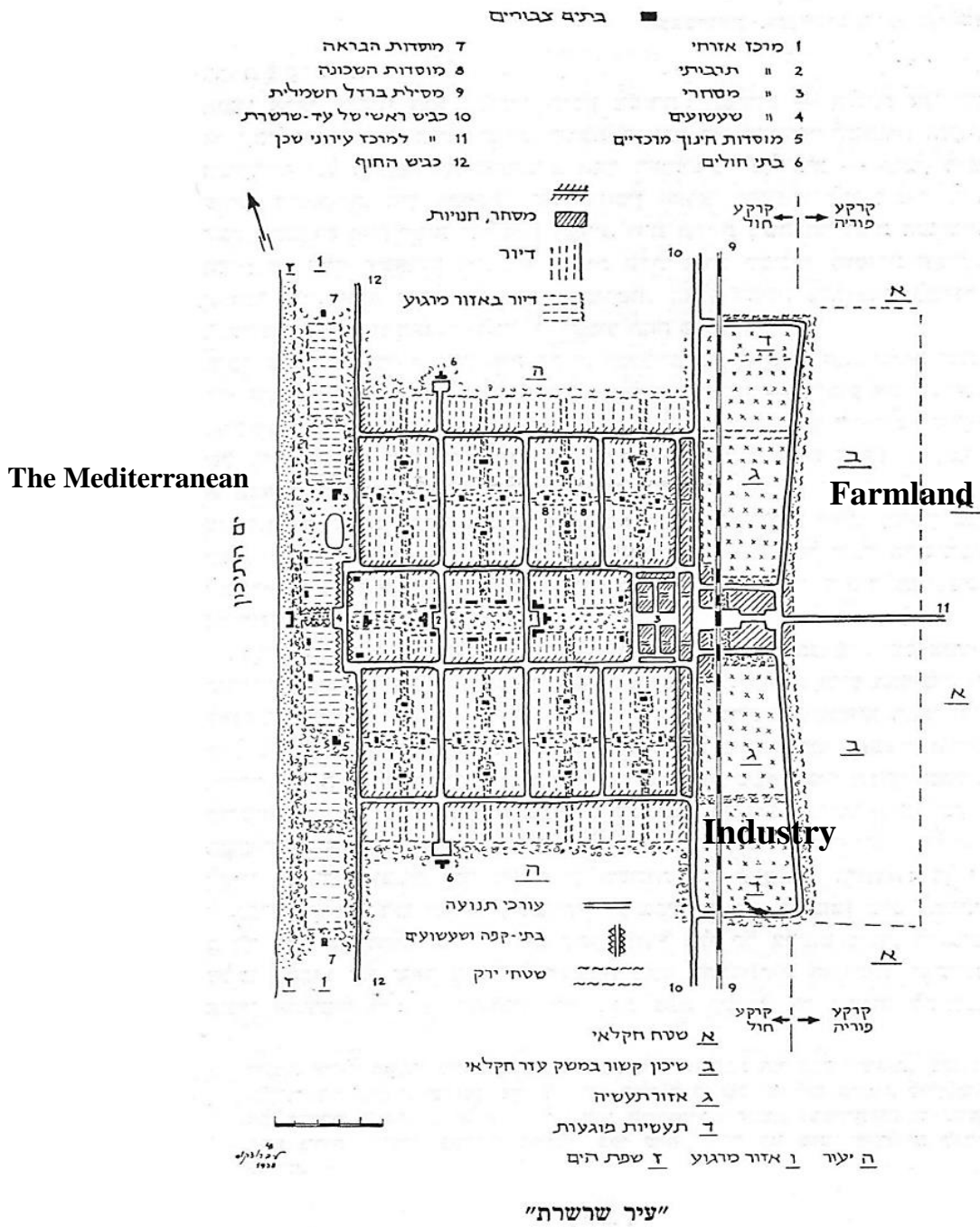


Fig. 12. Coastal "Chain City" scheme, (Source: Brutzkus, *Aims and Possibilities*, 35)

Lessons from the Great Depression: A “Semi-urban” National Lifestyle

Brutzkus’ coastal chain plan seems to be one of the earliest applications of National Planning for an entire (although tentative) national territory.¹⁶² It embodied three central aspects of new planning ideas that were being consolidated through ongoing experimentation during the interwar period: (i) The region as the basic *economic* unit, (ii) the new science of National Planning, and (iii) the need for state mechanisms, in the form of a central planning authority to implement these policies. The remaining part of this chapter will discuss these elements as adapted by Brutzkus in light of the local context of nation-building and territorial conflict.

In his coastal chain plan, Brutzkus combined the idea of urban decentralization with considerations derived from economic discourse. Urban decentralization was a norm that was gaining increasing currency among urbanists during the interwar period.¹⁶³ Especially notable were the developments coming from Britain, a world leader in planning. In the 1920s and the 1930s, England was making its first policy attempts at morphing Garden Cities, the fin-de-siècle anti-urban reaction to the big city, into official state policy.¹⁶⁴ What in Europe was a belated and hesitant policy response to the perceived decades-long deleterious effects of urban industrialization in Europe, became, in the hands of Brutzkus, a prescriptive blueprint for nation-building.

For Brutzkus, however, decentralization was not only the planners’ remedy to urban blight, but also a matter of national economic resilience. In addition to the work conducted by local economists, he added his own sources of inspiration, actuated by the global economic crisis of the 1930's. Drawing on experiences from both sides of the Atlantic, the economic lessons from the Great Depression had direct impact on his planning thought. The main source of influence was the work of Martin Pfannschmidt, *Standort Landesplanung Baupolitik*, published in 1932.¹⁶⁵ Pfannschmidt focused on the degree of economic resilience to the crisis shown by various regions as characterized by structures of settlement. He argued that mixed rural-urban regions, rather than either exclusively urban, or rural, had proven to be the most resilient in the face of the global crisis.

Following this line of argument, Brutzkus turned to the American Great Depression. He concluded that in the United States, the disproportional concentration of industry in the East

¹⁶² See introduction for a discussion on the historiographical gaps in the study of the history of planning during the interwar period.

¹⁶³ See Geertse, “Defining the Universal City”; Ward, *Planning the Twentieth Century City*.

¹⁶⁴ This culminated in the Barlow, Scott and Uthwatt reports in the early 1940s, a series of key policy documents that laid the foundations for Britain’s postwar New Towns. For the British planning experience, see Peter Hall and Mark Tewdwr-Jones, *Urban and Regional Planning*, 5th edition (London ; New York: Routledge, 2010); Meller, 1997. By comparison, in Germany, another leading nation in planning innovation, the famous avant-garde experiments led by Ernst May in Frankfurt and Martin Wagner in Berlin, were both taking place at the urban level without regard to the broader regional or national level.

¹⁶⁵ Martin Pfannschmidt, *Standort, Landesplanung, Baupolitik*. (Berlin: Carl Heymann, 1932). See, for instance, E. Brutzkus to A. Rupin, *Notwendigkeit und Durchführbarkeit einer regionalen Landesplanung für Palestina - Denkschrift an das Wirtschaftsforschungsinstitut, 1 July 1937, 7*, quoted in Shalom Reichman, *From Foothold*, 250. See also Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 133.

Coast, as opposed to inland territories, was “one of the weakest aspects of the United States economy.”¹⁶⁶ It was little wonder, he argued, that the entire economy of North Dakota collapsed when the Great Depression hit, given that the urban population in the state comprised merely 16.6%. The American experience stood in contrast to areas in Western and Central Europe, where a well-established network of small and mid-sized towns, surrounded by agricultural hinterland, had helped mitigate the crisis by creating a network of regional markets for local agricultural crops.¹⁶⁷

The focus on these regional networks in building economic resilience was central to Brutzkus’ formulation. He feared that the sharp urban-rural polarity would endanger the Zionist settlement, should there be another severe global economic downturn. Jewish Palestine “must be especially cautious of economic crises that can bring *Aliyah* [“ascendance,” Jewish immigration to the Land of Palestine] to a halt and therefore put the entire Zionist endeavor in great danger.” Therefore, “increasing the stability of economic structures” required “eliminating the polarity in favor of urban decentralization.”¹⁶⁸

Following this analysis, Brutzkus placed special emphasis on the region as a viable economic unit. *Urban decentralization within the context of a network of regions* was meant to protect Palestine from any future economic catastrophe. Based on the work of Pfannschmidt, Brutzkus concluded that “the greater the intermediate chains between the country and town are more developed,” the greater is the “resilience to the crisis of a [given] region.” He emphasized the self-sufficient nature of regions as a “fundamental economic unit,” consisting of urban settlements surrounded by an agricultural hinterland.¹⁶⁹ “In crises, when external markets are shrinking, the market of a small town connected to the hinterland remains intact.”¹⁷⁰

Brutzkus’ vision consisted of rural regions punctuated by a network of middle and small-sized towns. In this vision, the city loses its ideological inferiority; instead, it becomes a vital element within the fabric of rural life. By virtue of these mixed regions, the distinctive future character of the country would emerge: a national **semi-urban** lifestyle. This new form would transcend the standard town-country definitions imported from Europe, creating instead a new planning standard, while at the same time putting the Zionist colonization endeavor back on a healthy track:

It is desirable that in our settlement endeavor we will not be stagnant and adhere to the standard terms of city and village that were brought over to here. Rather (we should aspire to a) *synthesis*, [namely] *a settlement structure in which both town and country are intertwined into a semi-urban structure*. [emphasis added].¹⁷¹

The spatial-economic outlook provided by planners would lead the way. Balanced decentralization and the establishment of mixed regional networks were the only scientific, rational path for securing a sustainable Jewish presence. The cooperatist movement of the socialist pioneers would

¹⁶⁶ Brutzkus, “A Semi-Urban Structure,” 254.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 254–55.

¹⁶⁸ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 134.

¹⁶⁹ Brutzkus, “A Semi-Urban Structure,” 254.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 254.

¹⁷¹ Brutzkus, “A Semi-Urban Structure,” 43.

be incorporated into this unique socio-spatial structure. While their agricultural communities will still occupy the hinterland and continue to till the soil of the national lands, the urban centers will function as markets for the local agricultural produce and centers of commerce and services.

The Specter of the Small Town

Brutzkus' regional structure highlighted the centrality of a specific urban type, namely, the small town. The evocation of the small town presented an interesting challenge for mainstream socialist Zionism, since the "small town" (*Shtetel*, in Yiddish, *Ir/Ayara Ktana* in Hebrew) was an especially powerful expression of degenerate diaspora life, against which Zionism revolted. Home of the detested Jewish *Luftmenschen* (literally "air people"), the small town was emblematic of the national and spiritual abnormalities attributed to the diaspora. In Brutzkus' vision, however, the small town was to become the backbone of the future Jewish state, arguing that "the small town along with its environs consists of a fundamental unit in the economic system."¹⁷² He directed his criticism against the Zionist mainstream for whom "small and medium towns resembled, arguably, the Jewish town of the diaspora, which they didn't want to see resurrected in Palestine."¹⁷³

According to his alternative blueprint, small towns in each of the nation's regions were to play a central role in the life of their respective agricultural hinterland. Qualities of rootedness and bucolic landscape, which had been reserved for rural pioneering, were now being expanded to include the heretofore rejected "small town." His alternative pastoral ideal consisted of small towns surrounded by agricultural hinterland. Provoking his colleagues, he commented once that "[e]veryone who is familiar with Western Europe knows that the small town is the most beautiful landscape."¹⁷⁴

Brutzkus described various economic, moral, and social benefits associated with the small town. Its less costly real estate values allow for more greenery and more spacious housing, while its rural surroundings provide fewer opportunities for conspicuous consumption, and, in general, small-town life "educates for a prudent and simple lifestyle."¹⁷⁵

The appeal of the European small town ran deeper, however, than its claimed economic advantages. European landscapes of towns nestled within stretches of open land conveyed a sense of an organic, natural process of growth. Shaped by the passing of time, they had achieved the desirable balance between city and village and proved resilient to economic crises. They served as a powerful metaphor of equilibrium, of "balance", and "normality," supplemented by the ideal of historical rootedness. According to Brutzkus, the "nucleus" of the small towns reaching back to medieval times had proven their enduring resilience in face of the Great Depression. Areas with "dense network of little towns... created during the Middle Ages," were "least adversely affected by a crisis".¹⁷⁶ In other words, traditional, pre-industrial geographical

¹⁷² Brutzkus, "A Semi-Urban Structure," 39.

¹⁷³ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 113.

¹⁷⁴ Brutzkus, "On the Question o," 14.

¹⁷⁵ Brutzkus, "A Semi-Urban Structure," 255.

¹⁷⁶ Brutzkus, "A Semi-Urban Structure," 256.

configurations were not only an indication of an organic past, but they also had proven to be crucial for economic survival in the modern technological era.¹⁷⁷

National Planning: A Scientific Discipline

To provide for the broad expanse of his vision, Brutzkus drew on a new policy innovation, the idea of national planning. But what exactly was national planning? Drawing on the urban technique of zoning, national planning, Brutzkus wrote, means “all-inclusive (‘total’) planning, namely, the entire [national] area is divided to “zones,” where each zone is designated for a different use: agriculture, industry, housing, public greenery, etc.” The division of uses is according to the demands of economic efficiency, as well as aesthetic and hygienic ones.”¹⁷⁸

Brutzkus explained that is a new field which evolved “after the World War in giant steps” and “developed from urban plans.”¹⁷⁹ The development of this new field of expertise is characterized both in terms of geographical “breadth” – as the technique developed from the urban scale to larger areas, and in terms of “depth - by basing it on scientific investigation and making it a binding administrative institution rather than merely an advisory one.”¹⁸⁰ Even capitalist countries have come to the realization that “in today’s conditions of economic and technological dynamics, an unsupervised use of land will cause severe harm to the common good.”¹⁸¹

With increasing geographical scale and broader social responsibilities, national planning required a more comprehensive and systemic approach than had previously been applied. It demanded an expansion and incorporation of other branches of knowledge and expertise. Brutzkus detailed what this new expertise was in a letter to Arthur Rupin, who headed the Economic Research Institute (ERI) of the Jewish Agency:

A scientific discipline, national planning can be best defined as *applied economic geography* which constitutes a synthesis of knowledge in modern urban planning, agronomy, transportation and economic geography, locational theory (that was theoretically developed by A. Weber, O. Engländer, M. Pfannschmidt and others] as well as other scientific branches.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ As I will discuss in Chapter 5, Brutzkus’ 1938 ideas on regional economic networks continued to underpin the entire rationale of the post-1948 New Towns plan. In retrospect, the presumed economic harmony between town and country, inspired by pre-modern economic constellations, was one of the biggest conceptual failures of the Israeli New Towns. It collapsed both against the backdrop of the social friction between established rural pioneering communities and the urban newcomers and the lack of any other modern industrial or other economic foundations to enable the New Towns to compete on the national market.

¹⁷⁸ Brutzkus, “A Semi-Urban Structure,” 256.

¹⁷⁹ Eliezer Leonid Brutzkus, “Regional Planning as a Colonization Instrument,” *Hameshek Hashitufi: The Cooperative Bulletin* (Davar bi-weekly Supplement), February 28, 1938, 48.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² E. Brutzkus to A. Rupin, in *Notwendigkeit und Durchführbarkeit einer regionalen Landesplanung für Palestina - Denkschrift an das Wirtschaftsforschungsinstitut*, 1 July 1937, 7. Quoted in Shalom Reichman, *From Foothold*, 250. It is perhaps worth noting the genealogy of location theorists he provided, a field that originated from, and was dominated by, German-speaking scholars. In addition to Alfred Weber, who was already well-known for his seminal work on industrial location, Brutzkus added the relatively unknown Pfannschmidt, attesting to the high esteem in

National planning was a rational process determined, first and foremost, by economic activity. The standard concerns of urban planners for design and form became secondary to this new functional-scientific approach. The economic *relations between uses across the national space* now determine the future image of the country. Central physical planning thereby took on heightened national importance: “Only central and comprehensive planning can act according to a far-seeing *national-economic* perspective, bringing to bear the required scientific capabilities while maintain a satisfactory degree of neutrality.”¹⁸³

For Jewish Palestine, explained Brutzkus, the advantages of this new geo-economic field are manifold. Since one of the central problems was the scarcity of land, “only with the help of such comprehensive planning”, based on scientific investigation and coordinating between the key uses of agriculture, industry to urban settlement and parks, “we can find an ideal synthesis” and “successfully overcome the [problem of] land density.”¹⁸⁴ It was therefore a matter of utmost national urgency: “[i]t is our most important and most difficult task to find the most rational [form of] organization in [light of the] conditions of scarcity of land and population density that prevail.”¹⁸⁵

Central Planning: Learning from the United States and Nazi Germany

In order to address this daunting task, Brutzkus ardently advocated the establishment of a Zionist central planning advisory board. Such a body would be responsible for devising a planning strategy for Jewish settlement in Palestine, integrating both the urban and rural sectors. Mechanisms would be put into effect to ensure that all Jewish settlement agencies, associations and private owners would conform to its decisions and instructions.¹⁸⁶

The lack of legal authority under British rule should not, he argued, deter from establishing such a body. The experience of other countries, especially from the Anglophone world, shows that voluntary, informal “advisory planning” ultimately evolves into formal policy. A prime example was the American RPNY (Regional Plan of New York and its Environs), an

which he held the latter’s work, as discussed above. Location theory emerged in the early nineteenth-century in German-speaking countries, with the publication of Johann Heinrich von Thünen’s *Der Isolierte Staat* in 1826. A later significant contribution was made by Alfred Weber (Max Weber’s brother) in 1909. Unlike Weber, the two economists, Oskar *Engländer* (1866-1936) and Martin Pfannschmidt, did not leave an imprint on the history of Location Theory. See, for instance, “Location-Theoretical Traditions and Significant Concepts,” accessed March 17, 2016, <http://faculty.washington.edu/krumme/450/traditions.html#classic>. On *Engländer*, see Wolfgang Grassl and Barry Smith, *Austrian Economics (Routledge Revivals): Historical and Philosophical Background* (Routledge, 2010), 1-36. Interestingly, Walter Christaller, who in 1933 published his Central Place theory, perhaps the most well-known contribution to the field, is not mentioned here. There is a great deal of debate regarding the complex relationship of Zionist-Israeli planners to Chrisatller’s work, given his Nazi affiliation and later involvement in the *Generalplan Ost*. See, for example, Arnon Golan, “Central Place Theory and the Israeli Geography: Space, Holocaust, Modernism and Silence,” *Horizons in Geography* 46–47 (1997): 39–51; Trezib, *Die Theorie Der Zentralen Orte in Israel Und Deutschland*.

¹⁸³ Brutzkus, “Aims and Possibilities,” 32.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 31.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁶ Brutzkus, “Aims and Possibilities,” 31-32.

initiative which led to the establishment of “state planning boards” and the recognition of planning as indispensable element of President Roosevelt's reforms.¹⁸⁷

The proven success of non-formal regional and national planning, especially in the Anglophone world, pointed the way to the Zionist movement. The work of an advisory planning committee could be formalized once “the Jewish state will be established [and] we will have every legal and organizational capability to determine national planning.”¹⁸⁸ Immediate implementation is possible already, he argued, since about one-third of all Jewish land is publicly-owned by the JNF (part of the Jewish Agency). Further, it is also possible to guide planning both in the exclusively Jewish municipalities as well as in mixed-cities, where “Jews have influence in general, and specifically in the technical departments.”¹⁸⁹

Interestingly, the national planning system in Nazi Germany served as the prime example for Brutzkus for the successful evolution of planning. Following sporadic attempts for regional planning during the Weimar Republic years (in which Brutzkus himself was involved, as described above), “with the establishment of the *Reichsstelle für Raumordnung* [...] in 1935,” he argued, “German planning today is comprised of a complete system of planning from top to bottom. It begins with the planning of the entire state and ends with the planning of the home of every citizen.”¹⁹⁰ Written in 1938, before the outbreak of World War II, Nazi Germany was considered the most advanced country with respect to regional and national planning. Its planners took pride in their system, presenting it in international professional forums.¹⁹¹ Brutzkus probably followed these developments in Germany, where he had been involved in experiments in regional planning in the early 1930s. His open enthusiasm for the all-encompassing approach in Germany, down to the level of “every citizen,” provides a salient indication of his technocratic orientation, an attitude which continued to feature prominently in his later work, as we will see in chapter 5.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 32. The RPNY experiment was a particularly notable example of metropolitan planning in the 1920s. Led by Thomas Adams, it emphasized free-market economic growth and sought to compete with the alternative vision promoted by the RPAA (Regional Planning Association of American), which adhered to a more social-reformist, utopian line. See Mark Luccarelli, *Lewis Mumford and the Ecological Region: The Politics of Planning* (Guilford Press, 1997).

¹⁸⁸ Brutzkus, “Aims and Possibilities,” 31.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 32. As for Jewish owners of private land, he suggested to impose sanctions on them. Only plans and parcellations that were approved by the central advisory board would be accepted in the future Jewish state.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ The director of the bureau was appointed by Hitler himself. As late as 1939, the Nazi planning system was praised as the world's most developed national and regional planning system. See Michel Geertse, “Cross-Border Country Planning Dialogue in Interwar Europe,” *SAGE Open* 5, no. 3 (July 1, 2015): 6–8; Geertse, “Defining the Universal City,” 272.

Chapter 3 | “Art and Technik”: Kahane and the Rise of Regional Planning

“People all over the world expect out of this war more than the downfall of tyrants. They expect the planning for a better life. The enormous technical and scientific possibilities of today open a bright aspect for this undertaking. What is still lacking are men of courage and initiative, farsight [sic] and independence to start this prime duty of the spiritual man of today.” (Kahane, 1942)¹⁹²

“Kahane can perhaps serve as an example, uncommon in our country, of a Public Servant, devoted to his work, far from the bright light of self-promotion... Will there be found in the next generation those who will follow [the path of] such public servants, whose importance to the development of planning in the country is invaluable?” (M.H.A. 1963).¹⁹³

Several years after the coastal plan of Brutzkus, town planner Ariel (Anselm) Kahane (1907-1986) proposed a different urban approach for Jewish Palestine. Brutzkus the engineer saw planning as a new “science,” and promoted a settlement programme drawing on geo-economic models and demographic predictions. Kahane the architect, however, was deeply rooted in design-modernist idealism. The result was an aesthetic-formalistic approach to planning which highlighted the unique authority of the architect-cum-intellectual.

Despite Kahane’s senior position in the planning administration and his vast corpus of writings, he has been kept out of the canon of scholarly study (for reasons that I will discuss below). His work, however, merits careful consideration: Kahane embodied perhaps one of the most profound, yet largely known, encounters between high-minded German cultural sensibilities and the waning British Imperial planning apparatus. The son of Arthur Kahane, Max Reinhardt Theater’s chief dramaturg, and an active member of avant-garde artistic circles, Kahane’s profound dissatisfaction with what he viewed as the complete bankruptcy of the British planning system, led him in the 1940s to develop an alternative theory of “total planning,” a utopian vision centered on the regional scale as the basis for the future national plan. In 1945, he organized the first national planning exhibition in Palestine, wherein he presented these ideas, only to be largely overlooked by his contemporaries and later scholars alike.¹⁹⁴

Kahane was the only key member on the founding team of the National Planning Department who served in both the supreme British and Israeli planning authorities. As such,

¹⁹² Kahane, “Outline for the Constitution of a Department of Housing and Planning,” August 1942, 1. GHU/13/4.

¹⁹³ M.H.A., introduction to Ariel Kahane, “Twenty-Five Years of National Planning in Israel,” *Architecture*, 1963, 255.

¹⁹⁴ Kahane’s work has been discussed briefly in Trezib, *Die Theorie*, esp. 110-125; “Transnationale Wege der Raumplanung,” *Zeithistorische Forschungen*, accessed July 5, 2016, <http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/1-2014/id=5036#footnote-6157-65-backlink>. As well, it was touched upon in the exhibition, “From Bauhaus to Palestine: Chanan Frenkel, Ricarda and Heinz Schwerin,” held in Bauhaus Dessau in 2013. See Bauhaus Dessau, accessed July 2, 2015, <http://www.bauhausdessau.de/from-bauhaus-to-palestine-chanan-frenkel-ricarda-and-heinz-schwerin.html>

Kahane's work constitutes an important link between the planning system of the British Mandate and that of independent Israel. He experienced firsthand the moment of birth of two planning systems: British *regional* planning, introduced in Palestine in 1936, and Israeli *national* planning, adopted upon independence in 1948. His personal professional evolution coincided with these shifting regimes: from a *regional* planner under British rule to a full-blown *national* planner in the new nation-state. This professional trajectory shaped his self-perception as a self-taught expert. As he put it: "You can say that the profession of town planning developed during my time and that I developed with it."¹⁹⁵ His writings, spanning five decades, provide a rich window into the context of this transition.

Kahane operated in a particularly prolific moment in which planners worldwide both grappled, and experimented with, the challenges of regional and national planning. Although operating from the geographical margins of Palestine, he nonetheless tapped into these collective professional efforts. As a colonial officer, he enjoyed privileged access to knowledge and policy innovations flowing from the metropole of Britain, which also served as a world pioneer of regional and national planning.

Prompted by Imperial wartime planning and postwar reconstruction plans in the early 1940s, Kahane began to develop a proto-technocratic philosophy of "Total Planning," a utopian vision for post-war peace time, in which the physical planner was to assume a leading role among social and built-environment experts. In this capacity, he produced a body of original work, which stood out within the mainstream local landscape of urban ideas. Most notably were his universal urban model, "The Scattered Town," an extreme model of urban decentralization, the regional "Total Planning," the first comprehensive planning for a metropolitan area (Tel Aviv), and his 1945 "Contributions to Planning in Palestine," the first national planning exhibition to be held in Zionist Palestine.

For Kahane, physical planning was the ultimate integration between *Kunst* and *Technik* (broadly understood as fine arts and applied arts, respectively), a notion that was rooted within the wider German debate on the relationship between *Technik* and *Kultur*. The emergent field of planning bore the potential to reconcile modern technology and science with aesthetic, intellectual and philosophical sensibilities. Nonetheless, his idiosyncratic, often opaque prose makes the explication of any formulated philosophical or theoretical orientation more difficult.

The contours of Kahane's German-Jewish émigré identity serve to further shed light on his distinct planning oeuvre and its reception by local professional circles. Kahane emigrated to Palestine in 1934, as the door for employment opportunities was closing for him in Nazi Germany. He was one of approximately 60,000 immigrants from Germany and other German-speaking territories who arrived in Palestine between 1933-1939. This wave of newcomers formed a distinct immigrant community, whose collective contribution to Zionist nation-building, and their unique social position within Palestine Jewry is a topic of ongoing interest.¹⁹⁶ Characterized by a dominant urban educated class, their accumulative capital, professional skills

¹⁹⁵ Philip Gillon, "Planning for Living," *The Jerusalem Post*, 1961.

¹⁹⁶ For a general history of the German-Jewish culture, see Amos Elon, *The Pity of It All: A Portrait of the German-Jewish Epoch, 1743-1933*, Reprint edition (New York: Picador, 2003). On the contributions of immigrants to nation-building and their unique status within Zionist culture, see discussion in the introduction chapter.

and high cultural sensibilities, transformed the economic circumstances in Jewish Palestine. A “high-status immigrant group,” these immigrants were paradoxically also “marginal,” alienated in many respects from the broader Zionist community.¹⁹⁷ As Rakefet Sela-Sheffy explains, “the newcomers from Germany were specifically marked out as a foreign, culturally incompatible element. Their reputation [...] is that of ‘European aliens in the Levant,’ that is, highly cultured people, deeply attached to their fatherland culture, who had hard time adapting to the local life.”¹⁹⁸

The *Jeckes* (a mildly derogatory term for German-Jewish immigrants in Palestine), as they came to be known for their European stiff “jackets” worn despite the Middle Eastern climates, is a two-sided stereotype. It includes “self-discipline, integrity, perfectionism, diligence, efficiency and civilized good manners; yet at the same time it also conveys dogmatism, pedantry and obedience, bordering on inflexibility and mental rigidity, even blockheadedness.”¹⁹⁹ The *Jeckes*, for their part, created their own cultural and linguistic enclaves, thereby developing a highly distinctive community life.²⁰⁰

Kahane, who never quite mastered Hebrew, remained loyal to his distinct German-Jewish identity.²⁰¹ “Precious and meticulous, even prim, in his speech and mannerism,” as a journalist described him in the 1960’s, Kahane embodied the typical “Jecke” stereotype. Indeed, in referring to himself as a “Jecke,” he attributed this cultural status as the reason why his professional ideas were largely dismissed by the established Jewish community in Palestine.²⁰² He surrounded himself by German-speaking friends and colleagues.²⁰³ As well, he continued to publish in mostly German all his life, while maintaining extensive connections with German institutions, publications and academia.

Several reasons seem to have contributed to the fact that Kahane has fallen into scholarly oblivion. They range from barriers of both language and mentality to his alienation from the Israeli professional community, his strong sense of individualism to his preference for the abstractions of planning policy over concrete architectural projects. As a result, his vast body of writing, has yet to be studied in detail. Especially intriguing is his incomplete magnum opus, *Erlebte Raumplanung: gegründet auf den Erfahrungen im Raum Israel*,” an over 1000-page volume that sets out a philosophy of planning, but which has never received serious scholarly

¹⁹⁷ Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, “High-Status Immigration Group and Culture Retention: German Jewish Immigrants in British-Ruled Palestine,” in *Culture Contacts and the Making of Culture*, ed. Rakefet Sela-Sheffy and Gideon Toury (Tel Aviv: Unit of Culture Research, Tel Aviv University, 2011), 79.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 80.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 81.

²⁰⁰ On the complex manner by which German-Israeli intellectuals negotiated their identity between assimilation and cultural retention, see Lina Barouch, *Between German and Hebrew: The Counterlanguages of Gershom Scholem, Werner Kraft and Ludwig Strauss* (Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2016).

²⁰¹ Transcripts of Interview no. 1 by Mira Yehudai (unpublished), May 14, 1981, JDK, 1. “I admit one thing, my weakness: I didn’t speak Hebrew well.”

²⁰² Ibid, 3.

²⁰³ Professor Elisha Efrat (Kahane’s employee), Interview by author, January 28, 2014, Jerusalem; Tamar Oestreich (Kahane’s niece, the daughter of Peter Kahane), Telephone interview by author, October 18, 2015.

attention.²⁰⁴ What follows is a first attempt to describe his planning thought against his biographical and intellectual background, tracing it from 1920s Berlin to 1948 Palestine.

Biographical Outline: From Berlin to Palestine

Anselm (later Hebraized to Ariel) Kahane was born in 1907 in Berlin into a family that belonged to the avant-garde artistic milieu of fin-de-siècle Vienna and later of Berlin. His father, Arthur Kahane (1872-1932), was the chief dramaturg of the expressionist Max Reinhardt Deutsches Theater for nearly three decades (1902-1932). The father was particularly close to the composer Arnold Schönberg, and was a friend of Hugo von Hofmannsthal, both of whom he befriended during his youth as part of the artistic community of 1890's Vienna.²⁰⁵ Anselm Kahane's maternal uncle was Richard Oswald, a pioneer of the silent film, who was active in Berlin during the interwar period. [Fig. 13-14].

Young Anselm turned to architecture as a field of study. Between 1926-1934, he attended the TH Berlin-Charlottenburg, where he studied under both the famous town planner Hermann Jansen and the avant-garde architect Hans Poelzig (to both of whom we will return later).²⁰⁶ Other students at the time were David Anatol Brutzkus, Eliezer's brother, Arthur Glikson and, Alfred Mansfeld, who later all became dominant figures in the architectural community in Palestine.

The family's life revolved around the father's work at the theater. Looking back at those years, the brother Henry described the unique environment in which Anselm and his two older siblings, Henry and Peter, were raised:²⁰⁷

I grew up in the world of the Deutsches Theater, a witness of Reinhardt's early period in Berlin, in the years before the First World War. I remember... many evenings with endless telephone discussions between Max Reinhardt and my father, devoted to the interpretation of the play for which Reinhardt was preparing the *Regiebuch*; the exciting atmosphere of a dress rehearsal; the metropolitan, cosmopolitan glamour of a Reinhardt premiere; summers in Bavaria, where Reinhardt directed the *Münchener Festspiele*; the summer of 1913, in Massa and Carrara, when Reinhardt tried his hand with the new medium, the film.

²⁰⁴ Ariel Kahane, *Erlebte Raumplanung: gegründet auf d. Erfahrungen im Raum Israel* (Hannover: Die Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung, 1981-1986). vols. 1-4. Four additional volumes were planned but never completed, due to his sudden death in 1986.

²⁰⁵ Henry Kahane, "Arthur Kahane, Reinhardt's Dramaturge," *Theatre Research International (New Series)* 4, no. 01 (1978): 59-65. Henry Kahane, 60. Kahane provides a vivid description of the first encounter between his father and von Hofmannsthal in 1890, at the "once-famous" Viennese literary café, the Griensteidl, Ibid.

²⁰⁶ TH/Matrikel Bd. VIII (1923- 1928)/S. 351, achte Zeile (über die Doppelseite): Eintrag zu Anselm Kahane; Curriculum Vitae (unpublished manuscript), Kahane Collection, The Department of Geography, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

²⁰⁷ Kahane, "Arthur Kahane," 59. See also Henry Kahane, "Max Reinhardt's Total Theatre: A Centenary Lecture," *Comparative Literature Studies* 12, no. 3 (1975): 323. Anselm also published an article on his father's legacy in honor of his centennial birthday. Ariel Kahane, "In Memoriam Arthur Kahane. Zum Hundertsten Geburtstag 1972," *Maske Und Kothurn* 3 (1973): 243-46.

The elite humanist milieu in which Kahane grew up framed his professional credo as an architect-planner.²⁰⁸ Kahane viewed himself first and foremost as a humanist and an intellectual, whose task was to imbue the supposedly technical aspects of his profession with the high-minded aesthetic and philosophical values on which he had been raised. Anselm's two older brothers both went on to successful academic careers the humanities: Henry, the eldest, was a Romance philologist, while Peter became a classicist archeologist. Anselm, in turning to a "mere" technical field of study, was the only member in the family who was engaged in what was viewed as a less lofty pursuit. His desire to claim his share as part of the family's cultural and intellectual legacy, shaped, as it were, by values of the German-Jewish home of *Bildung*, seems to have informed his lifelong professional drive toward an integration between *Kunst* and *Technik*.²⁰⁹



Fig. 13. Kahane, 1934 (Source: JDK)



Fig. 14. Kahane, c. 1960s, casually dressed with a map of Israel in the background (Source: JDK)

²⁰⁸ A glimpse into his *Bildung* upbringing and the father's dominant role in his sons' education, is further provided by Henry: The father's "favorite slogan which he impressed frequently on us, was Angelus Silesius', *Mensch werde wesentlich* – Man, you must become essential. He read much, into [the] morning hours, in many fields and he cultivated his beautiful library." Kahane, "Arthur Kahane," 64.

²⁰⁹ I thank his niece Tamar Oestreich for this observation. In its broad sense, *Bildung* (Education) is a central concept in German humanist tradition. It refers to the idea of self-cultivation in an ongoing process of both personal and cultural maturation.

After the Nazi's seizure of power in 1933, the Kahane family fled Germany, scattering over a number of different locales. While the widowed mother (the father having died in 1932) and Henry settled in the United States, having been assisted by Schönberg and Thomas Mann, Peter and Anselm found refuge in Palestine.²¹⁰ Peter was quickly incorporated within the Palestine Department of Antiquities, where he served both as a classicist in the British Rockefeller Archeological Museum in Jerusalem, and a curator at the Zionist Bezalel Academy of Art archeological collection. After 1948, Peter became the first archeology curator of the newly-founded Israel Museum.

Anselm emigrated to Palestine in 1934, after graduation from TH Berlin-Charlottenburg, and with no practical professional experience.²¹¹ He arrived to Palestine at the age of 27 with "19 pounds in his pocket, without knowing anybody."²¹² In 1936, after some time in private practice, he joined the British colonial administration.²¹³ He was hired as the senior draughtsman for the colonial chief planner Henry Kendal (formally The Town Planning Advisor to Palestine), in the newly-founded Office of the Town Planning Adviser, which oversaw all planning activities in Palestine. Kahane remained in this position, perhaps the highest-ranking role held by a Jewish planner at the time, until 1946.

Upon Israeli independence in 1948, Kahane joined the founding team of the Planning Department, where he served as a senior planner until 1963. His different capacities included chief planner of Western Galilee (1948-1953), where he made his most significant contribution to national planning, and head of the Division of Regional and National Plans (1953-1963). In his first capacity, he orchestrated the transformation of this northern border area of Western Galilee from a depopulated Arab region into a Jewish mixed urban-rural area, with New Towns and new agricultural communities inhabited by Jewish immigrants.

After 25 years in public service, Kahane, embittered and worn-out professionally, left public service and tried his luck in the international realm.²¹⁴ In 1963, he was appointed as UN advisor to Turkey for regional planning, a position for which he emphasized his experience in Israeli nation-building.²¹⁵ He served for a brief period as the city engineer of Jerusalem in the

²¹⁰ Tamar Oestreich (Peter Kahane's daughter), Telephone interview by author, October 18, 2015.

²¹¹ Transcripts of Interview no. 3 by Mira Yehudai (unpublished), May 10, 1981, private collection.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Gillon, "Planning for Living."

²¹⁴ See for example, Ibid; Transcripts of Interview no. 3 by Mira Yehudai (unpublished manuscript), 10 May, 1981, private collection.

²¹⁵ With this appointment, Kahane's engagement with the UN developmental agencies had come full circle; in 1955-1956, while still in the National Planning department, Kahane was granted a fellowship for a seven-month professional tour of Belgium, Italy and Switzerland. He summarized his impressions in Ariel Kahane, "Final Report on the Observations and Recommendations from his Tour of Perfection," 1956 (unpublished manuscript), GHU/17/2. Within less than ten years, he became the expert on regional development, exporting his knowledge to developing countries. This turn of events reflects the change in the status of Israeli professionals in the 1960's from importers to exporters of nation-building expertise. The export of knowledge by Israelis to postcolonial nations in Asia and Africa has become a topic of growing scholarly interest. See for example, the latest exhibition "Mission: Architecture, Planning and Development from Israel to Africa," curated by Haim et al, held in The Architect House Gallery, Jaffa, April-May 2016; Ayala Levin, "Exporting Zionism: Architectural Modernism in Israeli-African Technical Cooperation, 1958-1973," PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2015; Neta Feniger and Rachel Kallus,

mid-1960s, before turning to the private sector. In the following two decades, he continued to publish extensively in professional journals, the overwhelming majority of which were in German, with a smaller number in English. To the best of my knowledge, he did not write a single professional piece in Hebrew after 1963.²¹⁶ From the 1970s until his death in 1986, he worked on this magnum opus, *Erlebte Raumplanung: gegründet auf den Erfahrungen im Raum Israel*, where he developed an extensive theory of planning. Four volumes, from the eight volumes that were planned, were ultimately published before Kahane's death in 1986. The remaining unpublished parts of this manuscript, in which he expanded his planning ideas into a more general philosophy (including an intriguing section on "Futurologie"), await scholarly attention [Fig. 15].

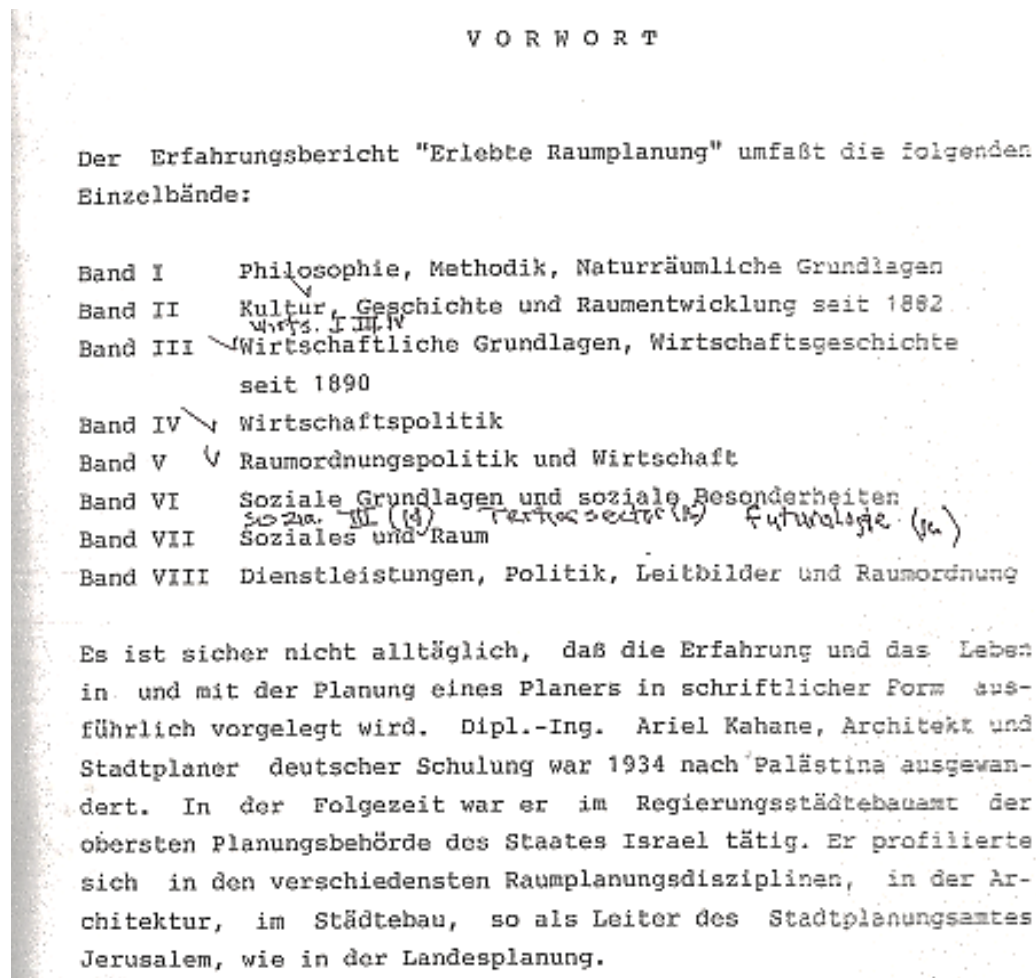


Fig. 15. *Erlebte Raumplanung*, the complete project plan. Four volumes were published, the fourth postmortem, three additional manuscripts were found in manuscript among his papers (Source: JDK)

"Building a 'new Middle East': Israeli Architects in Iran in the 1970s," *The Journal of Architecture* 18, no. 3 (June 2013): 381–401.

²¹⁶ A selection of these publications can be found in the family collection (JDK).

TH Berlin: 1929-1934

Both at home and at school, Kahane was positioned in the center of Berlin modernism. During the period of his studies, TH Berlin was one of the two most important architecture schools in Germany.²¹⁷ Kahane studied under two notable teachers: the prominent urban planner Hermann Jansen and the expressionist avant-garde Hans Poelzig, who was considered “the idol of the avant-garde and generally recognized as Germany’s leading architect.”²¹⁸ It is likely that Kahane was familiar with Poelzig’s work even before commencing his formal studies: Poelzig had renovated the huge *Zirkus Schumann* to create Max Reinhardt’s *Großes Schauspielhaus* in 1919, where many of his biggest productions were staged. Kahane participated in both Jansen and Poelzig’s design seminars, as indicated in the letters of recommendation that he received separately from both of them during his first years in Palestine.²¹⁹ While Kahane left hardly any records on his years at the TH, a window into the creative atmosphere surrounding Poelzig’s design seminar is provided by Rachel Lee, in her recent dissertation on the architect Otto Koenigsberger (1908-1999), who was a student of Poelzig at the TH about the same time as was Kahane.²²⁰

Poelzig was appointed as a design professor at the TH Berlin in 1923, an appointment that, according to Lee, marked the beginning of a new spirit of reform in the school.²²¹ Coupled with the selection of Heinrich Tessenow (over Mies van der Rohe) to chair a second design class in 1926, and the 1930 appointment of Bruno Taut, the program’s progressive “metamorphosis was complete.”²²² During the 1920s, Poelzig’s design unit quickly became “widely recognized as having the most progressive design teaching methods in Europe at that moment.”²²³ It was popular and competitive, with a strict maximum of 25 students (instead of parallel seminar groups of up to 50 students).²²⁴ The seminar was comprised of an eclectic mix of students from different ethnic, national and political backgrounds, and tended to especially “attract ‘progressive students of the avant-garde,’ as well as communists and those with Jewish backgrounds.”²²⁵

²¹⁷ According to Hans-Joachim Engstfeld, “Between 1926 and 1935 the architecture faculty of the Polytechnical Institute of Berlin and the Stuttgart equivalent were the two most important architecture schools in Germany.” See Hans-Joachim Engstfeld, “Lehre, Lehrer und Wirkungen: Die Poelzig und Tessenow ‘Schule,’” in *1799-1999: Von der Bauakademie zur Technischen Universität Berlin* (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 2000), 224, quoted in Rachel Lee, “Negotiating Modernities: Otto Koenigsberger’s Works and Network in Exile (1933-1951),” PhD Dissertation, Berlin University of Technology, 2014, 42.

²¹⁸ Joan Campbell, *The German Werkbund* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 145. Quoted in Lee, “Negotiating Modernities,” 44. This observation is echoed by Reyner Banham, who calls Poelzig “one of the most consistently and persuasively inventive designers of his generation in Germany.” Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, 2d ed (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1980), 82.

²¹⁹ Poelzig sent at least two letters (June 21, 1934, December 4, 1935); Jansen sent at least one letter (December 9, 1935), JDK. Both were cordial and positive, although overall they appear to be standard letters and provided no additional reference to Kahane’s performance.

²²⁰ Lee, “Negotiating Modernities,” 40-51. The TH records concerning Kahane’s curriculum and courses were apparently destroyed during the World War II.

²²¹ Lee, “Negotiating Modernities,” 42.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid, 45.

²²⁴ Ibid. Poelzig, for example, did not accept Albert Speer, because of his lack of drawing ability. Hans-Joachim Engstfeld, “Architektur im Takt,” 241, quoted in Lee, 45.

²²⁵ Ibid 44; Engstfeld, “Lehre, Lehrer und Wirkungen”, 231 quoted in ibid, 22.

Poelzig's unorthodox teaching approach encouraged individual expression and free-form experimentation from his students. To complement his own expertise, Poelzig involved engineers, artists and technicians from his professional circle in the seminar.²²⁶ He was a staunch opponent of architectural solutions based on an adherence to a formalistic canon, and projects in his classroom were diverse, ranging from neo-classicist and romantic designs to Bauhaus or Mendelsohn- influenced projects. The architectural historian Julius Posener, another seminar graduate, recalled that "he didn't want to make little Poelzigs out of us... he wanted to help all of us to find ourselves."²²⁷ This approach is well- reflected in Poelzig's own words:

When an architecture school succeeds in enabling its students to confront the possibilities of contemporary creation unselfconsciously, without traditionalist or modernist blinkers, it has achieved everything that can be aspired to.²²⁸

Poelzig had a profound and lasting influence on the generation of young architects he taught, many of whom, like Kahane, left Nazi Germany and continued to work in exile.²²⁹ Lee points to the potential in studying the relatively unexplored work of "Poelzig's individual exiled students," and their "legacy as a group." Such a study, she suggests, "could potentially become an interesting counter-pole to the better-documented research into the Bauhaus-associated exiles."²³⁰ Seen from the perspective of Palestine, the reorientation suggested by Lee can be applied to reconsider the almost exclusive historiographical focus on the Bauhaus school as the epicenter of Zionist architectural modernism by examining the role played by the graduates of the TH Berlin and other professional training centers.²³¹

Kahane's second teacher was Hermann Jansen (1869-1945), a disciple of Camillo Sitte, and the winner of 1910 Greater Berlin Planning Competition. With his appointment as a professor in 1923, the teaching of town planning at the TH Berlin became more practical, inductive and aesthetics-based, with a social and an urban-critical slant.²³² In addition to the influences of Garden Cities ideas and *Sittesque* design principles, Jansen was a pioneer of urban planning.²³³ According to Borsi, Jansen's 1910 plan for Berlin signaled a key moment of

²²⁶ Ibid, 46.

²²⁷ Julius Posener, *Fast so alt wie das Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1990), 171, quoted in Lee, 47.

²²⁸ Hans Poelzig, "Einführung," in *Poelzig und Seine Schule*, ed. Ernst Wasmuth Verlag (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 1931).3, quoted in Lee, *Negotiating Modernities*, 47.

²²⁹ Poelzig's students included, among others: Julius Posener, Friedrich Tamms, Rudolf Wolters, Helmut Hentrich, Egon Eiermann, Kurt Liebknecht, Richard Rothschild, Karl Otto, Richard Paulick, Hans Stephan, Friedrich Hetzelt, Gerhard Kosel, Rudolf Hamburger. Lee, *Negotiating Modernities*, 48. For a detailed list of his exiled students and their places of work, see *ibid*, 22. Among those who emigrated to Palestine and enjoyed successful careers are Arthur Glikson, Alfred Mansfeld and David Anatol Brutzkus, Eliezer Brutkus' brother.

²³⁰ Ibid, 22.

²³¹ Only four Zionist architects actually studied in the Bauhaus. The myth was so powerful that Bauhaus in Israel/Palestine became a synonym for architectural modernism. For a compelling critical analysis, see Rotbard, *White City, Black City*, 1-54.

²³² Uwe Altrock and Erich Konter, "Studiengang Stadt- und Regionalplanung an der Technischen Universität Berlin," in *1799-1999: Von der Bauakademie*, 254, quoted in Lee, *Negotiating Modernities*, 50.

²³³ On Jansen's sources of influence, from Camillo Sitte to Theodor Fritsch's German Garden City movement, see Duygu Saban Ökesli, "Hermann Jansen's Planning Principles and His Urban Legacy in Adana," *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 26 (2009): 45-68., esp. 47-51.

transformation in the conception of the city.²³⁴ It foreshadowed modernist urban thought, showing “the beginnings of a set of principles that architectural history usually attributes to modernism: a shared programme to plan the city as a linked but differentiated system of social, technical and biological functions.”²³⁵ In fact, Jansen can be viewed “as having initiated the concept of the strategic urban plan — his skeleton of urban growth — that can adapt and change according to need, and in negotiation with a range of disciplines and stakeholders.”²³⁶

The impact of both Poelzig and Jansen on Kahane remains an open question. While some attributes in his later urban design and planning work can perhaps be attributed, in retrospect, to Jansen’s aesthetic and functional perspective of the modern cityscape, it seems that his years at TH were important in at least one other respect. Having studied under the bearers of two vanguards of modernism, the non-dogmatic expressionist Poelzig, on the one hand, and the romantic yet modernist Jansen, on the other—both of whom were free from any adherence to modernist formalism à la New Objectivity—might well have planted the seeds for Kahane’s approach to design and planning as an open-ended field for experimentation and self-expression, shaped by individual creativity. Steeped in the world of the stimulating avant-garde, where his teacher’s expressionist architecture had served the experimental theatrical art of his father, émigré Kahane commenced his professional career as a mere colonial clerk in British-Palestine. The disappointment with the daily work in an unwieldy bureaucratic machine was inevitable.

The Office of Town Planning Adviser: 1936-1945

On August 1st, 1936, Kahane began a nine-year tenure at the Office of the Town Planning Adviser, the newly-founded central planning bureau of the British Mandate. The Office was established as part of the 1936 Town Planning Ordinance, a legal benchmark of British planning control in Palestine.²³⁷ Its main innovation was the introduction of *countrywide rural planning* into Palestine. The ordinance expanded planning powers from an exclusive focus on urban areas to include non-urban areas in each of the administrative districts, thereby bringing the entire territory of Palestine under statutory planning.²³⁸ Thus, in addition to the customary urban scheme, a new type of statutory plan was created: the regional plan. Covering the entire non-urban areas of Palestine, it included various types of landscapes, from open lands to farmland

²³⁴ Katharina Borsi, “Drawing the Region: Hermann Jansen’s Vision of Greater Berlin in 1910,” *The Journal of Architecture* 20, no. 1 (2015): 48.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ British spatial planning in Palestine began with the first Town Planning Ordinance in 1921, which was based on the English Town Planning Act of 1909. This was twice amended in 1922 and 1929, before a new Ordinance was passed in 1936 (amended in 1936, 1938, 1939 and 1941). See Roza El-Eini, *Mandated Landscape: British Imperial Rule in Palestine 1929-1948* (Routledge, 2004), 43-87, esp. 44-54, 73-79. For the development of British town planning in Palestine, see Joseph Fruchtman, “Statutory Planning as a Form of Control: The Evolution of Town Planning Law in Mandatory Palestine and Israel 1917-1980’s,” PhD Dissertation, University of London, 1986.

²³⁸ El-Eini, *Mandated Landscape*, 46. A new intermediate planning level was created between the urban plan and the central planning bureau: the district. A District Planner was appointed in each district, keeping a balance between Jews and Arab district planners. The number of districts rose from three in 1936 (North, South and Jerusalem) to six by 1941: Haifa, Galilee, Samaria, Jerusalem, Lydda and Gaza. See also Reichman and Yehudai, *A Survey*, 4-6.

and emerging urbanizing and industrializing areas (yet to be designated as urban planning areas). [Fig. 16].

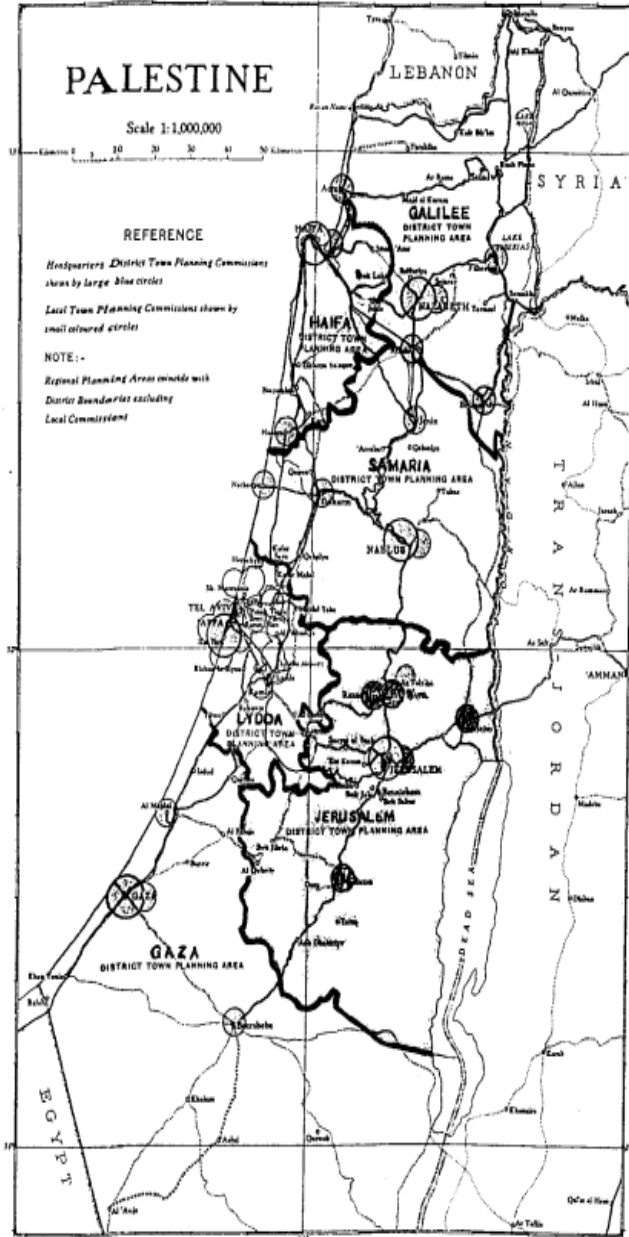


Fig. 16. Regional planning areas in Palestine, 1939, the bold black lines demarcate district boundaries. (Source: El-Eini, *Mandated Landscape*, 74)

Map 6. Regional Town Planning Areas, 1939.
Source: Town Planning Adviser, *Annual Report*, 1939, inside cover.

While the expanded planning jurisdiction responded to the local circumstances of rapid urbanization and increasing development pressures, it also reflected wider trends within Imperial British planning.²³⁹ Modeled on the 1932 British Country and Town Planning Act, Palestine's

²³⁹ Urban growth was apparent in the rise in the number of urban Planning Areas (excluding Regional Areas) which rose from 10 in 1930 to 31 in 1939 and 40 in 1948. El-Eini, *Mandated Landscape*, 46.

1936 Planning Ordinance followed other colonial territories that adopted the British act, “first in Trinidad, later in Uganda, Fiji, Aden, Sawarak, Mauritius and in Sierra Leon and East Africa.”²⁴⁰ Thus, as King shows, “the 1932 Act has left its mark in all corners of the world.”²⁴¹

The rapid dissemination of regional planning throughout the British empire opens up an interesting historiographical trajectory. Scholars have been paying growing attention to the circulation of planning and architectural knowledge, norms and ideas in the colonial world, and especially its bi-directional movement between the metropole and the colonies.²⁴² The fact that regional planning was exported to the colonial territories almost immediately after the act had been passed in Britain meant that both in the colonial world and in the British core, a new kind of planning, namely the non-urban regional, was being developed concomitantly.²⁴³ The role of technical expertise and planning experience coming from within the colonies themselves in shaping the broader notion of regional planning needs to be further explored, given that colonies, subject to top-down military rule and not restrained by strict private property rights, enabled “experimentation and innovation with greater ease.”²⁴⁴ The case of Palestine, where the entire tiny territory was subject to approved regional plans within several years, potentially serves as an exemplar of colonial regional planning, a fact that merits further research.

In order to deal with the new scale of planning, the British had set up the Office Town Planning Adviser. As the central planning authority, its main task was to lead the leap from an exclusively urban focus to planning on a regional scale, doing so by preparing regional plans for the non-urban areas of the six districts comprising Palestine. The British architect Henry Kendall, a young colonial officer, was appointed in October 1935 as Palestine’s first full-time Town Planning Adviser in order to lead this transformation.²⁴⁵ Locally trained personal, both Arabs and Jews, were hired to staff this newly-founded office, with Kahane appointed as the chief draftsman. The scope of the office’s work was substantial: during the first years, most of the efforts were dedicated to the innovative field of regional planning. By 1942, all six district plans had been approved, indeed “most were even updated in 1945-1946.”²⁴⁶ The Office also

²⁴⁰ P.H.M. Stevens, “Planning Legislation in the Colonies,” *Town and Country Planning*, March. quoted in Anthony D King, *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System* (London: Routledge, 1990), 44-45.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² On British colonial planning, see Robert K Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities*, 1st ed (Routledge, 1996). For background on colonial urbanism, see footnotes 19-21.

²⁴³ In the UK, planning control over the countryside as a result of the 1932 act was a matter of protection of the English countryside, related, as it were, to the rise of the conservation movement. In imperial lands, naturally, it acquired additional and changing roles related to imperial interests and population management.

²⁴⁴ Eran Razin, “District Plans in Israel: Post-Mortem?,” *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 2015, 5. Being a characteristic of colonial rule generally, this phenomenon occurred also in the case of French colonialism, embodied in their conceptualization of the colonies as “laboratories” for architecture and planning. See footnote 21.

²⁴⁵ Prior to the establishment of the Office, the British chief planners were part-time advisers whose contract had to be renewed annually. Kendall was preceded by Clifford Holiday who worked for 13 years in Palestine (1922-1935) and was assisted by a Jewish planner, who would become a key actor in shaping Israeli planning policy: Yaakov Ben Sira (Shifmann). In addition to his role as the municipal engineer of Tel Aviv, Ben Sira was active in shaping the legal framework for planning in early statehood.

²⁴⁶ According to Razin, “Israeli planning institutions have never been able to replicate that pace.” Razin, “District Plans in Israel,” 5.

assisted the local authorities with drafting urban outline schemes as well as carrying out supervisory and regulatory aspects of the act.

The professional development of Kahane, who worked in the Office of the Town Planning Adviser from its establishment, went hand in hand with the emergence of the consolidation of regional planning within the Office.²⁴⁷ In his capacity as the chief draftsman during these years, Kahane gained unique experience in shaping regional planning in Palestine, while also obtaining a broader international perspective. Kendall, as a colonial planner, was involved in planning in Cyprus and Malta as well.²⁴⁸ Kahane joined Kendall on at least one tour to Cyprus, an experience that left an impact on the young Kahane.²⁴⁹

During this period, Kahane dealt with various aspects of institutional planning. In addition to preparing regional plans for the districts, he was also involved in preparing urban master plans, such as for the historic Arab cities of Bethlehem, Gaza, Acre and, Jericho.²⁵⁰ As well, he was engaged with the 1944 Jerusalem plan, one of the planning highlights of Kendall's term in Palestine.²⁵¹ Kahane also became closely familiar with the technical aspects of planning regulation, which was a part of daily work at the Office. These years in colonial service shaped Kahane's professional identity as an autodidact, pioneer of regional planning, and later, in 1948, as a pioneer of national planning, this new scale of planning having been introduced to Palestine upon independence. In both regimes, he was active from day one in the central planning authority, the epicenter of planning innovation. "The profession of town planning developed during my time and I developed with it."²⁵²

Kahane's Critique

Immersed in the everyday practice of the British-colonial bureaucracy, the high-minded Kahane found the Office's work utterly unsatisfying. It was a clash between the young, ambitious German newcomer and an unwieldy colonial power in decline. He refused to accept that planning, under British rule, was essentially a matter of regulation, directed at securing political and economic imperial interests. For him, the fact that the entire territory of Palestine was

²⁴⁷ The records of the short-lived (1936-1948), though extremely active, Town Planning Office, were never officially transferred to either Israel or Jordan and are deemed to be lost. A cloud of mystery surrounds the fate of these records. According to different versions, Kendall entrusted them with one of the Jerusalemite Christian orders shortly before the 1948 war broke out. Others argue that they have been kept in the West Bank but were raided during the June 1967 war. One of the intriguing questions that remain open is the dynamics between Arab and Jewish workers in the Office, working side by side on matters of space and territoriality in the charged context of the escalating bi-national conflict.

²⁴⁸ As a colonial official, Kendall also practiced in Malta, Gibraltar, Kenya and other African countries. See Ilan Troen, "The Transformation of Zionist Planning Policy: From Rural Settlements to an Urban Network," *Planning Perspectives* 3, no. 1 (January 1988): 3-23.

²⁴⁹ According to Joshua Kahane, the son, in discussion with the author, June 2015.

²⁵⁰ Anselm Kahane; Curriculum Vitae (unpublished manuscript), GHU/17/3.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Gillon, "Planning for Living."

covered by statutory planning schemes was an opportunity to reach “the rational goal, namely, national planning.”²⁵³ However, instead of “encouraging development policy on a national scale,” he argued, the Office “relegated regional planning to merely supervising rural construction,” thereby losing its original thrust and the true meaning of regional planning.²⁵⁴ Kendall, wrote Kahane, “acted like all the colonial professional British officers: he began with an enthusiasm of a young expert and finished as a political tool in the service of the outdated interest of the Empire;” his officers were corrupt and unprofessional, and by and large, in Kahane’s view, in its final years the Office was largely dysfunctional.²⁵⁵

For Kahane, by contrast, regional planning was the key for a far-reaching vision of social and spatial transformation on the national level. He explained to the British that planning should be “creative,” rather than “prohibitive,” and must cover all key fields of activity in a given area.²⁵⁶ In conceptualizing these ideas, Kahane drew upon policy innovations coming from Britain in the context of the wartime planning and postwar reconstruction. The increasing popularity of state intervention in the metropole, he hoped, would mobilize similar measures in the Palestine government. In the first half of the 1940’s, Kahane began promoting his ideas publicly. His firm conviction in physical planning as a key expertise for “a better tomorrow,” as he put it,²⁵⁷ led him to promote his ideas in two parallel trajectories. For the British administration, he produced a series of reports and memoranda grounded on the UK experience and essentially calling for increased planning powers. Simultaneously, for the Zionist public, he championed the idea of proto-national physical planning. Both trajectories, as discussed below, were predicated upon his notion of “total planning.”

His appeal to the British administration to increase planning control seems to have stood out within the ideologically-charged Zionist community. It came at a time of growing hostility and suspicion within the Zionist mainstream towards British rule. In the face of increasing restrictions imposed on Jewish immigration, settlement and land purchasing activities, followed by Zionist leadership’s reaction of territorial expansion, Kahane, was urging the British Mandate government to exercise “a high degree of centralized planning,” and [to] leave to the Local Authorities less... planning [powers].”²⁵⁸ A Zionist sympathizer, nonetheless, Kahane’s acute sense of professionalism, his vision of orderly development and his acknowledgement that “effective planning can be done only by the state,” seems to have led him to view his national commitment through the professional prism.²⁵⁹

In what follows, I explore the planning ideas that Kahane consolidated during the first half of the 1940s, and his various attempts to communicate them to both the Zionist community

²⁵³ Ariel Kahane, “25 Years of State Planning in the Land of Israel,” *Engineering and Architecture* 28 (1962): 256.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 255.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ Anselm Kahane, “Report on the Preparation of Regional Town Planning Schemes in the Coastal Plain of Palestine,” December 28, 1944, GHU/13/4, 1, 3.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁵⁸ For a standard Zionist narrative that portrays these British limitations and the ensuing collective Zionist response, in the form of heroic clandestine activities of settlement (*Homa ve'migdal*) and immigration (*Aliyah Beit*), see S. Ilan Troen, *Imagining Zion: Dreams, Designs, and Realities in a Century of Jewish Settlement*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

²⁵⁹ A. Kahane, “Outline for the Constitution of a Department of Housing and Planning,” August 1942, GHU/13/4, 1.

and the British government. Beginning with his early proposal to Kendall on an administrative reform to his notion of “total planning,” these ideas ultimately culminated in his 1945 town planning exhibition. Intended for the Zionist community, the exhibition presented his concept of the “Scattered Town” alongside a first model of metropolitan planning (for Tel Aviv) in Palestine. This exhibition has escaped the scholarly radar altogether, with the result that these plans have never been properly studied.

Postwar Reconstruction: Proposed Planning Reform

In August 1942, Kahane authored a memorandum entitled “Outline for the Constitution of a Department of Housing and Planning.” It echoed the latest policy trends coming from the metropole. By then, postwar planning was well underway in the UK.²⁶⁰ Within three months of Kahane’s report, by November 1942, Sir William Beveridge would publish his landmark report on ‘Social Insurance and Allied Services’, which would become the blueprint for the postwar British welfare state. By February 1943, the decades-long advocacy of the town planning movement finally culminated in the establishment of the wartime Ministry of Town and Country Planning.²⁶¹ Kahane was extremely attentive to the winds blowing from the metropole, and eager to make use of this window of opportunity to offer a reform in planning. He chose to open his own report with a statement by Beveridge given at a public address in London, merely several weeks beforehand:²⁶²

National planning means that someone on behalf of the State makes a design of how the needs of all citizens can be met... exactly what the execution of a national plan would mean in practice cannot be stated till a plan has been prepared.

Kahane reacted quickly to this call. His proposal offered a complete reform of the existing planning system. His proposal represented an ideal social reality, predicated upon harmonious collaboration between experts and society. It was an eclectic mix of modern proto-technocratic concepts combined with the 19th century voluntarist idea of planning, in which a civic elite assumes a leading role. Instead of one central bureau, Kahane’s plan included four branches of planning. The “executive board”—the actual salaried staff of architects and planners (whose work was equivalent to that of the Office of the Town Planner Adviser) was to be joined by three additional branches—Research, Advice, and Housing Trusts [Fig. 17]. Comprised of various stakeholders, experts, constructors and representatives of civil society, these three additional

²⁶⁰ In Palestine, postwar reconstruction planning was commenced only later, in March 1943.

²⁶¹ The National Archives, “Post-War Policy,” accessed May 30, 2016, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/post-war-policy.htm>.

²⁶² William H. Beveridge, “Maintenance of Employment,” in *The Pillars of Security (Works of William H. Beveridge)* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1943), 41-52. The address to the Engineering Industries Association held on July 30, 1942 was reported in newspapers throughout the colonial world, and Kahane probably picked up on it from the local newspapers. See for example, “National Planning for Post-War Period’- The Canberra Times, August 1, 1942, *Trove*, accessed May 30, 2016, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2574656>. The Beveridge Report became a key document in shaping the postwar British welfare state.

branches, would assist in overcoming the shortcomings of the current technical staff. Together, all four branches would create the foundations for a new orderly society and built environment.

The local civic elite was to play a key role. A voluntary public advisory board, comprised of “veritable independent men of superior outlook,” who “ought to feel an inner social responsibly,” was to comprise the Advice branch, along with the professional advisory boards of engineers and architects.²⁶³ As an independent research institution, it “enjoys complete freedom of science”, and its conclusions “are open to the public”. The scope of research included various aspects of planning and housing, from building materials to location of industries to geology and the natural environment. The new methods that it would develop would be tested on the ground by the Housing Trusts.²⁶⁴ A “propaganda and education” unit, responsible for the “enlightenment of the responsible unprofessional people upon whom so much depends,” was to be established within the executive branch, and special attention should be given to “rais[ing] the artistic level of the country”, to “support arts and crafts and preservation of kinds of traditional crafts.”

²⁶³ Urban Improvement Trusts were a common vehicle of Imperial British planning. In leading economic centers such as in Bombay and Singapore, a local elite took part in these committees, promoting modernization while securing their own economic and political interests. However, this tool had not taken root in Palestine during the short period of British rule. On the South-Asian colonies, see Robert Home, “British Colonial Civic Improvement in the Early Twentieth Century: E. P. Richards in Madras, Calcutta, and Singapore,” *Planning Perspectives* 31, no. 4 (October 1, 2016): 635–44.

²⁶⁴ A. Kahane, “Outline for the Constitution of a Department of Housing and Planning,” August 1942, GHU/13/4, 5.

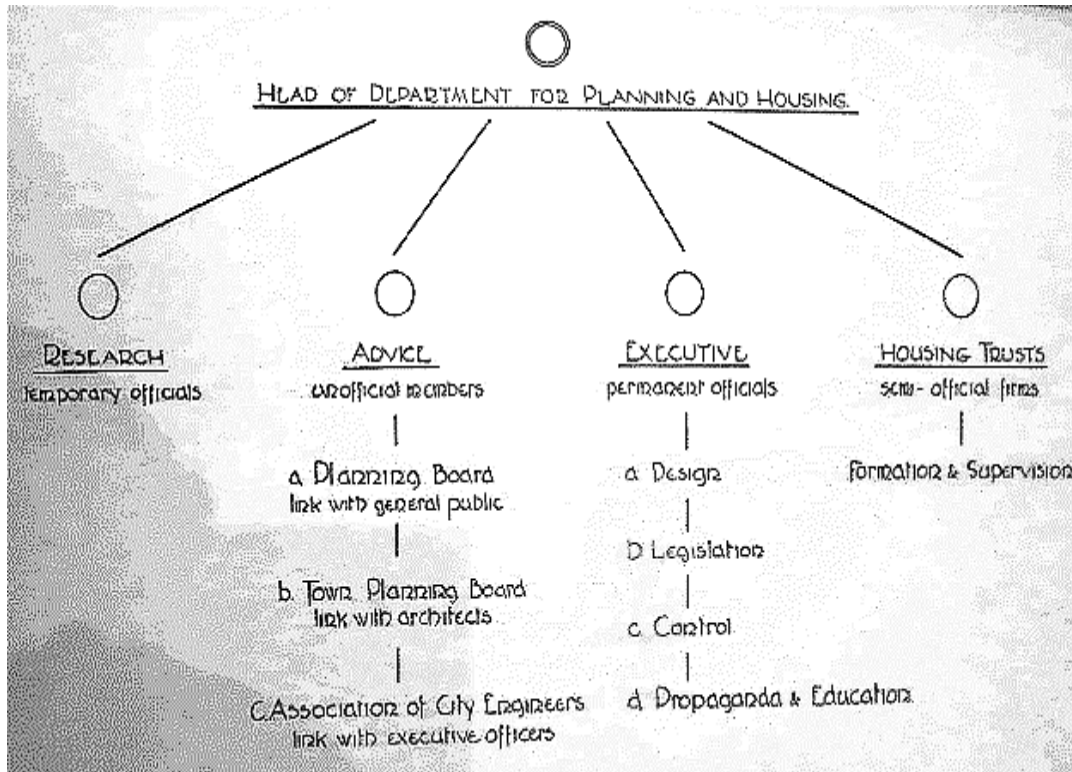


Fig. 17. Kahane's proposal to the British Government in Palestine for reform in the planning administration, 1942 (Source: GHU)

Gesamtplanung: A Practical Philosophy

This administrative proposal was part of a broader attempt to theorize “total planning” (*Gesamtplanung*) as a central arena for a new social order for the postwar era.²⁶⁵ Kahane, a self-proclaimed “practical philosopher,” had high hopes for “total planning,” an incipient field of human betterment.²⁶⁶ In its broadest sense, he wrote, total planning encompasses “politics, production, economy and education.²⁶⁷” It is the result of collaborative efforts of various experts in each of these fields, sponsored by the state, in which physical planning, if conducted correctly, was to assume the leading role, a “*primus inter pares*.”²⁶⁸ Total planning, conducted on the national level, was the key for global peace and prosperity. The state was both the mechanism and the ultimate goal of total planning.

²⁶⁵ Kahane set out his theory in an over-300-page manuscript, which accompanied the planning exhibition, but was never published. Ariel Kahane, *Planning in Palestine* (unpublished manuscript, Jerusalem, 1945).

²⁶⁶ Ariel Kahane, *Planning in Palestine* (unpublished manuscript, Jerusalem, 1945), III, 3.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, 1.

Reading through Kahane's writings on Total Planning leaves open more questions than providing answers: his writing style is opaque and idiosyncratic, and the text includes frequent disjunctive leaps. Further, his notions do not seem to draw on any systematic theory.²⁶⁹ Joachim Trezib, a researcher who recently took some initial steps towards exploring Kahane's work, provides some insights into Kahane's intellectual universe.²⁷⁰ Primarily interested in the evolution of technocratic ideas in both Palestine/Israel and Germany in the mid-twentieth century, Trezib cautiously suggests a possible influence of the ideas of the "young-conservative Tat-Circle and other similar groups" that were active in TH Berlin at the time of Kahane's studies. According to him, Kahane's ideas are "a hybrid of science, technology, planning-based ideal of the state, drawing on Saint-Simonian neo-platonic, Marxist and cultural critical agenda, which he molded into a technocratic utopia."²⁷¹

This wide-range of potential influences attests to Kahane's eclecticism and the difficulty in positioning his thought within any single framework. Perhaps the most that can be said is that it offered progressive reform within the existing economic-liberal urban framework, rather than any radical socialist reordering of the city.²⁷² However, while it relied on various progressive principles, most notably the drive towards public acquisition of land for various urban uses, it also stressed the need for private property as a central pillar for social order; as such, his future city was to combine "the best of two worlds."²⁷³ Economic and social stability, ample greenery and physical reordering with an egalitarian slant, were the dominant features in Kahane's future city.

But what is total planning, according to Kahane? He explains that as "a recent development, the world still lacks experience in total planning and its implementation."²⁷⁴ Of the three existing examples – Russia, Germany and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in the United States, only the third one could provide a possible model. While Russia is the "greatest planning power (*Planungsmacht*) in the world," it is characterized by totally different and undesirable economic and political conditions. German planning, despite its unquestionable high level of technological achievement, has used them for "war and barbarism," and stands in opposition to what the "planning idea has to stand for."²⁷⁵

By contrast, the American TVA represents the "most valuable" model for Palestine, due to certain similar political and economic preconditions. The strength of this total planning project, which is "admired by all of us," lies in its water works, electrification projects and unique system of administration.²⁷⁶ However, he further observed that the lack of any close

²⁶⁹ In our ongoing discussion about Kahane, Trezib defined him as "an esoteric/eccentric writer" and I tend to agree with this observation.

²⁷⁰ Trezib, "Transnationale Wege"; *Die Theorie*.

²⁷¹ Trezib, "Transnationale Wege."

²⁷² In that sense, it echoed the motivations behind what is considered to be the moment of birth of modern planning, the famous Adickes Law in Frankfurt in 1891. See Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, esp. 25-46; 194-209.

²⁷³ Ariel Kahane, "Clarification of Basic Problems in Town Planning." *Engineering Survey: Essays and Articles*, The Engineers, Architects and Surveyors Union of Palestine, March 1944, 13.

²⁷⁴ Ariel Kahane, *Planning in Palestine*, III, 1.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 1-2.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 2.

observation of its daily operations prevents it from being studied in depth and thereby being emulated accordingly.

In the face of these ultimately unsatisfying models, Kahane provided his own interpretation of “total planning.” He presents it by means of a diagram, a four-tier circular shape that encompasses the various means and goals of total planning [Fig. 18].²⁷⁷ Total planning was to proceed outwardly from the inner-most circle of its spiritual core to the technical means for implementation, and to the outer-most circle, the ultimate aims of humanity, being “prosperity for all”, “security of economical [sic] and political existence,” and “raising the cultural level” inter alia.

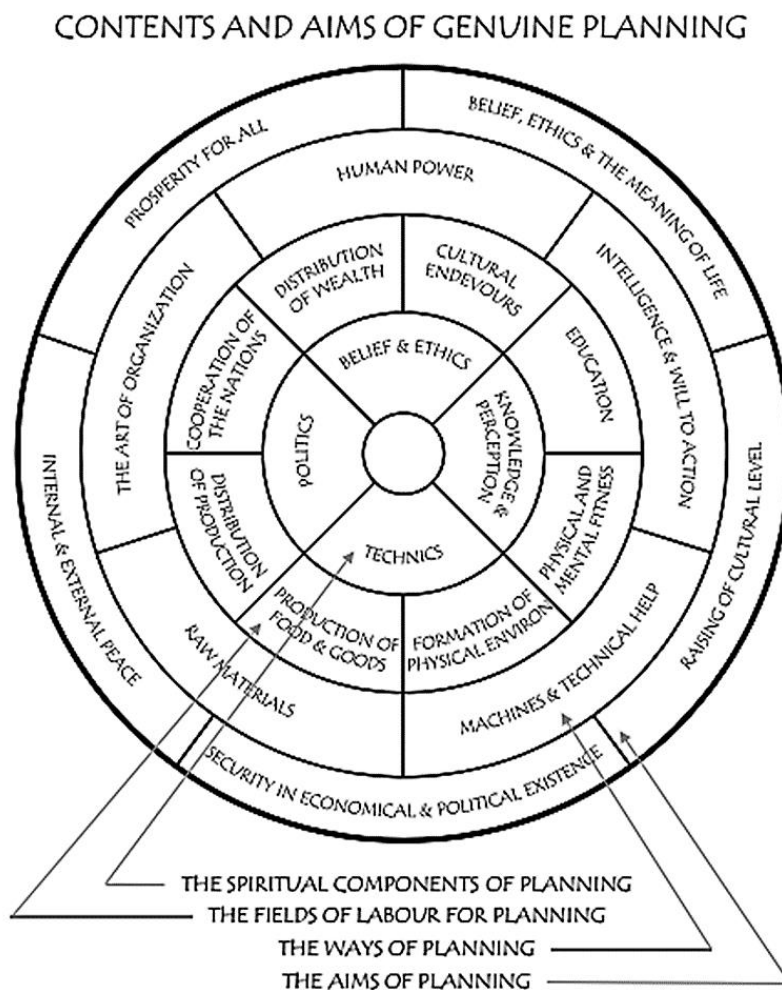


Fig. 18. *Gesamtplanung* (Source: Kahane, *Planning in Palestine*, 1945, JDK). I thank Professor Josh Kahane for his graphic assistance with this image.

²⁷⁷ Ibid. The diagram is entitled “Genuine Planning” in English and is discussed in German as “total planning” (*Gesamtplanung*).

Intriguing as it may be, Kahane's diagram remains by and large enigmatic, with a lack of further explanations on the process of planning and the relation between its various components. All that follows is a textual manifesto on the emancipatory potential of total planning. In the spirit of his time, Kahane discloses his high-modernist technocratic convictions:

It is the task of planning to uplift the man in a spiritual and material way.

It is the task of planning to lift politics out of this sphere of *MACHT* into the sphere of collective achievement.²⁷⁸

The goal is thus:

Technology, not mechanization of people.

Leadership, not *Machtpolitik*.

Religion, not intolerance.

Planning will change the form of economics and politics.²⁷⁹

In Kahane's new world of reason after the war, Nietzsche's pessimistic view of the human nature is harnessed for the prospect of the rise of a new class of public servants:

The spiritual man should have the will to power. But not to satisfy an individual need for power, rather to be able to realize his ideas for benefit of the public. (Plato, Not Machiavelli)."

Therefore, "Planning must be fought for. Like freedom, justice and knowledge." And this, he concluded, could be attained in "our lifetime".

Planning and the Individual

Grounded in German humanist culture, Kahane sought to demonstrate the potential of planning for individual creativity and human achievement through a famous example from art history. A unique "atmosphere" in 17th century Antwerp and Brussels allowed for the rise of Flemish Baroque painting.²⁸⁰ For master artists such as Rubens, Van Dyck and Brouwer, the level of their presumed genius is represented by the respective heights of the spike [Fig. 19]. Their collective emergence as master painters was due to the context in which they operated, the high level of the general population, represented in the figure by the broad foundation.²⁸¹ Socially-minded planning was the key for facilitating further bursts of creativity in all fields of human activity.

²⁷⁸ Ibid, 3.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, 4.

²⁸⁰ Ibid, III, 11.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

Kahane argued that while the causes for the 17th century flourishing of art in these centers cannot ultimately be fully explained, in modern times, “planning has to create the atmosphere for performance. A favorable atmosphere is what man needs more than anything else.”

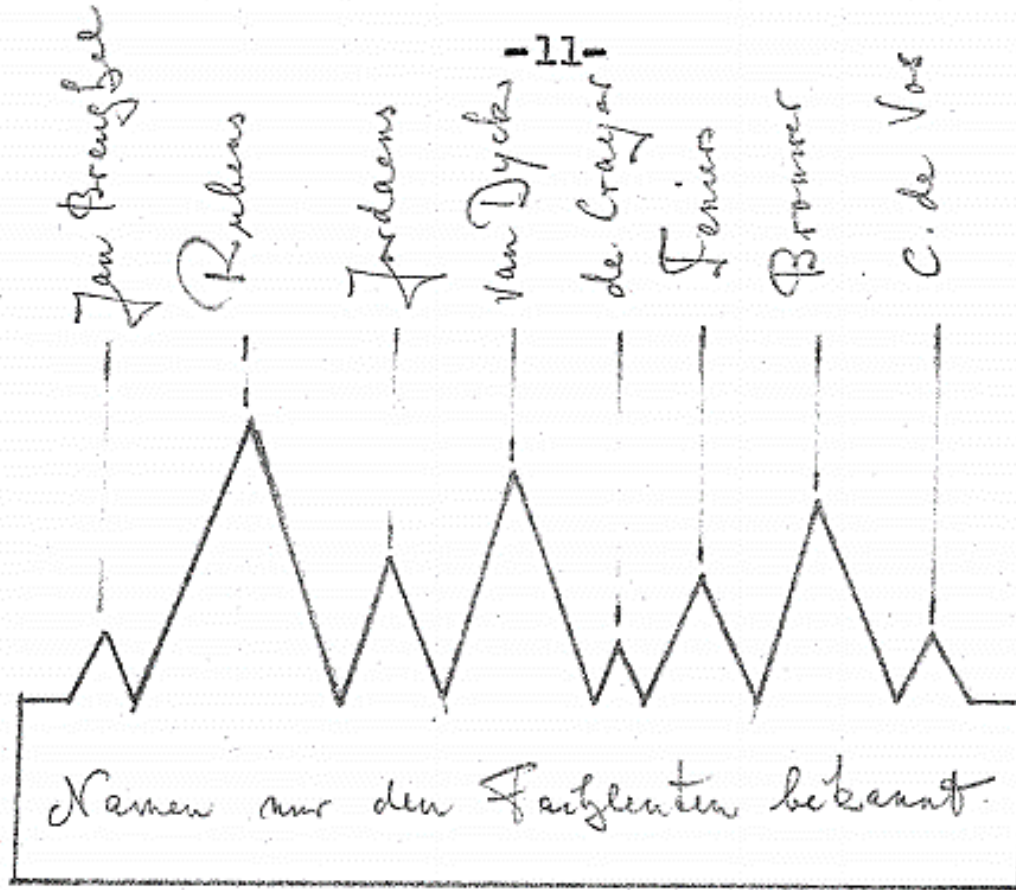


Fig. 19. "Names of Famous Experts," (Source: Kahane, Planning in Palestine, 1945, JDK)

Physical Planning: Art and Technique

Although a “new profession,” physical planning already constituted “a self-standing whole”, a “sui generis” profession.²⁸² Kahane further defines it as a double-sided “technical-artistic discipline” (“technisch-kuensterische Disziplin”), a concept that should be understood within the context of the German debate on the nature of *Technik*.²⁸³ Neither of the English translations,

²⁸² Ibid, I, 1.

²⁸³ Ibid, VII, 1.

technique or *technology*, seems to capture the German idea of *Technik* in the sense Kahane used, which can be translated as applied arts, industrial arts, applied science or engineering.

According to Eric Schatzberg, the German discourse around *Technik* was associated with the emergent class of engineers and their attempts to acquire social status on a par with humanist fields.²⁸⁴ In the context of the rapid industrialization that took place in Germany following unification in 1871, *Technik*, he argues, “became central to the self-understanding of the rising German engineering profession” In fact, “engineers became so identified with *Technik* that most German–English dictionaries give “engineering” as one translation of *Technik*.” By the early twentieth century, this discourse developed into “a full-blown debate over the relationship between *Technik* and *Kultur*. The engineer-philosophers of *Technik* sought to defend the social status of engineering from attacks by humanist intellectuals, the German mandarins,” by “stressing the individual, creative character of invention” that is manifest in their work.²⁸⁵ Their goal was “to give *Technik* a “spiritual dimension” in order to make it acceptable to the learned elite.²⁸⁶”

This professional-epistemological debate informed Kahane’s conceptualization of the new field as one that would integrate between aesthetic sensibilities and technical skills. The need to assert the philosophical and intellectual aspects of this presumed merely technical profession seems to have resonated with Kahane, who was deeply entrenched in his German high cultural universe. For Kahane, his elite “educational background [...] as a humanities person [*Humanist*] and engineer” prepared him for his task. The “connection of the two” fields constitutes “the basis of the craftsmanship.”²⁸⁷ These two fields of inquiry are complementary, each making up for the shortcomings of the another. The humanist, who “negate[s] the everyday life (present) and the omnipresent technical elements”, failing to “incorporate them into one’s worldview,” now enjoys the skills of the “highly specialized engineer,” who, in turn, without the humanist lacks “spiritual components.”²⁸⁸

However, the applied aspects were subordinate to the spiritual-intellectual outlook. While “the planner must have detailed knowledge on specialized areas and must experience these fields as *a social reality*” [emphasis added], at the same time, he “must [...] be able to understand the meaning of the higher order of every detail.”²⁸⁹ Above all, he has to be a “philosopher, he has to absorb the richness of the world and the right coexistence of the different manifestations and views.”²⁹⁰ Therefore, planning “is not a profession (*Beruf*), but a calling (*Berufung*).”²⁹¹

²⁸⁴ Eric Schatzberg, “Technik Comes to America: Changing Meanings of Technology before 1930,” *Technology and Culture* 47, no. 3 (2006): 486–512, esp. 488-496.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ Kahane, *Planning in Palestine*, I, 1.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

A Man of Virtue: The Planner vs the Architect

Spiritualizing the technical aspects was more than merely bridging the fields, or finding his own personal “*Berufung*.” It had an ultimate goal: the state. In one of the clearest statements he wrote: “Planning must make a contribution that would *elevate Art and Technik* and create a new life form and state organization.”²⁹² For Kahane, a technical elite committed to public service was the key for a new social order, ruled by reason and efficiency, and shaped by the creative powers of these individuals. As such, the heavy responsibilities to be borne by the planner required a broad set of personal traits. Kahane’s concept of such a planner embodies a Renaissance humanist notion of the ‘man of virtue,’ a man of vast knowledge and practical skills, of moral standing and cultural refinement. “Not everybody – even full studied people – is able to become responsible on planning work,” he wrote. “General planning needs qualities, without them more harm is done than good.”²⁹³ The planner—

must have a deep feeling of responsibility [...] Planning needs [a] broad outlook of life. It needs recognition of the fact that every branch of human doing is only part of a bigger entity. A responsible planner shall no[t] think in the interest of special social groups or—still worse—on his personal advantage. **He must be gifted with an independent mind, like a judge.** He must not think of bureaucratic [sic] or schematic but elastic. **He ought to be a man of initiative, courage and humanity.**²⁹⁴ [emphasis added].

While planning has its roots in architecture (among other disciplines, such as landscape architecture and engineering), such a view of planning suggested a clean slate, devoid of the moral degeneration that he believed had overtaken the culture of architecture. Planning, he argued, is a field of expertise that had emerged only over the last few decades. It was “discovered,” initially, by the architect who had to deal with site planning of individual buildings, and continued to expand through the architect as a “self-standing profession of a Town Planner,” concerned primarily with urban scale.²⁹⁵ During the process of expanding geographical scale, town planning had become an independent field. It “developed tremendously between the wars,” he argued, along with the growing understanding of the city as a “complex organism,” whose “technological, commercial and socio-political considerations” extend beyond mere architectural aspects.²⁹⁶ Physical planning was now reaching its third and ultimate stage: the ‘total’ physical environment. Being an “entirely different subject matter” from architecture, regional and national planning covers “all the functions of life that are manifested in the physical environment of man [that are] included in the field of land-use division.”

The new professional field thus required “character traits which are usually alien to the architect.”²⁹⁷ Those who commit to planning become “the mirror image” of the architects, the latter group characterized by “their artistic individualism, subjectivism over emphasized self,

²⁹² Kahane, “Clarification of Basic Problems,” 15.

²⁹³ A. Kahane, “Outline for the Constitution of a Department of Housing and Planning,” August 1942, GHU/13/4, 6.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Kahane, *Planning in Palestine*, VI, 1.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Ibid, 2.

their selfish ruthlessness, their specialization and their pronounced rejection of everything outside their occupation.”²⁹⁸ All this “stands in stark contrast to their [planners’] humanism, to social sentiment, political instinct, self-limitation and their ability to fit in, to name just a few.”²⁹⁹

The expansion of architecture into a separate, full-fledged field of expertise during those decades is parallel to Kahane’s own professional trajectory. From studies in a leading school of architecture to an institutional position as a planner, he had experienced first-hand the ascendance of the field as a public policy expertise. He fully embraced the professional identity of the planner-public servant, exalting the planner’s anonymous work, with no architectural fame or material reward, but with “great satisfaction.”³⁰⁰

The Planning Exhibition

Turning inward to the Zionist community in Palestine in the first half of the 1940s, Kahane began to propagate his ideas before various Jewish professional forums, resulting in an original body of written work.³⁰¹ In 1945, Kahane made his most ambitious and comprehensive attempt to reach the Zionist mainstream. Assisted by three German-émigré colleagues, Rudolf Tröstler, Hans Witt and the Bauhaus-graduate Chanan Frenkel, Kahane initiated a public exhibition, “Contributions to Planning in Palestine.”³⁰² The exhibition provided an overview of the field of planning and its national importance, introducing model plans at both the regional and urban levels. It was hosted by the Jewish Academy of Art, Bezalel, in Jerusalem, with the assistance of Kahane’s brother, Peter (Penuel) Kahane, who at the time was the archeology curator at the institution. The exhibition was open to the public for three brief weeks, from 6 January to 27 January 1945. [Fig. 20-21].

Kahane wished to tap into this recognized landscape of exhibitions in introducing into Palestine the new field of planning.³⁰³ As such, his exhibition was a pioneering attempt at importing into Palestine the tradition of holding planning exhibitions for the public, which had proved to be a major factor in the institutionalization and dissemination of the planning idea around the world.³⁰⁴ However, what seems to have been the first exhibition held in Palestine

²⁹⁸ Ibid, VI, 2.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Kahane, “Twenty-Five Years,” 256.

³⁰¹ During that time, he published in at the *Engineering Survey: Essays and Articles*, a journal of The Engineers, Architects and Surveyors Union of Palestine, which was affiliated with the *Histradrut*, the powerful socialist labor union of Palestine Jewry.

³⁰² Frenkel’s work has been recently reconsidered in the exhibition, “From Bauhaus to Palestine: Chanan Frenkel, Ricarda and Heinz Schwerin,” held in Bauhaus Dessau in 2013. See Bauhaus Dessau, accessed July 2, 2015, <http://www.bauhaus-dessau.de/from-bauhaus-to-palestine-chanan-frenkel-ricarda-and-heinz-schwerin.html>. These four founded an association, the “United Jerusalem Architects”, which seems to have been short lived and neglected.

³⁰³ On the centrality of public planning exhibitions to the evolution of the field, see Robert Freestone and Marco Amati, eds., *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture* by Robert Freestone and Marco Amati (UK: Ashgate, 2014).

³⁰⁴ It prefigured the famous 1950 national planning exhibition, organized by the Planning Department. Some of the exhibition panels are presented, see “Pattern,” in Efrat, Zvi. *The Israeli Project: Building and Architecture, 1948-1973*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Art Museum, 2004, 989-1018.

dedicated entirely to the new field of planning was largely overlooked both by Kahane's contemporaries and later by scholars for reasons not entirely clear. Exhibitions were far from being a foreign phenomenon within the context of the Zionist movement in Palestine. In the interwar years, exhibitions had regularly been held as a means for disseminating Zionist propaganda by showcasing the community's cultural, agricultural, technological and achievements.³⁰⁵ Architects played a key role in such exhibitions, especially modernist practitioners, who took an active role both in the design of the exhibition grounds and presenting pioneering architectural projects for both urban and rural settlement.³⁰⁶ In addition to exhibitions aimed at the general public, professional communities, architects, engineers, and industrialists would also organize their own exhibitions, increasingly so during the early 1940s, anticipating postwar recovery and the transition to a peacetime economy.³⁰⁷



Fig. 20. Invitation to the planning exhibition (Source: CFC, courtesy of Ines Sonder)

³⁰⁵The most notable example was the international Levant Fair, which took place during the 1920s and 1930s in Tel Aviv. See Sigal Davidi Kunda and Robert Oxman, "The Flight of the Camel: The Levant Fair of 1934 and the Creation of Situated Modernism," in *Constructing a Sense of Place: Architecture and the Zionist Discourse*, ed. Haim Yacobi (Routledge, 2017), 52–75. Zionist institutions made a special effort to participate in international fairs, such as the World Exhibitions in Paris (1937) and New York (1939).

³⁰⁶Frenkel, for instance, had direct experience with the World Exhibitions in Paris (1937) and New York (1939), to both of which he contributed mainly as a model-maker. See Bauhaus Online, "Chanan Frenkel," accessed July 2, 2015, <http://bauhaus-online.de/en/atlas/personen/chanan-frenkel>."

³⁰⁷The Jewish-Zionist Association of Engineers and Architects was particularly active in organizing these fairs, and its bulletin served as a main vehicle for promoting these exhibitions. For background on the association, see chapter 5.

Kahane's hope was to make urban planning a topic for "public discussion... in professional circles and circles of laymen with executive power."³⁰⁸ Stakes were high and timing was crucial. Only several months before the Second World War had ended, postwar reconstruction debates in the Zionist community were intensifying, with the prospects of mobilizing it for mass immigration and nation-building.³⁰⁹ Kahane was eager to carve out a space for his ideas within the growing Zionist debates on social and economic planning for future Jewish independence. As was the case with Brutzkus, his colleague, Kahane too understood the opportunity that was being given to promote the spatial dimension as a prerequisite for future national development. Thus, while Brutzkus was seeking to exert influence within the prime corridors of Zionist decision-making, focusing his efforts on the Zionist shadow committee for Postwar Reconstruction (Va'adat HaTikun) established by Ben-Gurion, Kahane, the outsider *Jecke*, made use of time-honored cultural bastions, the museum and the exhibition hall, assisted by his closed *Jecke* network of family (his brother Peter, the Bezalel curator) and his three *Jecke* architect friends.

A comprehensive manuscript of over 300 pages, written in German by Kahane, accompanied the exhibition, laying out both his planning philosophy and the means for its implementation. Relying on the two (known) extant copies of this typewritten manuscript, we are able to trace the ideas of the young Kahane, perhaps his most systemic attempt at providing a theory of planning rooted with in a broader worldview. The opening quote of the manuscript spells out his lofty aspirations. Using the quote from Proverbs [29, 18] "Where there is no vision, the people perish," it referred not only to the Biblical aphorism itself, but also was also pointing to the historic context of the Zionist return to the land of Palestine.³¹⁰ Thus, Kahane explained, even though "[i]t is very difficult to propose a plan with so many political unknown factors... this should not hinder us from beginning the vision of planning. Being ready is everything!"³¹¹

The exhibition attracted some attention in the Jewish press in English, Hebrew and German, mainly in the art critique columns.³¹² The critics were positive, emphasizing the contribution of the exhibition in highlighting the urgent need to control urban sprawl by public planning. Without planning, warned one of the commentators, "Tel Aviv might turn into a monster, 35 kilometers long without greenery or places for recreation and relaxation."³¹³ The Zionist Postwar Reconstruction Planning Committee (Va'adat HaTikun) ceremonially opened its first meeting by recommending its members to attend the exhibition.³¹⁴ However, the impact of

³⁰⁸ Kahane, *Planning in Palestine*, V.1, 4.

³⁰⁹ Postwar reconstruction and economic planning was a central political issue at the time, as it was linked to the Zionist demand for Jewish mass immigration. See Arie Krampf, *The National Origins of the Market Economy* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2015); Ilan Troen, "Calculating the Economic Absorptive Capacity' of Palestine: A Study of the Political Uses of Scientific Research," *Contemporary Jewry* 10, no. 2 (September 1, 1989): 19–38.

³¹⁰ As Trezib comments, it perhaps also borrows from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's motto in his first Inaugural Address in March 1933, where he used the same epitaph in outlining his social vision for the New Deal, becoming a focus for progressive hopes worldwide. See Trezib, *Die Theorie*, 155.

³¹¹ Kahane, *Planning in Palestine*, IV, 5.

³¹² *Haaretz*, *Mishmar* (both in Hebrew), *Yediot* (German) and *The Palestine Post* (English).

³¹³ "An Exhibition of the Planning of Construction in the Country," *Ha'aretz* (n.d.)

³¹⁴ "Minutes of the First Meeting of the Sub-Committee for Planning of the Jewish Agency," January 15, 1945, 8, CZA/A175/20.

the exhibition seems to have stopped there, leaving no lasting impression on the professional community. Kahane bitterly reminisced in the early 1980's that, even though "it was ground breaking... we received only negative feedback."³¹⁵ He blamed this on the fact that the organizers were "four *Jeckes*."³¹⁶ According to him, the only positive reaction was from Richard Kaufmann, the chief architect of Zionist colonizing institutions, who "was impressed" and "visited my exhibition several times."³¹⁷

The exhibition walls were filled with panels presenting conceptual models alongside actual planning schemes at the regional level (for the Tel Aviv metropolitan area) and the urban level (for the city of Jerusalem). The two most interesting ideas were a universal urban model, "The Scattered Town," and the regional Total Planning for Tel Aviv, the first attempt at metropolitan planning of the area.³¹⁸ The following section will discuss these two ideas.

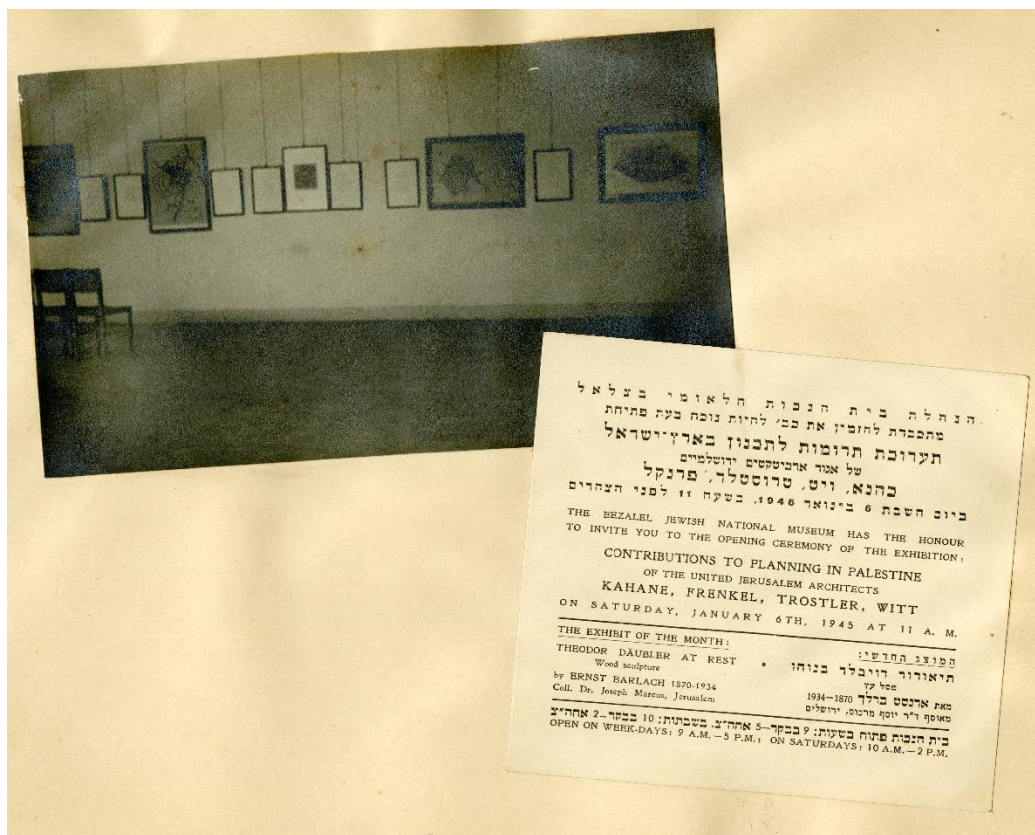


Fig. 21. Kahane's Planning Exhibition. Left: exhibition hall, Bezalel Academy of Art; Right: Invitation to the exhibition opening (Source: CFC, courtesy of Ines Sonder)

³¹⁵ Ariel Kahane, Transcripts of Interview no. 1, May 14, 1981; and Interview no. 4, May 18, 1981, by Mira Yehudai, (unpublished manuscripts), JDK.

³¹⁶ Tamar Oestreich remembers how the families were especially close with the Witts: "The 'Jeckes,' they all clung to one another." Tamar Oestreich, Telephone interview by author, October 18, 2015.

³¹⁷ Interview no. 4, May 18, 1981, by Mira Yehudai, JDK.

³¹⁸ It introduced a series of thematic maps covering residence, industry, recreation, transportation and agriculture. These five themes would later undergird the 1948 plan national plan.

The Scattered Town: City Parts of Equal Standing

The notion of the “Scattered Town” was first presented in 1944 in an essay published in a leading professional journal of the *Histradrut* (Labor Zionism’s powerful trade union).³¹⁹ The essay charted a roadmap for a new way of urban life, embodying a careful synthesis of the latest urban and design innovations. The goal was clear: to replace the “concentric city” of the “previous century,” dominated by chaotic outward growth from the historic city center. Instead, in the spirit of its time, it presented a fragmented city, comprised of bounded single-use built units surrounded by large tracts of open areas. These built blocks, functionally separated into residence, industry and manufacture, were to be built around the city’s “zenith”, the commercial, cultural and civic core, located at the geometric center of the circular city [Fig. 22].

Kahane’s “Scattered Town” posed an alternative to the English-originated satellites, a leading concept of metropolitan decentralization, experimented with across Europe.³²⁰ They are not, he explained, “satellite settlements,” “garden cities” or “suburbs.” Rather, “they are city parts of equal standing. They [in and of] themselves *constitute the city*.” [emphasis added].³²¹ Once the entire city is defined as one big greenfield, in which new built-up nuclei are to be established, the familiar pattern of outward growth from the urban core to its periphery was rendered superfluous. In Palestine, where most of the urban development took place in the form of suburbanization, garden neighborhoods and various forms of bounded residential developments by the big cities, and where most of the conceptual work continued to follow principles of the garden city and a core-satellites structure, Kahane’s suggestion uniquely stood out.³²² Rather than expanding outwardly to the broader region, decentralization was turned back into the city, dissolving it from within to create a new urban order.

In his future city, Kahane reversed the relationship between the built and open areas. By contrast with the concentric city, dominated by private capital, in Kahane’s vision, publicly-owned, open areas were to dominate the cityscape and constitute “the majority of urban land.”³²³ In fact, “the entire urban area must be seen as a green area in which residential and employment units are set.”³²⁴ Open areas are no longer temporary ‘in between’ zones or land reserved for encroaching development, instead they now *frame and determine the* built-up areas. As such, they “should be determined prior to the construction of the urban units, which are to be situated

³¹⁹ Ariel Kahane, “Clarification of Basic Problems,” 14–16.

³²⁰ Geertse places the satellite idea as an intermediary “between the ideal garden city and the garden suburbs that sprang up everywhere across Europe.” The Satellite concept guided key planning schemes, from Ernst May’s *Neues Frankfurt* to Abercrombie’s 1944 Greater London Plan. Geertse also offers a fascinating, yet still somewhat initial, discussion on the satellite idea within the context of competing ideas of urban decentralization that circulated within the international planners’ community. Geertse, “Defining the Universal City,” 133-145.

³²¹ Kahane, “Clarification of Basic Problems,” 15.

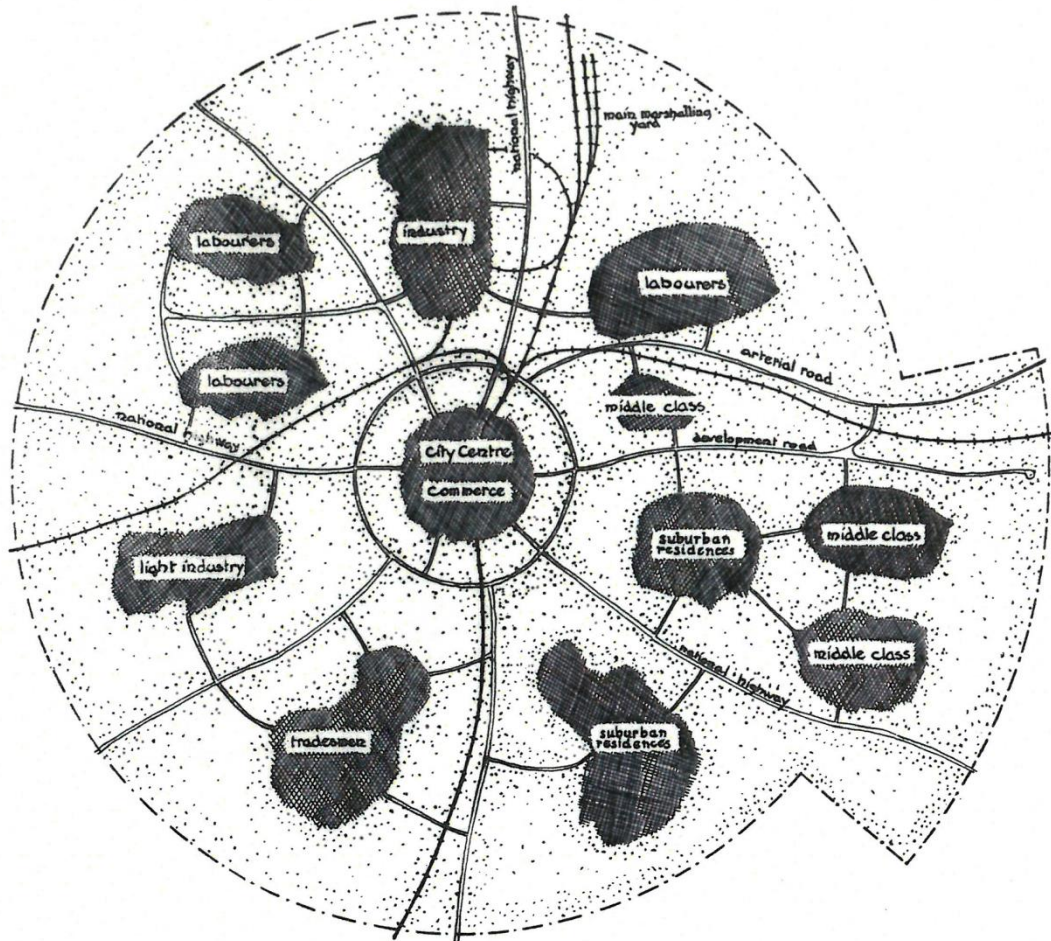
³²² Compare, for instance, to the work of leading Zionist planners, such as Richard Kauffman and Alexander Klein, to the ideas of Yosef Tischler from the early 1920s, or to Brutzkus’ coastal urban chain from 1938.

³²³ Kahane, “Clarification of Basic Problems,” 13.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

carefully in “an already existing landscape.”³²⁵ Thus, the urban ceases to be a continuous built-up mass. Instead, it becomes a mostly open landscape, interspersed with built-up scattered nuclei.

DIAGRAM SHOWING
PATTERN OF SCATTERED TOWN



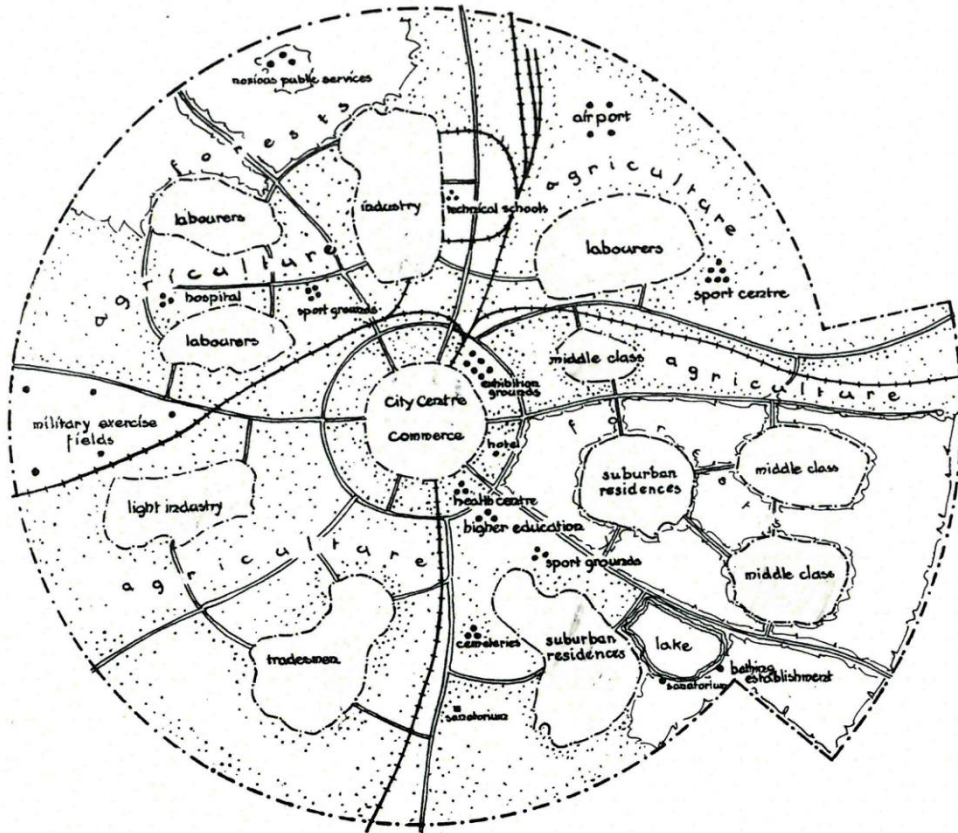
Kahane

1943

Fig. 22. Kahane’s model for “The Scattered Town,” 1943 (Source: Kahane, *Planning in Palestine*, JDK)

³²⁵ Ibid, 15. Kahane was probably familiar with Ernst May’s Nida Valley *Siedlungen* in Frankfurt, perhaps the most famous urban scheme at the time, wherein he experimented with a redefinition of the relationship between built areas and open landscape.

DIAGRAM SHOWING
FUNCTIONS OF GREEN TRACTS
 WITHIN THE AREA OF SCATTERED TOWN



Kahane

1943

Fig. 23. "Functions of Open Tracts" in Kahane's "Scattered Town" model (Source: Kahane, Planning in Palestine, JDK)

The open stretches – forests, agriculture and parks - were no longer defined merely as green pastoral interludes in contrast with the bustling modern city [Fig. 23]. They were instead to become an essential part of urban life. Their environmental, aesthetic and sanitary functions were augmented by "a host of necessary functions", peppered throughout otherwise open space. Important civic facilities, such as schools, hospitals, sport clubs and even military training ranges, were all meant to be located in these large green tracts. Access to these areas is meant to be no more than ten minutes from any point in town. Even the city center, the main commercial district, was to be surrounded by open landscape, so that "as soon as ones leave city center one is surrounded by the vast fields."

His scheme for a "middle class closed neighborhood" echoed the American neighborhood concept [Fig. 24].³²⁶ It included a standard number of between 5000-10,000 residents, with fixed boundaries and no through traffic. A host of public services, from religion to culture, schools, police, cinema, and shops, were all meant to serve the local community.³²⁷ However, interestingly, Kahane did not emphasize green areas within the residential units. He explained that the ample greenery lying at its perimeters, easily accessible from every place in the city, rendered superfluous the need for additional green space. Unlike garden neighborhoods, these residential units can attain "an *explicit urban character*." It is up to the planner to decide whether there will be "row houses, without front gardens, narrow or wide streets, enclosed small squares, low alongside tall buildings."³²⁸

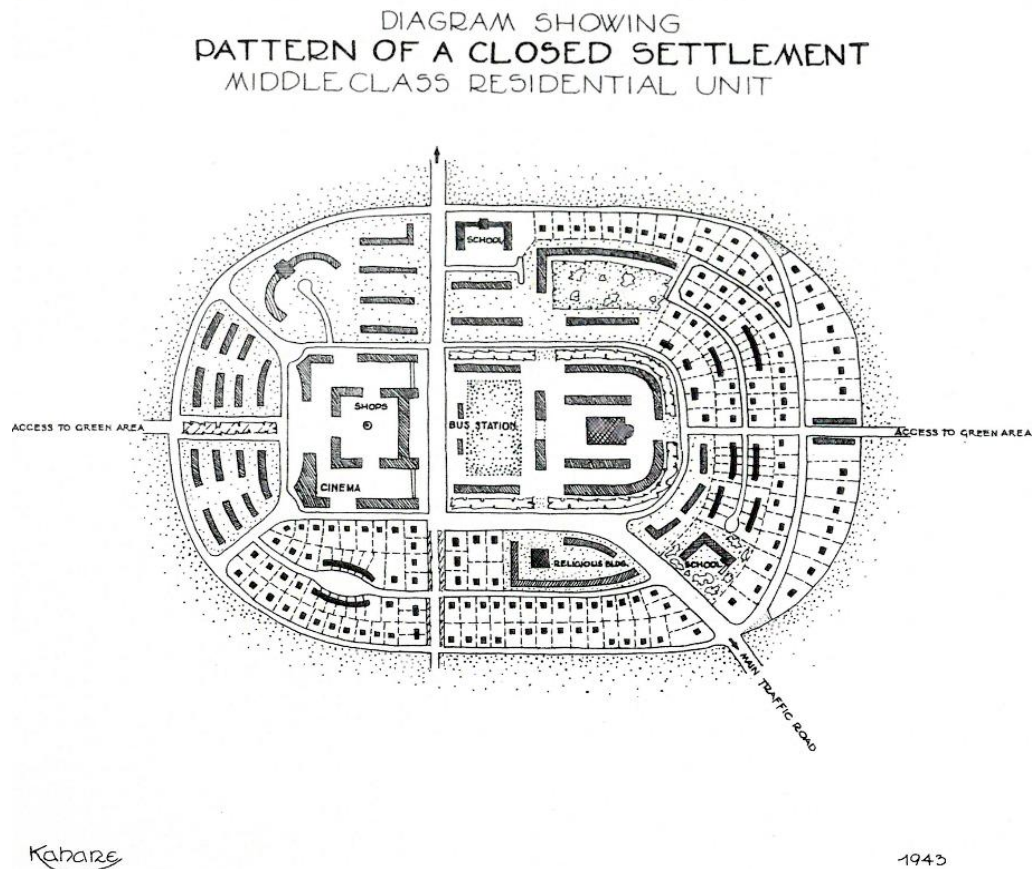


Fig. 24. "Pattern of a Closed Settlement: Middle Class Residential Unit", "Scattered Town" Model (Source: Kahane, *Planning in Palestine*, JDK)

³²⁶ I use here the term to refer to the collective set of ideas on the neighborhood, originating from two leading notions: the Neighborhood Unit (Clarence Perry) and the Radburn model (Clarence Stein and Henry Wright). Both conceived in the 1920s, they undergirded the rise of what Patricios defines as the "neighborhood concept" in the 1930s. See Patricios, "Urban Design Principles of the Original Neighborhood Concepts."

³²⁷ Kahane, "Clarification of Basic Problems," 15.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

Art and Technique: Design over Zoning

The “Scattered Town” plan provides a clue as to how “total planning” was to create a new living environment and the unique position of the architect-planner within this process. Kahane’s model town embodied a coherent “idea”, a totality of “Kunst and Technik” (fine arts and applied arts). The new city is to be planned in its entirety in advance of any construction, according to a comprehensive architectural design and urban concept. In this way, “the city ceases to be an arbitrary order of houses,” characteristic of the nineteenth-century city, and becomes instead “a discernable *idea* that cannot be contradicted.”³²⁹ Each residential unit would be planned in advance as a separate totality, as a “complete unit with [...] its own architectural design”, a distinct “technical and artistic combination” that one cannot add to or detract from.³³⁰ Such planning provides the “artistic force [with] extreme freedom and possibilities.”³³¹

With the application of the urban “idea,” zoning, the major land-use planning technique, was no longer necessary.³³² In the new pre-planned city, where there is no need to restrain market dynamics, “zoning should be more and more replaced by design.”³³³ The comprehensive architectural plan, devised separately in advance for each built-up unit, would replace zoning. Thus, the architect and planner become one. A new type of designer, the architect-planner, emerges, who assumes the responsibility for designing a new total environment. First among equals, the planner is aided by a taskforce of experts: “The gardener, transportation engineer, hygienist, housing cooperatives, the engineer, the representatives of housing associations as well as the representatives of the future residents,” all are to work together under the coordination and guidance of the planner-architect.³³⁴

Metropolitan Tel Aviv

The second interesting innovation that Kahane presented in the exhibition was his model scheme for metropolitan planning. Abstract principles that were articulated in the “Scattered Town” concept were concretized in the metropolitan plan. The locale that he chose was the greater Tel Aviv area, the largest and fastest growing concentration of Jewish population, which was to be included within the future Jewish state according to any of the suggested partition scenarios. The city of Tel Aviv being the economic heart of the region, the settlements around it would become bounded, self-contained units. However, as Kahane noted, “we should not forget that it is still only a piece of the next bigger entity—the entire Land of Palestine.”³³⁵ His plan included a series

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² It is an interesting suggestion, since the invention of zoning in 1891 in Frankfurt is usually considered the moment of the birth of modern town planning. The classic account is Sutcliffe. Anthony Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States, and France, 1780-1914*, (Oxford (Oxfordshire): Blackwell, 1981).

³³³ Kahane, “Clarification of Basic Problems,” 15.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Kahane, *Planning in Palestine*, V.1, 5

of five detailed 1:100,000 maps, covering the important planning issues, from Residence, Location of Industries, Communications to Agriculture and Recreation [Fig. 25-29].

Arabs, Jews and Total Planning

The metropolitan plan reflected an inherent tension between the separatist Jewish national aspirations and the professional ideal of total planning. Though the region included a considerable Arab population (with Jaffa, a thriving port city, serving as the central city for the Arab population), Kahane confined his plan to “primarily Jewish territories and primarily Jewish planning problems.”³³⁶ In order to bypass the need to address the issue of Arab settlement, he disregarded the British regional boundaries, carefully drawing borders encompassing a smaller swathe of territory, which was predominantly Jewish.

He explained that “Jews are operating from an idea of developing Palestine as a whole”, a task befitting a “people who for 3000 years since the time of Ancient Egypt have participated, lived and learned in almost all the centers of human cultural activity.”³³⁷ By contrast, “Arabs, as an Oriental people, have kept their Oriental mentality unchanged”, whose “internal political structure is feudal, with [only] the beginnings of the building of a middle class.”³³⁸ Nonetheless, “Jewish planning does not imply by any means a negation or neglect of Arab interests”, but rather it serves “the interest of *all its inhabitants and those of who wish to find a place therein*” [emphasis added].³³⁹

The banner of progress, modernity and prosperity brought to the land by Zionism was a constant theme in Zionist discourse regarding the Arab population, and Kahane weaved it within the new field of planning.³⁴⁰ What Kahane envisioned for the Palestinian rural sector was expressed in a parallel proposal for regional planning for the Lydda District, which he submitted to the British administration a month prior to the exhibition. Maintaining a paternalistic distinction between Jewish urban life and the authenticity of Palestinian village life, he wrote:

A regional plan has to look for the preservation of the Arab agricultural life, but secure to the Fellahin all those amenities, which to ask for is his human right. By no means he shall ape the Jewish Western example **but he shall reconcile modern opportunities with his accustomed style of life.** His dwelling shall be hygienized, general medical assistance shall be brought in easy reach for him, education shall be secured to the village, sporting and recreation as well, he shall

³³⁶ Ibid, IV, 2.

³³⁷ Ibid, 1.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Ibid, 2.

³⁴⁰ The roots of this attitude can be traced to Theodor Herzl, the father of modern political Zionism. In his 1902 utopian novel *Altneuland*, one of Zionism’s founding texts, Hertzl describes his vision for a Jewish state in the Land of Israel. His prototypical Arab character is Reshid Bey, a Muslim-Arab engineer from Haifa, reveals the Palestinians’ deep gratitude to the Jews for bringing modernity and progress to the country. See Theodor Herzl, “Altneuland,” accessed June 1, 2017, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/quot-altneuland-quot-theodor-herzl. esp. Book III>.

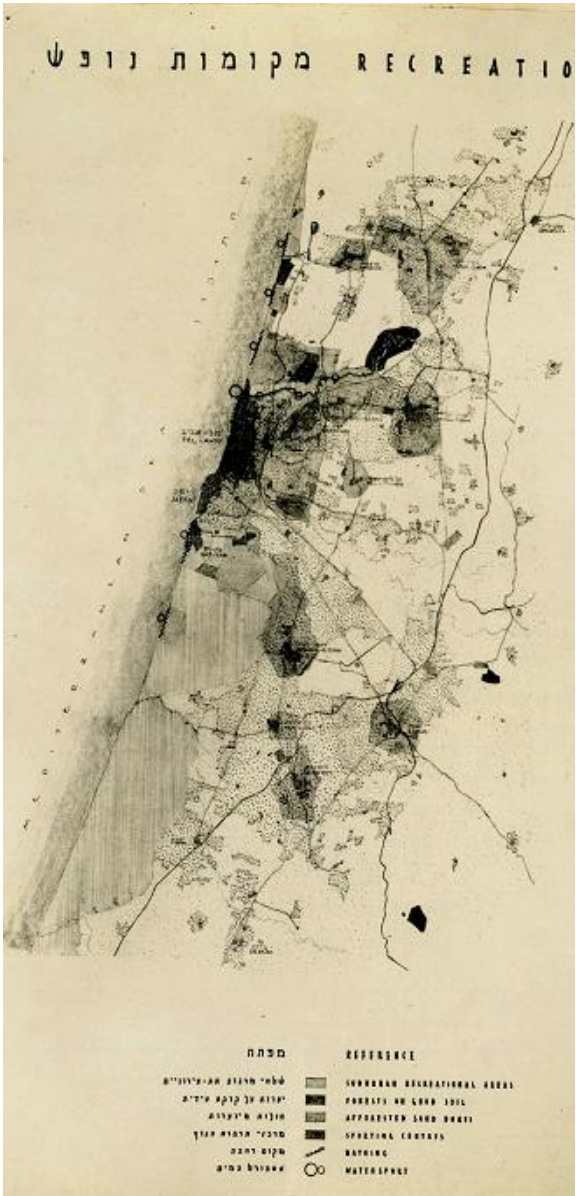


Fig. 27. "Recreation" (Source: Kahane, Planning in Palestine, JDK)

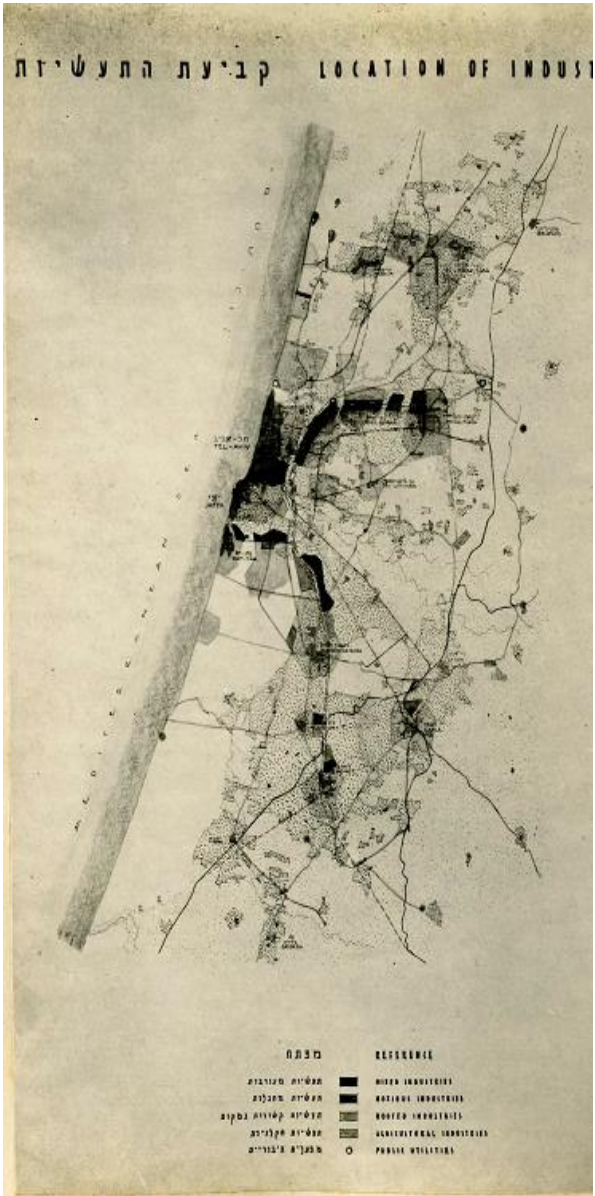


Fig. 28. "Location of Industry" (Source: Kahane, Planning in Palestine, JDK)



Fig. 29. "Agriculture" (Source: Kahane, Planning in Palestine, JDK)

Total Planning: A Green Metropolitan Vision

The plan offered only modest changes to the existing settlement network in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area. Kahane explained that since the area was already too densely populated, no additional settlements were to be built, and no significant population increase to existing settlements was to be allowed. This attitude stood in contrast to that of the Zionist Planning Committee (*Va'adat Ha'Tikun*), whose entire working assumption was based on, and motivated by, the anticipation for Jewish mass immigration after the war. Kahane's "business as usual" scenario enabled him to produce not only a "green" metropolitan vision, but also one that was an integral part of a colonial world of open borders, at a moment before Jewish immigrants would begin to flood the metropolitan area after 1948, and before the Israeli state would become isolated and cut off from the broader region. While utterly misreading the political map, Kahane's proposal represents an interesting counter-historical perspective to the actual historical turn of events.³⁴²

The panels that filled the exhibition walls presented a series of five maps of key land uses—Habitation, Communication, Recreation, Agriculture and Location of Industries.³⁴³ Together, they embodied the idea of regional "total planning," one that considers both town and country within one integral framework and provides a roadmap for future national "total planning." Following the principles of the Scattered Town, vast tracts of open agricultural and recreational areas were to become green belts around the bounded settlements. The existing urban situation was, by and large, to be "frozen," with development allowed only in the form of urban extensions adjacent to the built-up area. Kahane emphasized that the fact that Tel Aviv, the regional capital, was already "beyond the reach of the planner," should not deter from setting a policy for other parts of the region: "mushroom growth or unplanned development should not be allowed" and a fixed size of all settlements and population size should be set.³⁴⁴

The task, he explained, was to maintain the "economic connection" of the region as a whole, while preserving "the individual character of each settlement."³⁴⁵ A hierarchy of settlement types were to be defined, from urban to suburban, rural centers, villages and community settlements (Jewish collectivist communities). The physical appearance of each settlement "should reflect the true character of its functions", reflecting its true "geographical, economic and sociological foundations."³⁴⁶ [Fig. 25].

³⁴² A close analysis of his counter-historical approach to the planning of Tel Aviv metropolitan area was conducted by the author at a presentation, "Kahane's Alternative model for Tel Aviv Metropolitan Area," at The Israeli Planners Association conference, dedicated to planning challenges of the area, February 2016.

³⁴³ This regional land-use division brings to mind CIAM's Functionalist City and its four function-based zones of Dwelling, Work, Recreation and Transport. In the Tel Aviv plan, "Agriculture" was added, and "Work" was replaced with a specific category, "location of industries", both clearly reflecting the British influence of the Scott and Barlow reports. While Functionalist City principles were consolidated during the fourth CIAM conference in 1933, we have no indication of the extent to which Kahane was acquainted with, or followed, them.

³⁴⁴ Exhibition panels, Habitation, Chanan Frenkel Private Collection.

³⁴⁵ Kahane, *Planning in Palestine*, VII, 15.

³⁴⁶ Exhibition panels, "Habitation," Chanan Frenkel Private Collection.

The region was to serve as an international hub of transportation [Fig. 26]. In the context of open British imperial territories, the region, he predicted, was “bound to become a communication center not only for Palestine, but for the entire Middle East,” through which “Air, Sea and Land Traffic will pass through.”³⁴⁷ Therefore, coordination between these means of transportation was the prime goal. The airport in Lydda, “already amongst the most important in the Middle East and is likely to play an even greater role in the future World Air Traffic,” will provide connections to the Eastern colonial territories, from Iraq, to India and Australia.³⁴⁸ A second deep-water harbor was to be built to connect the region with Europe and Africa. [Fig. 30].

However, in this vision, Jewish Tel Aviv, barely half a century old, was to replace the predominantly Arab, historic city of Lydda as the central hub for the intercontinental railroad connecting Cairo and Istanbul. The exhibition called for diverting the exiting train route running on the eastern fringes of the metropolitan area through Lydda to the coastal area of Tel Aviv, the “densest [sic] populated and industrialized area.” It also proposed a suburban train that would connect the Jewish settlements around Tel Aviv, an undertaking which, in a not entirely different route, begun only in 2015.

³⁴⁷ Ibid, “Communications.”

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

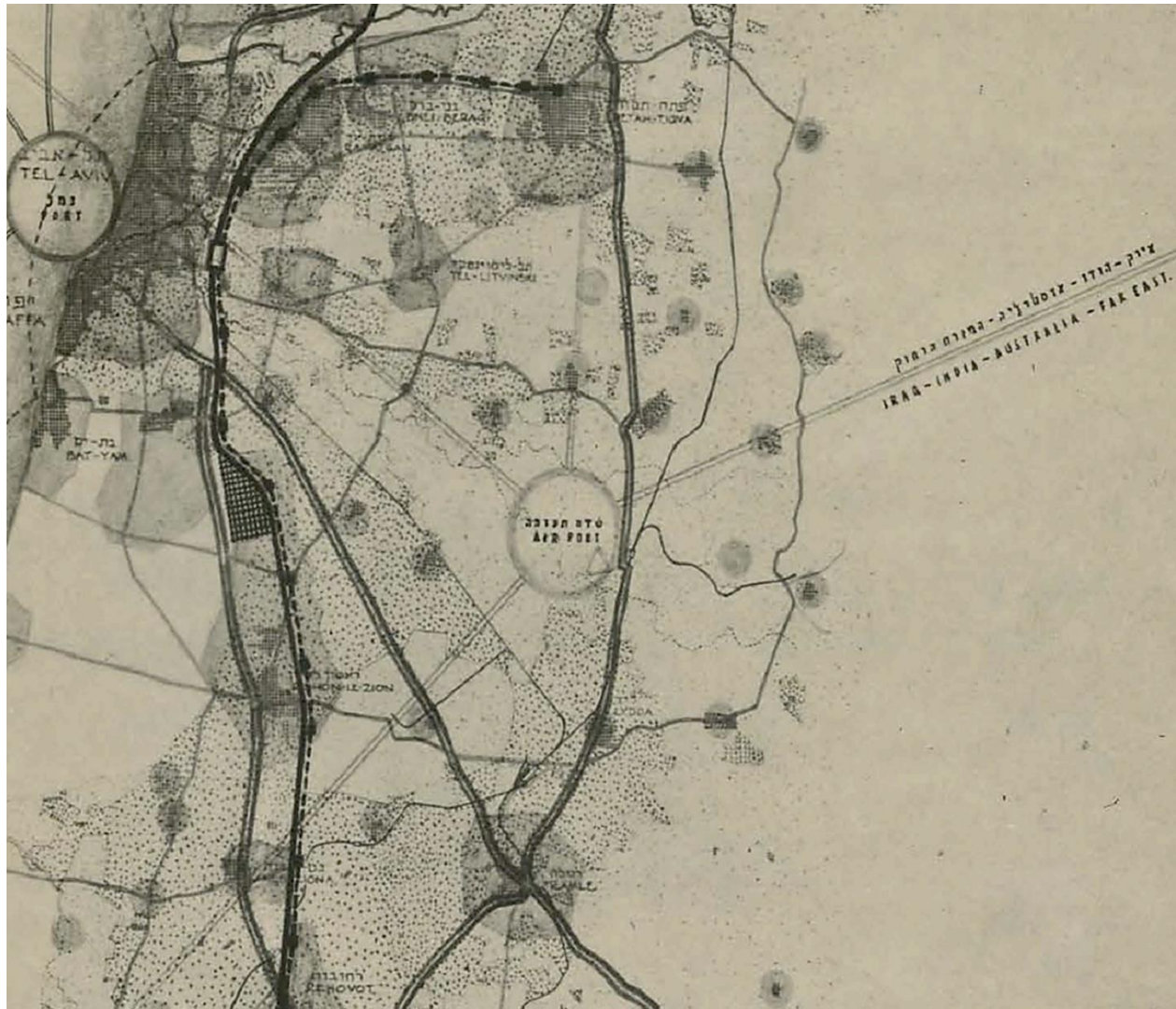


Fig. 30. “Communication” map, detail. From left to right: port, proposed intercontinental train route (bold black line), and international airport (Source: Kahane, Planning in Palestine, JDK)

A comprehensive network of open spaces was to be established [Fig. 27]. Large swaths of uncultivable sand dunes south of Tel Aviv would be afforested, providing “large wooded recreational areas” for the entire metropolitan area, while the Yarkon river, in the north of the city, would be protected as a natural area along its tributary.³⁴⁹ These open areas would be supplemented by a coastal promenade stretching along the coastal line of Tel Aviv, protecting the seashore and enhancing its accessibility and attraction. “Large interconnected parks-belts” were to be planted around Tel Aviv and its suburbs, together with local parks and recreational facilities.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

Both industry and agriculture were to continue being vital elements of metropolitan economic life [Fig. 28-29]. Drawing on the Barlow Report, Kahane proposed dispersal of industry and industrial population “into smaller rural centers,” instead of the over-concentration in Tel Aviv. This, he argued, would ensure a better synthesis between town and country.³⁵¹ Agriculture would continue to form a foundation of life in Palestine and serve as its food bank. The map legend discloses a diversity of crops, from both intensive and extensive farming in the outer rings, as well as animal husbandry, all aimed at securing “stable national food production” in times of crisis.³⁵² Agricultural training schools and research stations are also marked on the map, emphasizing their important national task as hubs of “modern research” and agricultural colonization. A fishermen village is marked within the afforested dunes in the southern parts, gesturing at a romantic-pastoral slant.

Model Settlement: A Semi-urban Town

Kahane made a single, especially interesting, exception to his policy of no new settlements. He proposed a model for a new “semi-rural town for 9000 residents” to be located seven kilometers (4.3 miles) north of Tel Aviv [Fig. 31]. What attracted Kahane to this site was that it was located within the first ring of suburbs outside the city of Tel-Aviv, while also enjoying the fertile agricultural lands surrounding it.³⁵³ As such, the site offered ideal conditions for exploring new forms of integrated rural-urban living.

This settlement, never built, was to cover about one-square kilometer (0.4 square miles) along the coast. It followed the principles of a garden city layout with separation between residential quarters from industrial nuisances, low density, curvilinear streets and a well-defined urban center dominating the geographic center. Kahane’s rather monumental city center is dominated by representational axes running north-south, and east-west, meeting at the geometrical center. Each axis has important public institutions at both ends. The main boulevard runs from the police station in the east to the People’s House in the west, from which a vast park leads to a “semi-circular terrace 20 meters high” overlooking the beach and the sea.³⁵⁴ The perpendicular axis connects the synagogue and the city hall, joining the “spiritual with the worldly representation.”³⁵⁵

³⁵¹ As with Brutzkus’ “mixed rural-town” doctrine, Kahane emphasized heterogeneity and diversity of livelihoods and crops as a key principle of economic national resilience. Company towns were therefore an undesirable form of settlement: “In order to diversify and avoid single-source livelihood, more vulnerable to economic crises, industrial towns should be prohibited, and if cannot be avoided, it should be in a semi-rural setting so that the worker families can rely on their land for livelihood.” Ibid.

³⁵² Ibid, “Agriculture.”

³⁵³ The site was chosen for a reason: it was part of his critique on British planning and included a detailed analysis of the preceding two parcellations of the site and his critique on their flaws. In addition, there was to be a smaller offshoot of this settlement located to its east, with a hillside view of Tel Aviv. See Kahane, *Planning in Palestine*, VII, 1-29.

³⁵⁴ Ibid, 27.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

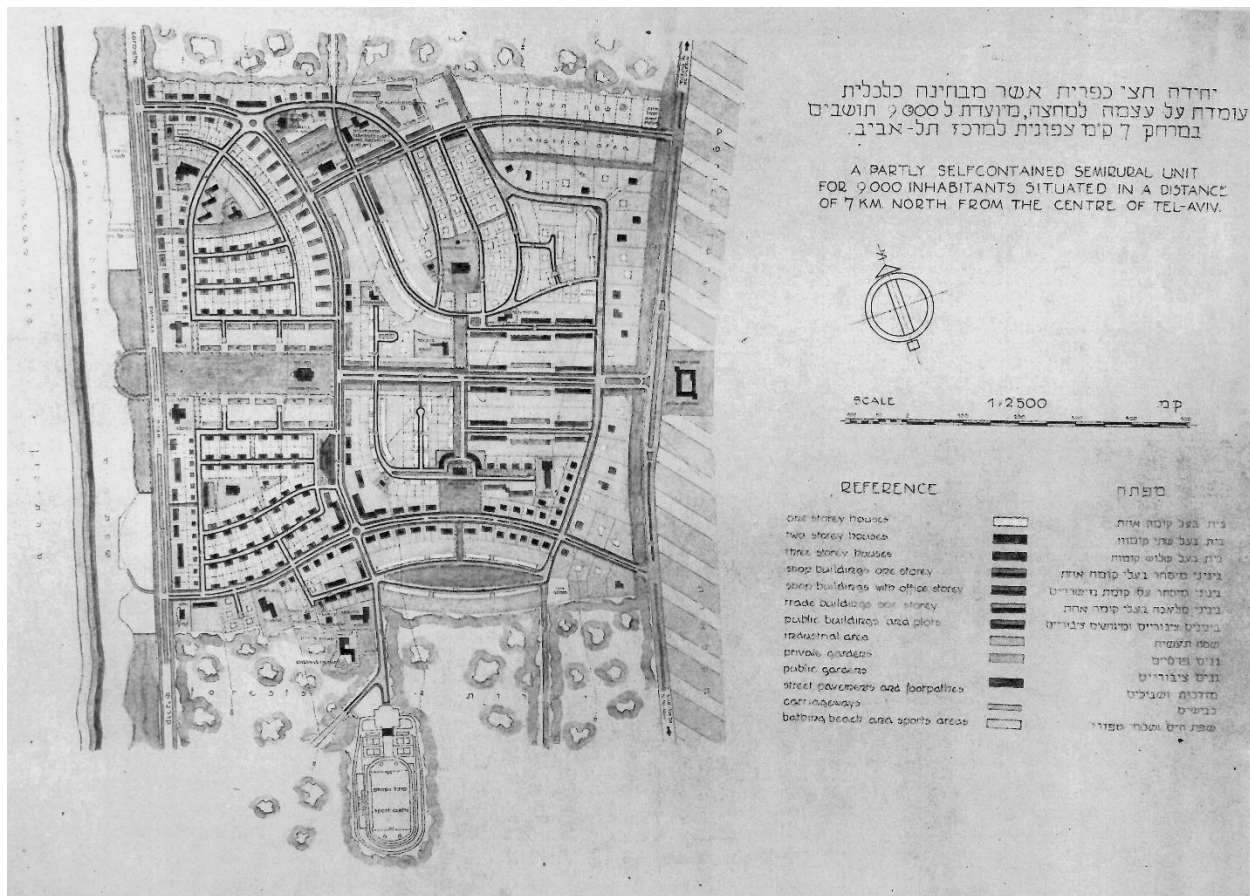


Fig. 31. “A Partly Self-Contained Semi-Rural Unit” (Source: Kahane, *Planning in Palestine*, JDK)

While similar in design to mainstream Garden City planning in Palestine, it presented several interesting departures, most notably the highly planned social facilities already embedded within the physical layout.³⁵⁶ The totality of art and *Technik* is now imbued with a *social* dimension: “Under artistic, one should consider not only the aesthetic momentum of the form, but rather the *social proportion*, the experience of the settlement as a social organism and as a setting for everyday life” [emphasis added].³⁵⁷ Indeed, the inventory of public services is diverse and carefully chosen. To the more obvious provisions for hospitals and schools are added such additional institutions as a workers’ club, a Rabbi’s house, and a children’s theater—echoing his childhood background.

³⁵⁶ Compare, for instance, to Richard Kaufmann’s planning of the neighborhoods Rehavia and Beit Hakerem in Jerusalem, or Alexander Klein’s “The Organic City Units.” See footnote 158.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid*, VI, 26.

Kahane's integrative rural-urban model was based on a mixed occupational base where daily commuters to Tel Aviv were to live in proximity to farmers cultivating the nearby fertile lands to the east. Thus, although from different directions, the high-minded Kahane and the practical engineer Brutzkus, both ended up with a model plan for coastal towns strongly linked to their rural environs [Fig. 32]. If Brutzkus was driven by economic-functional considerations, for Kahane what was central was the aesthetic thrust for decentralization and totality as a design ideal. Kahane's proposal was also a garden city, surrounded by green belts and smallholder farms at the urban fringe, serving to enhance the rural character of the towns. Here too, as with Brutzkus' plan a division of labor was maintained between agriculture, to take place in the fertile lands to the east, and residential areas, to be located in the coastal sands. An extant but otherwise nameless "Arab village" appears on agricultural lands to the north of the settlement, revealing, perhaps, the tension between the physical reality of the bi-national region, on the one hand, and the ultimate lack of planning interest in this village, on the other.

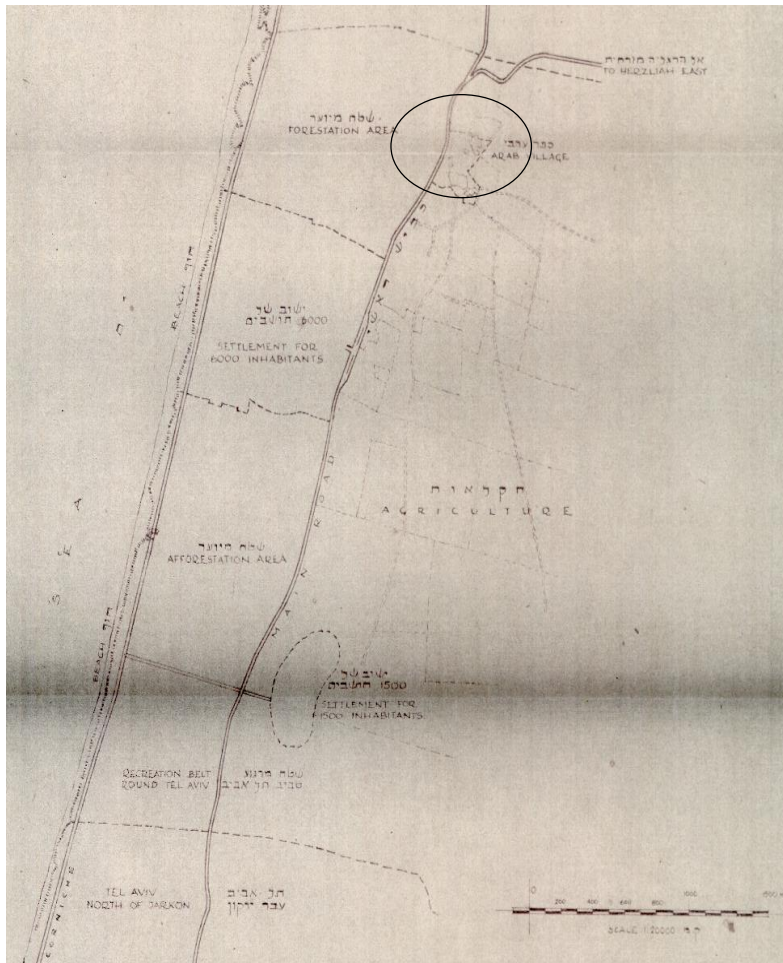


Fig. 32. Regional context of the proposed settlement (circled), agriculture to its east, and the "Arab Village" on the top right (Source: Kahane, *Planning in Palestine*, JDK)

A mere conceptual exercise at the time that they were formulated, in the decade that followed, these planning principles yielded real consequences. As the regional planner of the Western Galilee (1948-1953), Kahane's main task was to plan Jewish New Towns in his planning district. This was part of a campaign for the "Judaization of the Galilee," a predominantly Arab region prior to the 1948 Palestinian exodus.³⁵⁸ Kahane's "baby" was the town of Ma'alot, built by Tarshiha, a Palestinian community which had been spared the war, and Oshrat, a town that was never realized [Fig. 33]. With the recent uncovering of Kahane's archives (see introduction), the connections between pre-state imaginations and post-state realities can be further explored.

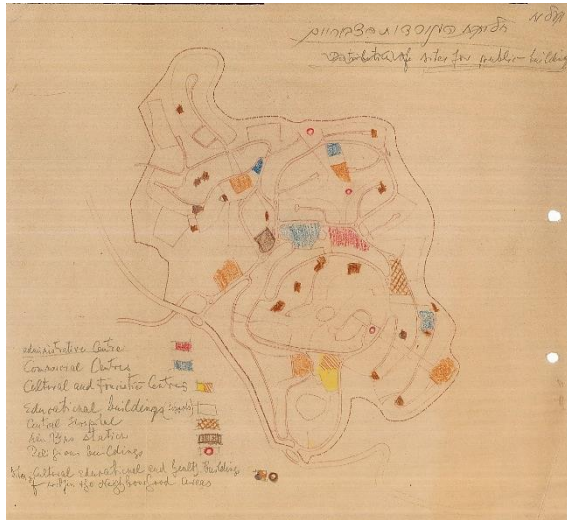
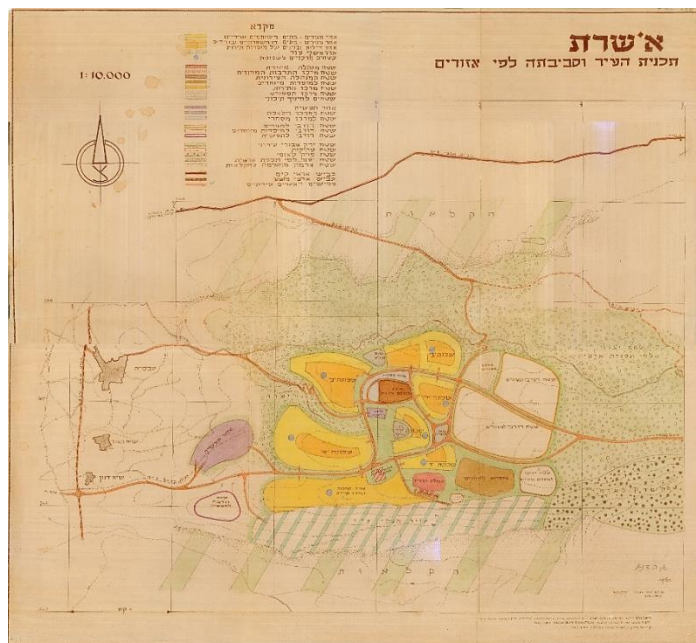


Fig. 33. Top: Ma'alot "Dispersal of Public Institutions" hand-drawn by Kahane; Bottom: "Urban Plan of Oshrat and its Environs" (Source: GHU/23/1)



³⁵⁸ Ariel Kahane, August 17, 1954, "Memorandum regarding the Jewish Development of Western Galilee," GHU/13/9.

Chapter 4 | German-American Encounters: Glikson's Environmental Regionalism

“I am certain that it is too early and too little what I am trying to give, and there remains only this positive aspect: That this effort to convey trends of a way of life, related to the re-insertion of man into nature's life cycles and into a greater scale of time, tends so decisively in a direction opposed to disintegration as every day's events reveal it.” (Artur Glikson to Lewis Mumford, December 17th, 1952)³⁵⁹

Of our three protagonists, Artur Glikson (1911-1966), the “environmentalist,” was the most international and systematic theorist. As Brutzkus and Kahane, he too joined the founding team of the Israeli Planning Department in 1948, and became a leading state planner. However, Glikson differed substantially from Brutzkus and Kahane: while both of them immersed themselves in the national endeavor of early statehood and ultimately devoted their entire careers to the local arena, Glikson's outlook far-transcended the geographical boundaries of the country. Israeli nation-building served as a testing ground for his more ambitious universal goal: formulating a new approach to human settlement as the key for the preservation of humankind.

In the first two decades after the Second World War, Glikson developed a concept of regional planning that rested on the primacy of environmental consciousness and was to provide a new framework for modern settlement.³⁶⁰ He emerged as an international advocate of environmental planning who was closely affiliated with the American historian and urban critic Lewis Mumford. His sudden death in 1966, at the age of 55, brought to an untimely halt one of the most original voices of environmental thought within mid-twentieth century planning and urbanism. [Fig. 34].

As a senior state planner in Israel at the peak of high modernism, he sought to blaze an environment-centered path as an alternative to the seemingly omnipresent modernism *à la* CIAM. Instead, he developed an “organic” regional planning approach that highlighted issues of resource renewability and sustainable development, and which he sought to incorporate into state mechanisms worldwide. By the 1950s and 1960s, Glikson was tapping into the main hubs of the environmental-human critique of International Modernism taking place on both sides of the Atlantic, from Lewis Mumford and the American regionalists to Team X and beyond.

³⁵⁹ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, December 17, 1952, LMP/22/1860.

³⁶⁰ Throughout his writings, Glikson used the terms “ecology” and “environment” (and to a lesser extent, “biocentrism”) interchangeably. The extent to which he was familiar with the concepts of “ecology” and “ecosystem” as relating to a distinct scientific subject-matter, notions that were espoused by botanists Eugenius Warming and Arthur Tansely during Glikson's lifetime and enjoyed wide influence, remains unclear. For Glikson, it seems, the terms “ecology” and “environment” connoted a general orientation geared towards cultural renewal, drawing on a *Naturromantik* worldview, rather than as a scientized *category*. Following Glikson's treatment of the terms, I will use them interchangeably.

Through his extensive international connections, and especially through his friendship with Mumford, Glikson sought to establish a community of like-minded practitioners, scientists and intellectuals, who collectively would constitute an environmental alternative to the increasingly mechanistic postwar realities. Against this background, Glikson's work offers new directions in tracing a distinct environmental trajectory within postwar urbanism and planning, and the transatlantic exchange that facilitated this alternative.³⁶¹



Fig. 34. Artur Glikson, c. 1960s (courtesy of Rachel Wilkansky)

Glikson's environmental declensionism was rooted in the thought of the German Ernst Fuhrmann (1886-1956), a self-proclaimed "biosoph," whose work remains largely unexplored. In Palestine, Glikson belonged to a group of exiled intellectuals from the German-speaking world, who had been associated with Fuhrmann in Europe and sought how to adapt Fuhrmann's teachings to the postwar technological, political and economic realities.

As such, Glikson's work provides a powerful lens through which to explore the networks and movements of Germanic biocentric ideas to the Angolphone world at a crucial moment of global restructuring. And, it draws attention to the role of German-Jewish émigrés as transnational cultural transmitters, and the manner by which they sought to engage in the building of the post-1945 new world order.³⁶² His tale challenges perceived notions about the path of knowledge transfer. As opposed to a view resting on a direct transatlantic flow from the "old" to "new" West, their work and thought highlights the role played by an émigré community operating from a "Western" periphery as a vital link in the process.

³⁶¹ On the transatlantic flow of ideas on the environment, society and urbanism, see Chapter 1.

³⁶² On modern German-Jewish cultural and expert transmission see, for instance, Dan Diner and Moshe Zimmermann, eds., *Disseminating German Tradition: The Thyssen Lectures* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2009).

In contrast to Kahane and Brutzkus, both of whom have escaped the historians' radar, Glikson's unique persona has attracted some scholarly attention. Several architectural historians have explored Glikson's design projects, which mainly took place in his capacity as a state planner in Israel. While producing important insights about local place-making, the focus of these studies is project-based, exploring the political, social and architectural dimensions of his design work.³⁶³

The result is that crucial aspects of Glikson's oeuvre has received scant attention. In addition to his practical work, Glikson was primarily a theorist and an intellectual force in the field of planning. The broad scope of his conceptual work—from highly philosophical essays to “dry” planning policy documents—eclipses his relatively modest architectural achievements. Yet the wide expanse of his conceptual work remains largely unexplored terrain.

Further, this body of writing sheds new light on Glikson's architectural work. As did Kahane, Glikson viewed himself as an architect-turned-planner. Trained as an architect, he drifted away from architectural practice, seeking an expertise that would allow for large-scale spatial intervention. He found his calling in Regional Planning, a new field which suited both his intellectual temperament and larger social ambitions; architecture was relegated to a secondary position. From the late 1940s, he regarded himself as a *Regional Planner*. In a particularly revealing moment, he explained: “I have lived most of my years a rather dualistic existence - of architectural design and mental attempts.” Planning is “an attempt to bring together both,” to replace “isolation” with “integration.”³⁶⁴

This chapter provides a first attempt at providing a fuller picture of his lifelong pursuit of “integration.” I follow the contours of his intellectual biography and his evolution into a full-fledged Regional Planner. I do so by uncovering the broad cultural, philosophical, and professional influences that shaped his thought as well as his unique position as a cultural transmitter.

Since Glikson's intellectual development came to fruition only after 1948 (unlike that of Brutzkus and Kahane), most of the discussion that follows will focus on these later years. I will progress chronologically through key moments in his development prior to 1948, beginning with the interwar intellectual hotbed that was Berlin, to Mandate Palestine and to his practical work as a state planner in early Statehood. In the latter, I focus on his planning endeavors, largely

³⁶³ See, for instance, Rachel Kallus, “A Place for a National Community: Glikson's Integrative Habitation Unit and the Political Construct of the Everyday,” *The Journal of Architecture* 10, no. 4 (2005): 365–87; Hadas Shadar, “Vernacular Values in Public Housing,” *Architectural Research Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (2004): 171–81.

The Journal of Architectural & Planning Research published in 2004 a special issue on Glikson. Articles that took the first steps into exploring his planning thought and broader theoretical aspects are Rachel Wilkansky, “From Regional Planning to Spatial Planning: The Sources and Continuing Relevance of Artur Glikson's Planning Thought,” *Journal of Architectural & Planning Research* 21, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 125–39; Shmuel Burmil and Ruth Enis, “An Integrated Approach to Landscape and Planning,” *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 21, no. 2 (2004): 140–51; Hubert Law-Yone, “Artur Glikson: The Intellectual and the State,” *Journal of Architectural & Planning Research* 21, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 102–11.

³⁶⁴ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, July 19, 1952, LMP/22/1860.

unexplored, rather than his more-explored architectural projects. A major theme running throughout this chapter is the intellectual networks that facilitated his endeavors. In particular, I trace the Palestine-based circle of Fuhrmann's disciples and how they intersected with Glikson's attempts to establish a Mumford-Fuhrman nexus.

Biographical Outline

Artur Glikson (originally Glücksohn) was born on August 11, 1911 in Königsberg, East Prussia (today Kaliningrad), the son of Nadia and Ilya, and the younger brother of Salome.³⁶⁵ In 1918, Glikson was orphaned from his father, who was struck down by an influenza epidemic. After his graduation from secondary school in 1929, Glikson spent a year in Palestine, where he worked in agriculture and building.

The following year, he returned to Germany, and between the years 1930-1935, he studied architecture at the *Technische Hochschule* Berlin-Charlottenburg (TH Berlin). As Kahane before him, Glikson studied under the expressionist avant-garde architect Hans Poelzig.³⁶⁶ Glikson's classmates were architects David Anatole Brutzkus (Eliezer's brother), Alfred Mansfeld, and Yehuda Levinson (Lavie), all of whom subsequently emigrated to Palestine and pursued architectural careers. Mansfeld and Levinson remained particularly close to Glikson throughout his life.³⁶⁷

Upon graduation in 1935, Glikson emigrated to Palestine and worked in various architectural offices. In 1938, he received his first public commission: to prepare the first master plan for the town of Petah Tikva, a rapidly growing suburb of Tel Aviv.³⁶⁸ Among Jewish planners, the plan was considered pioneering, especially for its emphasis on open spaces and incorporation of the regional context.³⁶⁹ He continued to work intermittently as an architect and planner in the Petah Tikva municipality during the 1940s.³⁷⁰ In addition, he participated in various architectural competitions. In 1948, for instance, he was awarded first prize for the design of the center of Kiryat Motzkin, a suburb of Haifa.

During those years, Glikson continued to engage in theoretical and literary pursuits. He produced a body of (mostly unpublished) written work on a variety of topics, from religion and

³⁶⁵ Salome Gluecksohn-Waelsch (1907-2007) emigrated to the United States and became a pioneering geneticist. See "Salome G. Waelsch Ph.D.'s Obituary on New York Times," *New York Times*, accessed May 20, 2017, <http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/nytimes/obituary.aspx?n=salome-g-waelsch&pid=97596831>.

³⁶⁶ Warhaftig, *They Laid the Foundation*, 363. See also Curriculum Vitae: Arthur Glikson, April 7, 1963, LMP/22/1860; TH/Matrikel Bd. IX (1928-1930)/S. 204, erste Zeile (über die Doppelseite): Eintrag zu Alex Artur Glücksohn.

³⁶⁷ Avigail Shefer (Glikson's former secretary and close friend), interview by author, June 2016, Tel Aviv.

³⁶⁸ Zvi Hashimshoni, *The Path which I Trod: Zvi Hashimshoni, Memories 1904-1974* (Israel: Gideon, Shmuel and Yehiam Hashimshoni, 1997), 125.

³⁶⁹ Ibid, 125; Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 228.

³⁷⁰ Curriculum Vitae: Arthur Glikson, April 7, 1963, LMP/22/1860.

Marxism to ecology and architecture; he even tried his hand at poetry.³⁷¹ He was also active in intellectual circles of German-speaking émigrés, one of whom would become significant for his ecological thought, as will emerge later in this chapter. He married Regina Brutzkus, the first cousin of Eliezer and David Anatole Brutzkus. Regina was a communist activist, who several times in the mid-1930s had been tried (but never convicted) by the British authorities for subversive activity.³⁷² In 1938, their only son, Andrew (Yoram) was born. The family resided in Petah Tikva.

The establishment of Israel in 1948 provided Glikson with his first opportunity to experiment with planning at the regional and national scale. Between the years 1948-1953, he was a senior member of the founding team of the national Planning Department, headed by the prominent Bauhaus-graduate architect, Arie Sharon. Their task was to plan over twenty new towns to accommodate the nearly one million immigrants who were arriving from war-devastated Europe, Africa and Asia.³⁷³ Glikson, who was the regional planner of Haifa and the northern valleys, introduced ecological principles into these sweeping developmental plans for his planning district. He enjoyed a personal relationship with Sharon and was included in the closest decision-making circles within the department regarding matters of national policy.³⁷⁴ However, Glikson's ability to implement his environmental principles was limited, due to internal conflicts and overall difficulties in realizing the Planning Department's schemes (see chapter 5). As a result, in 1953, along with most of the original team, he resigned.

Between the years 1955-1958, he headed the Planning Department in the Housing Division, by then a powerful developmental ministry in charge of the construction of public housing. His most famous state-led project was the design of the Experimental Habitational Unit in Kiryat Gat in the late 1950s, the flagship project of the Israeli New Towns at the time. This innovative project embodied both ecological principles and social integration at a neighborhood scale, and it received considerable international attention [Fig. 35].³⁷⁵ During the 1950s, Glikson was also a lecturer on regional and national planning at the Technion in Haifa.

During those years, Glikson increasingly turned to the international arena. He published regularly on both theoretical and practical aspects of regional planning, and he participated in various international organizations and expert forums.³⁷⁶ Through his extensive travelling, he

³⁷¹ These include "Thoughts on Religion," in German, in 1941 as well as verse, prose, poems and gnomic aphorisms. Earlier essays include "Stabkirche und Wikingerschiff," from 1934 and another essay, "on the relation of Marxian teaching to Man." See Mumford, Introduction, *The Ecological Basis of Planning*, x-xi. For a partial list of Glikson's publications, see Artur Glikson and Settlement Study Centre, *Planned Regional Settlement Projects, Comparative Study: Background, Experience, New Trends* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1970), 203-206, esp. 205-206.

³⁷² See, for instance, "Regina Brutzkus is Put on Trial Again," *Doar Hayom*, March 22, 1936.

³⁷³ The Israeli New Towns campaign is discussed in chapter 5.

³⁷⁴ Eliezer Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 228.

³⁷⁵ See, for instance, Artur Glikson, "Humanisation Du Milieu," *Le Carré Bleu* 4 (1963): 1-10; Spiegel, *New Towns*.

³⁷⁶ These included, inter alia, the International Seminar on Regional Planning in The Hague in 1957, the International conference of Landscape Architects in Amsterdam in 1960, and the exclusive Ciba Foundation conference on Man and his Future, where he was the only "nonscientist represented," as Mumford observed in Mumford, Introduction, *The Ecological Basis of Planning*, VII. He was also a vice president of the committee on landscape planning of the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources. His work had been translated into English, French and German. From 1953, he was a visiting professor at the Technion, Haifa. For further affiliations, see Curriculum Vitae: Arthur Glikson, April 7, 1963, LMP/22/1860.

established personal connections with prominent figures on both sides of the Atlantic, from Team X in Europe to Lewis Mumford and his circle of regionalists in the United States.

Glikson had a special affinity for the Netherlands: In 1950, he was awarded a UN travel grant to spend four months in the Netherlands to study regional and national planning, an experience which profoundly influenced both his regional planning theory and his practical work in Israel.³⁷⁷ In 1953, he was invited to deliver a series of lectures on regional planning at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague. In 1955, the Institute published the series as a book.³⁷⁸ This was the only book-length work published in his lifetime, and it constitutes the most systematic expression of his theory. Similarly, he was interested in the TVA project in the United States, but his plan to conduct an extensive study tour to the Tennessee Valley was never realized.³⁷⁹

Glikson's final project, the culmination of his professional thinking, was the Regional Plan of Crete (1964-66), commissioned by the OECD [Fig. 36]. It was a comprehensive development plan, designed to reconcile traditional life with economic development.³⁸⁰ This well-funded and broad-scale project was meant to make up for the modest results that he experienced as a state planner in Israel, and his hopes were high. However, Glikson passed away shortly after he returned from a professional tour in Crete, a year before the master plan was approved. In his memory, Mumford edited in 1971 a volume of selected essays by Glikson on ecological planning. He dedicated it to his "friend", "who has brought to architecture those deeply human qualities [...] which the masters of modern architecture, with a few notable exceptions, had lacked."³⁸¹

³⁷⁷ Burmil and Enis, "An Integrated Approach to Landscape and Planning," 141.

³⁷⁸ Artur Glikson, *Regional Planning and Development: Six Lectures Delivered at the Institute of Social Studies, at The Hague* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1955).

³⁷⁹ See A. Glikson to L. Mumford, December 17, 1952, LMP/22/1860. For Glikson's treatment of the project, see, for example, Glikson *Regional Planning and Development*, 21.

³⁸⁰ Glikson's planning work in Crete and Israel was compiled posthumously. See Glikson and Settlement Study Centre, *Planned Regional Settlement Projects*, 31-166. The Crete plan includes a landscape system intended to prevent soil erosion, improve the water supply and the microclimate, encourage timber production, and use plants according to their ecological characteristics. In Burmil and Enis, "An Integrated Approach to Landscape and Planning," 141. In this plan, he also stressed the cultural need for recreation in the island's original landscape and the necessity for creating a hospitable environment for recreation. Taken by the island's vernacular architecture and the rural landscape, Glikson recorded his impressions with a series of photographs. See also Rachel Kallus, "The Crete Development Plan: A Post-Second World War Israeli Experience of Transnational Professional Exchange," *Planning Perspectives* 30, no. 3 (July 3, 2015): 339-65.

³⁸¹ Mumford, Introduction, *The Ecological Basis of Planning*, xix.

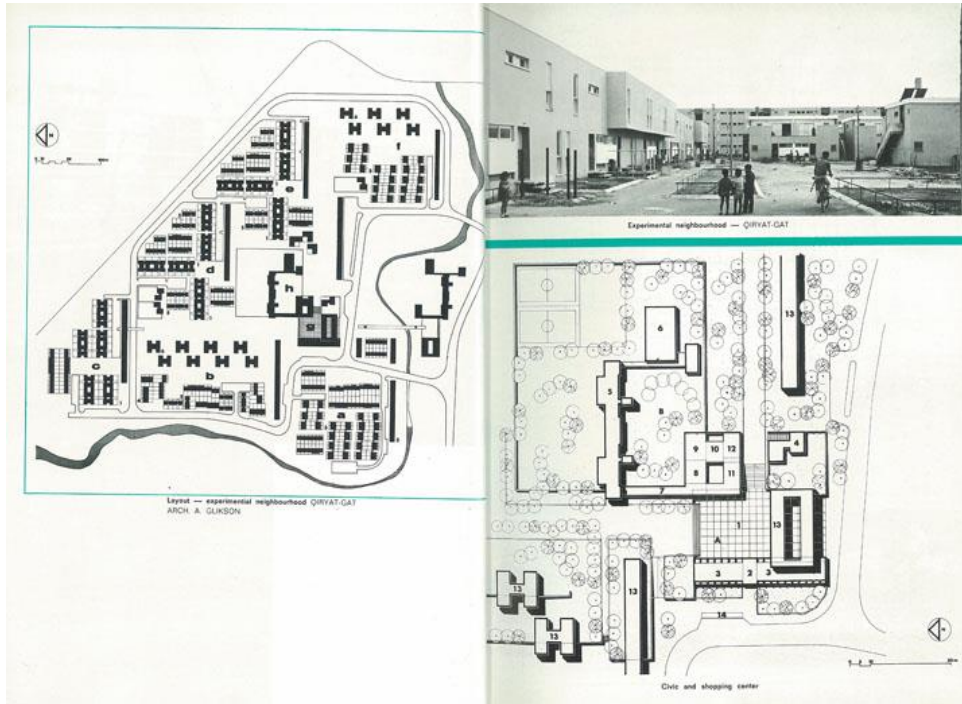


Fig. 35. Glikson's Experimental Habitational Unit, Kiryat Gat (Source: transculturalmodernism.org)

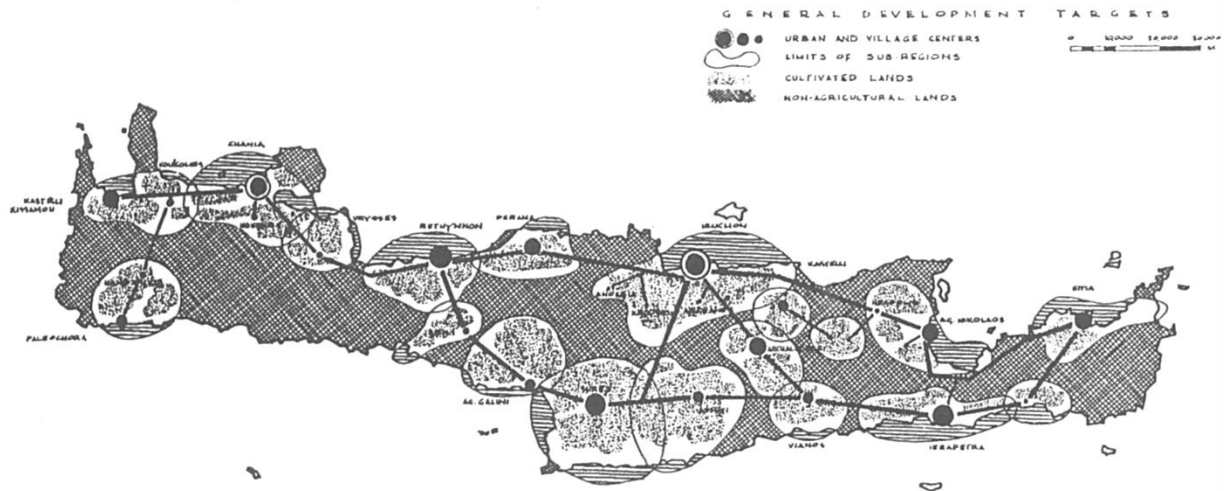


Fig. 36. Crete Development Plan, 1964 (Source: *Planned Regional Settlement Projects*, 65)

Interwar European Roots

Glikson's search for an environmental design began in the context of interwar Berlin, the hotbed of modernist architecture and avant-garde experimentation. Glikson studied under avant-garde architect Poelzig. According to Myra Warhaftig, Glikson was a "loyal disciple" of Poelzig, making it likely that that Glikson—as Kahane before him—had participated in the elective design seminar given by Poelzig. This was the flagship course of Poelzig, who was "widely recognized as having the most progressive design teaching methods in Europe at that moment" (see chapter 3).³⁸² Poelzig's unorthodox educational approach, known for its rejection of dogmatic modernism and encouragement of individual expression, creativity, and broad disciplinary scope might well have planted the seeds for Glikson's later pursuit of an alternative to modernism, one which would provide a "deeper meaning" for the field.³⁸³

The most profound influence on Glikson during those early years, however, came from outside architectural circles. It was the work of the eccentric writer Ernst Fuhrmann (1886-1956), "a self-described *Biosoph* and anarchist nature-centered theorist," from whom Glikson developed his acute awareness of environmental degradation.³⁸⁴ The circumstances under which Fuhrmann and Glikson first met have not been settled. What we know is that the two began to correspond at least as early as 1933, and that they continued to do so, Fuhrmann from New York and Glikson from Palestine, until Fuhrmann's death in 1957. For Glikson, Fuhrmann was "the greatest inspiration" of his life, as he once confessed to Mumford.³⁸⁵

Fuhrmann, whose thought embodied a brew of German pseudoscience, nature-mysticism and romantic *kulturkritik*, developed a theory of plants as a source of cultural renewal.³⁸⁶ Collapsing the conceptual barrier between animals and plants, he posited an interconnected evolution of plants, animals and human beings in "an endless cycle of concentration, decomposition and new concentration," in which all are "basically one and the same thing."³⁸⁷

³⁸² Lee, "Negotiating Modernities," 45.

³⁸³ Rachel Lee points to the potential contribution of exploring TU Berlin as a hub of avant-garde modernism and, in particular, Poelzig's "individual exiled students" and "their legacy as a group." According to Lee, who had explored some of these exiled students and their later architectural careers outside of Germany, such research can serve as "an interesting counter-pole to the better-documented research into the Bauhaus-associated exiles." Seen through this prism of an arguably collective legacy of Poelzig's students, Glikson's distinct orientation becomes especially intriguing. See *ibid.*, 21-23.

³⁸⁴ Oliver A. I. Botar, "Defining Biocentrism," in *Biocentrism and Modernism*, ed. Oliver A. I. Botar and Isabel Wünsche (London: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2011), 29. Fuhrmann, who was born in Hamburg and emigrated to New York in 1938, was a polymath autodidact, publishing works in literature, prose, linguistics and biology. Further information can be found in Joseph Schechter, *Judaism and Education in the Contemporary Age* (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1966), 214-216.

³⁸⁵ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, January 10, 1957, LMP/22/1861.

³⁸⁶ Botar situates Fuhrmann's work within the tradition of what he terms "biologicistic neo-romanticism." According to Botar, Fuhrmann's work was influenced by "scientists with philosophical pretensions such as [...] Reclus, Kropotkin and Geddes," to whom, in the context of German *Kulturkritik* and the crisis of modern life, biological philosophy offered seemingly authoritative answers to problems of modernity, both in physical and spiritual terms. In Botar, "Defining Biocentrism," 15.

³⁸⁷ Ernst Fuhrmann, Volker Kahmen, and Georg Heusch, *Ernst Fuhrmann: Bahnhof Rolandseck, Ausstellung Vom 19. Oktober Bis 30. Dezember 1979* (Bonn: Ed. Bahnhof Rolandseck, 1979), 46, 48. See also David Haney, *When Modern Was Green: Life and Work of Landscape Architect Leberecht Migge* (Routledge, 2010), 233-236.

He asserted an interconnected evolution of plants and living creatures through endless processes of concentration, decomposition and concentration anew. And he considered plants as living creatures endowed with vitality and animal-like instincts.

The practical extension of his theory of plants provided a model for reconceiving human settlement. Based on these ideas, he advocated a “systematic reuse of organic waste products” as the key for the “renewal of the urban organism”, instead of relying on the “false promise of industry.”³⁸⁸ Fuhrmann called for a renewal of the urban organism based on multi-story housing and the systematic reuse of urban organic waste. And, his collaboration with landscape architect Leberecht Migge spawned an experimental garden in which they sought to utilize plant sex hormones as a new means for human healing.³⁸⁹

Fuhrmann also developed a passion for close-up plant photography as a source of scientific learning and cultural inspiration. In his capacity both as director of the Museum Folkwang and as a publisher, he promoted the work of Albert Renger-Patzsch, a pioneer of *Neue Sachlichkeit* photography, and the Bauhaus-associated photographer and painter, László Moholy-Nagy. These collaborations positioned Fuhrmann at a formative moment in the emergence of modernist photography [Fig. 37].³⁹⁰



Fig. 37. Close-up plant photographs in Fuhrmann’s *Die Welt der Pflanze*, various photographers, 1924 (Source: Getty Images <http://www.gettyimages.ae>)

Fuhrmann was considered by the scientific establishment of the time to be an eccentric dilettante. As well, to this day, little scholarly attention has been shown in his work, leaving him an understudied figure in the landscape of early twentieth-century German biocentric

³⁸⁸ Haney, *When Modern was Green*, 236.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 233-236.

³⁹⁰ See Virginia Heckert, “Albert Renger-Patzsch as Educator: ‘Learn to See the World,’” *History of Photography* 21, no. 3 (1997): 205–215; Oliver A. I. Botar, “László Moholy-Nagy’s New Vision and the Aestheticization of Scientific Photography in Weimar Germany,” *Science in Context* 17, no. 4 (December 2004): 525–56.

Naturromantik.³⁹¹ His writings nonetheless enjoyed popularity among the young intelligentsia in interwar German-speaking Europe and he gathered around him a diverse group of followers, ranging from the writer Alfred Döblin, who embraced Fuhrmann's plant-animal analogy, to the circle of German-speaking Jews who had emigrated to Palestine, in which Glikson was active.³⁹²

Planning Experiments in Palestine/Israel: 1938-1950s

The Petah Tikva Urban Master Plan

Glikson's first notable commission was in 1938. He was hired as a planner by the municipality of Petah Tikva. A former agricultural community nearby to Tel Aviv, this town of 25,000 residents was undergoing rapid urbanization. Glikson's task was to prepare a master to accommodate the town's projected growth to 75,000 residents in 25 years —while preserving the village qualities of its earlier time [Fig. 38]. In his autobiography, Zvi Hashimshoni, the then-Municipal Engineer of Petah Tikva, reminisces how young Glikson was hesitant to accept Hashimshoni's invitation to plan the city, "admitting explicitly that he had no experience in this kind of work, but after I promised him guidance he accepted my offer to become part of my team. It was one of the cases where the pupil outshines the teacher."³⁹³

Glikson's work included both the conceptual layout as well as detailed design of squares, streets and public buildings.³⁹⁴ This early plan already reflected his environmental approach, arguably being the first urban plan in Palestine that was based on a comprehensive survey, including both physical and human elements, as well as taking into account the regional context.³⁹⁵ Brutzkus, the then-municipal engineer of the nearby town of Beney Berak, considered the plan as an exemplary case of advanced planning in Palestine.³⁹⁶

A modern version of a garden-city, the plan also echoed some of Radburn's model principles. It emphasized green open spaces. It also included two separate networks of movement: a road system and a pedestrian green network consisting of local parks and green trails, all interconnected, leading to the outer ring of open, agricultural land, and to nearby natural and historic sites. The garden city design was complemented by a hierarchal road system,

³⁹¹ It seems that majority of the (scant) scholarly attention in Fuhrmann comes from visual culture studies, focusing on his artistic collaborations in connection with plant photography. See footnote 390.

³⁹² Fuhrmann's work was compiled by a group of his friends in a ten-volume edition. Fuhrmann et al, *Ernst Fuhrmann*, 46. Notable examples of his popular writings include *Geld: Analytische Betrachtungen* (1929), *Wege Versuch angewandter Biosophie* (1930) and *Die Pflanze als Lebewesen* (1930).

³⁹³ Hashimshoni, *The Path*, 125.

³⁹⁴ Curriculum Vitae: Arthur Glikson, April 7, 1963, LMP.

³⁹⁵ The survey was also based on the Geddesian survey method which Hashimshoni observed during a trip to Britain and which he wished to implement in his local municipality. In Hashimshoni, *The Path*, 125.

³⁹⁶ See also Eliezer Brutzkus, "Concerning the Question of Green Areas and Landscape Conservation in the Context of Urban and Regional Planning," *Engineering Forum: Essays and Articles, The Engineers', Architects' and Surveyors Union of Palestine*, January 1946, 9–17.

which diverted through-traffic from residential areas, and a carefully planned civic center located in the heart of the town.³⁹⁷

Glikson continued to work as an architect and planner in the Petah Tikva municipality between the years 1938-1941 and 1943-1946. In the early 1950s, he was hired once again to devise an updated plan.³⁹⁸ Whatever Glikson himself thought of the plan remains open for speculation. Yet his contribution to was held in high regard by his colleagues, and it marked his entrée into the local professional community.³⁹⁹ Based on Hashimshoni's positive impression of Glikson a decade later, Hashimshoni, now the deputy head of the newly-founded Planning Department of independent Israel, summoned Glikson to join the team as part of the grand endeavor of planning a new country (see chapter 5).

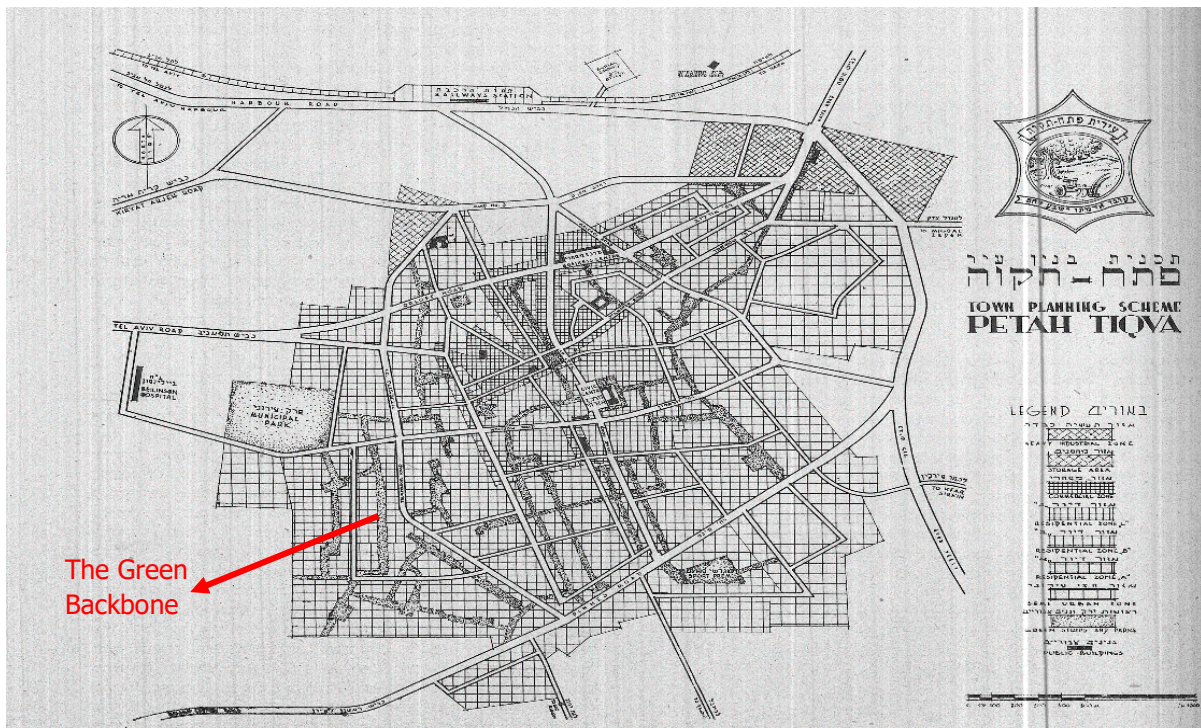


Fig. 38. “Town Planning Scheme Petah Tikva,” c. 1938. Note the backbone of green trails connecting to the inner-urban park and outward to the surrounding open areas (Source: Brutzkus, 1946)

³⁹⁷ Hashimshoni, *The Path*, 125.

³⁹⁸ Curriculum Vitae: Arthur Glikson, April 7, 1963, LMP/22/1860; “The Development of Petah Tikva and its Environs”, c. 1955, PTHA/15145, 13.

³⁹⁹ A. Klein et al, “Expert Report on the Proposal of Petah Tikva Town Building,” n.d. (c. November 1939), PTHA/2/195/180.

Regional and National Planning: 1948-1953

As part of the founding team of the national Planning Department, Glikson was able to experiment with large-scale planning. Officially, he was appointed as the regional planner of Haifa and the Northern Valleys, but de facto he took part in guiding national development more broadly.⁴⁰⁰ In February 1949, he wrote to Fuhrmann excitedly: “This year was quite a change for me: to work and find deeper inter[est] in work in regional and national planning.”⁴⁰¹

His “deeper interest” went beyond Zionist ideology. His work as a leading state planner was a testing ground for formulating a new framework for human settlement. In early 1951, amidst the fervor of nation- and society-building, he confessed to Mumford:

The strange with me is, that I look upon my practical work rather than as on a school or an experiment and I consider the prospect of theoretical progress as a most serious practice.⁴⁰²

Even earlier, in March 1950, he already sought the opportunity “to leave the country for a few years and to work as a planner in India or else on this side of East-Asia [...] it attracts me not just as an adventure but as the most essential experience (the East-West problem).”⁴⁰³

Nonetheless, Zionist territorial interests well-served Glikson’s universal aspirations. Glikson was one of the main authors of the national Population Dispersal policy, which sought to settle the influx of Jewish immigrants across the vast depopulated Palestinian lands (see chapter 5). If Glikson had any ethical reservations regarding the Palestinian mass dislocation that enabled these settlement schemes to be implemented, they were not expressed. State-led decentralization provided the platform for large-scale experimentation within this context; the founding of the state, he wrote, was an “opportunity” that “will not soon reoccur” to create a new form of urban settlement in the small towns.⁴⁰⁴

As such, he was one of the most trenchant critics within the Planning Department against the overconcentration of the population in the metropolitan areas that had taken place during the Mandate period, what he termed “the danger of the Tel-Avivization” of the country.⁴⁰⁵ As Brutzkus before him, he contended that “a disaster looms in uncontrolled growth of the two large cities in the country [Tel Aviv and Haifa].” The goal of the Planning Department was far-reaching: “not merely to heal the country from the disease of the big city Tel Aviv.” Rather, to “prevent diseases in advance,” by “guiding the path for new mass settlement.”⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁰ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 228.

⁴⁰¹ A. Glikson to E. Fuhrmann, February 26, 1949, TGA/G.F.0158.

⁴⁰² A. Glikson to L. Mumford, March 14, 1951, LMP/22/1860.

⁴⁰³ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, July 19, 1952, LMP/22/1860.

⁴⁰⁴ A. Glikson, “Partial Things and Magic Words”, a draft response to Lubliyaner, c. September 1949, ISA/G-2762/9.

⁴⁰⁵ A. Glikson to H. Rau, “The National Plan: Your Memo to Mr. Sharon,” August 1951, ISA/GL/2754/4.

⁴⁰⁶ A. Glikson, “Partial Things and Magic Words”, a draft response to Lubliyaner, c. September 1949, ISA/G-2762/9. In this text, Glikson embraced Brutzkus’ thesis regarding the Jewish “Polar” settlement pattern. Glikson described “an amazing picture of the distribution of the Jewish population in the country” upon the establishment of Israel,

However, where Glikson diverted from the regionalism espoused by Brutzkus was in the way in which the physical environment, rather than social relations, became the organizing principle for the region. Whereas Brutzkus advocated rural-urban integration, focusing on its functional-economic structure, Glikson envisaged a man-environment integration, one which would end the age of “metropolitan invasion” (a term he borrowed from MacKaye), and that would re-establish instead an alliance with the natural cycles. These divergent approaches—the “**functionalism**” of Brutzkus and the “**environmentalism**” of Glikson, were a constant source of dispute between them, and it came to impact the New Towns programme (see chapter 5).

However, the ultimate outcome of Glikson’s lofty aspirations was reduced to what eventually became his “staple” within the Planning Department: determining the location of new urban settlements based on regional-environmental criteria. The result of this approach, he explained to the American readership of JAPA—

has been to locate new towns on stony hills, arising around a fertile agricultural area, and so not only saving agricultural land for agricultural use, but giving the town healthy climatic conditions, a view over the surrounding landscape, broad recreational areas and easy building foundations, and the fact that this was the ancient traditional way of building towns in Palestine has been reassuring.⁴⁰⁷

The Jezreel Valley

The clearest manifestation of these principles was Glikson’s regional plan for the Valley of Jezreel, an area lying between Haifa and the Jordan Valley (1948-1952) [Fig. 39]. Glikson was charged with the task of planning new immigrant towns. This thriving agricultural region, a national breadbasket, was an ideal setting for Glikson to test his ideas for the regional placement of new settlements. Based on a preliminary physical survey, his plan reflected a careful integration between human activity (roads, settlements, industry and agriculture) and the physical elements (soil, hydro morphology, vegetation, and the like). According to Burmil and Enis, Glikson’s “integrative-ecological” regional plan was influenced, in part, by the Dutch planning of the Polders, after having observed it closely during his study tour in the Netherlands in 1950.⁴⁰⁸

Glikson proposed preserving the valley’s agricultural character and adding to it one urban community. His new settlement was an urban extension for the existing small town of Afula, located in the center of the valley [Fig. 40]. Based on his ecological principles of urban placement, he situated the new development, Upper Afula (Afula Ilit), three miles away, up a hill overlooking the original town in the flatlands. While the hill was “unsuited for cultivation,” it

where he echoes Brutzkus’ figure of 82% to be metropolitan dwellers, living “on the narrow coastal strip between Tel-Aviv and Haifa.”

⁴⁰⁷ A. Glikson, “The Approach to Planning in Israel,” *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 17, no. 1 (March 31, 1951): 41.

⁴⁰⁸ Burmil and Enis, “An Integrative Approach,” esp. 141.

enabled unobstructed views to the valley and enjoyed “a pleasant climate and convenient building conditions”—a combination that made it especially attractive for Glikson.⁴⁰⁹

Glikson thought of the region in terms of an integrative framework, one in which self-contained human settlements are placed within surrounding open areas. The present “man-made”, “steppe-like character of the Valley” will be restored to its “original forested nature” by reforestation of the “steep slopes and rocky hills.”⁴¹⁰ The new town of Afula Ilit will be surrounded by a tree belt and pasture, and the *wadis* (creeks) running downhill will be reforested as well. These planted green wedges situated along the natural topography will not only form “natural ties connecting the urban and agricultural landscape;” but also serve to absorb flood waters before they reach the plain, thereby preventing soil erosion.⁴¹¹ A small area, located at the foothills along the regional road and in close proximity to the train station, was allocated for industry.

The Jezreel Valley Conceptual Scheme was originally conceived of as merely the first stage of a wider survey to be carried out for the entire northern region.⁴¹² However, with Glikson’s resignation from the Planning Department in 1953 (discussed in chapter 5), the next stages of the survey were never completed. The Jezreel Valley plan itself remained largely conceptual in nature, enjoying no legal status.

⁴⁰⁹ Glikson, *Regional Planning and Development*, 112.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 47. To the best of my knowledge, Glikson’s planning did not extend to detailed planning or urban design of the town.

⁴¹² A. Glikson to L. Mumford, April 16, 1953, LMP/22/1860.

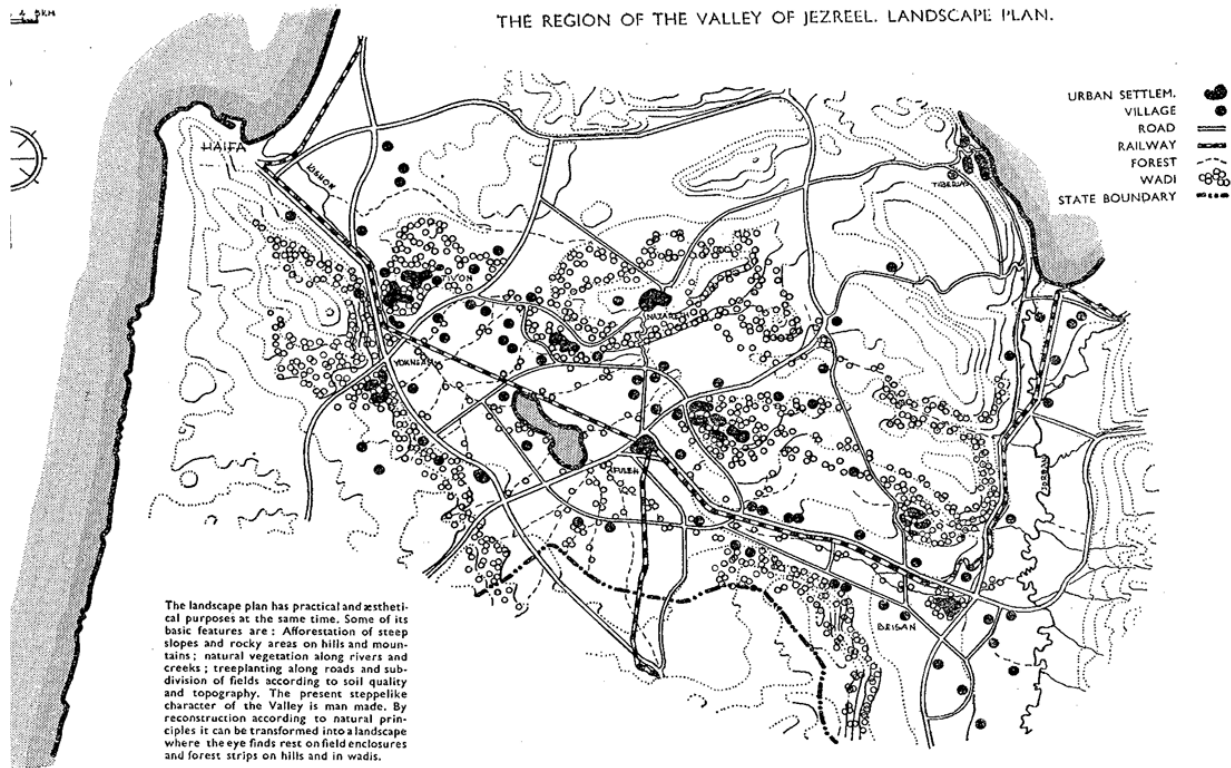


Fig. 39. Jezreel Valley Regional Plan, Landscape Plan (Source: *Regional Planning and Development*, 45)

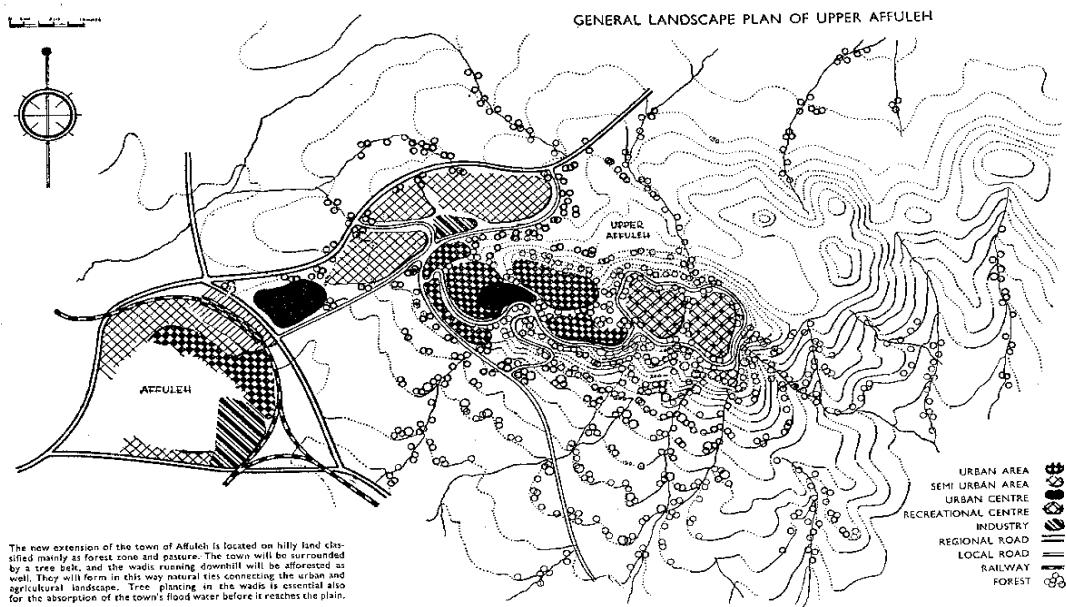


Fig. 40. Upper Afula Landscape Plan (Source: *Regional Planning and Development*, 47)

Lessons from Israeli Nation-Building

Whatever hopes Glikson had for his plans, the actual results on the ground were rather meager. According to Brutzkus, Glikson was often disappointed by the “gap between his vision and the (bitter) reality”—

He often lacked the sense to find the middle road between his vision and an assessment of the realistic chances [that it be implemented]. That’s why many of his planning initiatives did not meet the reality test and were not carried out. When far-reaching proposals were either rejected or disqualified, he was not always able to marshal the energy required to fight against plans that were too opportunistic and which ran counter to desirable planning policy.⁴¹³

Upon his return from the Netherlands in early 1951, he wrote to Mumford: “I see our weakness clearer than ever (I mean the distance or tension between Planning and Realization);”⁴¹⁴ and to Fuhrmann he wrote as early as 1949: “On my job I have quite interesting contacts with things going on and the attempt to coordinate and plan interrelations [,] town-county [,] etc. in the best way is a fascinating matter, though I know that the better half of it is to remain theory.”⁴¹⁵

In Israeli chronicles, he is best remembered for the incorporation of environmental criteria in determining the locations for new towns, especially in the region of which he was in charge. He succeeded in establishing Upper Afula and also Upper Tiberius [Fig. 41]. Both were built in the early 1950s in the respective locations that he determined, based on environmental and climatic considerations. Yet he failed to gain approval for his proposal for the location for the new town of Beit She’an. As well, his idea to locate the Technion’s campus by the Mount Carmel summit was also rejected.⁴¹⁶



Fig. 41. New Town Upper Tiberius Plan
(Source: GHU/14/6)

⁴¹³ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 232.

⁴¹⁴ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, March 14, 1951, LMP/22/1860.

⁴¹⁵ A. Glikson to E. Fuhrmann, February 26, 1949, TGA/G.F.0158.

⁴¹⁶ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 232.

Regional Planning: The Road to Global Peace

By contrast to these meager practical results, Glikson's first-hand experimentation as a senior member of the Planning Department (1948-1953) provided him with the basis for the formulation of his major theoretical leaps. In 1952, he delivered a series of lectures at the Technion, which already revealed the major thrust of his theoretical understanding of regional planning. Originally delivered in Hebrew, it was transformed into a book-length manuscript in English in 1955, providing the clearest and fullest manifestation of his thought.⁴¹⁷

Reading through Glikson's texts is a fascinating roadmap to mid-twentieth century literature on land conservation and environmentalism. Glikson, an avid reader and an autodidact, drew on an eclectic collection of readings, which captured the mid-twentieth century philosophic and scientific imagination concerning the environmental possibilities of modernity. With Fuhrmann's "biosophy" as his starting point, influences on Glikson ranged from Geddes, Dutch landscape architecture, American Wilderness advocates, conservationists and regionalists.

He combined all of these with popular geo-economic location theories, such as A. Weber's industrial location model and Christaller's Central Place model, which he used to explain spatial patterns of human activity.⁴¹⁸ The result was a blend of high-order historical, philosophical justifications and graph-based economic models, the latter serving as a tool which he used to render spatial processes legible and amenable to both prediction and intervention. The clarity of Glikson's writing enabled him to organize all of these factors into both a comprehensive analytical framework and a programme for action.

Glikson's planning approach drew on a deeply biologicistic worldview of humanity, rooted in Fuhrmann's "biosophy." Human and environmental evolution are interconnected "processes of change, constituting a whole life-system."⁴¹⁹ In the modern era, however, "man has become a pathogen, a disease of nature," and therefore "a revolutionary attitude is essential."⁴²⁰ A balanced environmental order, an equilibrium between man and environment, culture and biology, is the key to sustaining human continuity. Reestablishing these relations, having been damaged by the excessive exploitation of nature, requires that "the planning intellect of man" must be roused to action.⁴²¹

In so doing, the field of regional planning was to lead the way. Glikson proclaimed Regional Planning as "planning for regional ecology."⁴²² It was a new "scientific approach as well as socio-biological tendencies."⁴²³ As such, it required a radical rethinking of the field's fundamental tools: The standard notion of '**land use**', "with its overtone of regarding the land as

⁴¹⁷ Glikson, *Regional Planning and Development*. This was based on the Hebrew publication Artur Glikson, *Regional Reconstruction: Six Lectures Delivered at the Unit for Training of Engineers and Architects* (Haifa: Technion, 1953).

⁴¹⁸ Weber, *Über den Standort*, 1909; Christaller, *Die zentralen Orte*, 1933. See footnote 182.

⁴¹⁹ Glikson, "Man's Relationship to his Environment," in *Ecological Basis of Planning*, 1-2.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid*, 10.

⁴²¹ Artur Glikson, *Regional Reconstruction*, 9.

⁴²² Glikson, *Regional Planning and Development*, 39.

⁴²³ *Ibid*, 29.

an object for exploitation,” should be replaced with the term ‘**Reconstruction of Landscape**,’ “as used by the Dutch landscape architects.” In this way,

the landscape will no more be divided among barren ‘profitable’ regions and preserved ‘beautiful’ areas; it will be developed as a complete ecological unit and as a complete expression of the new attitude of a civilized society in the process of realizing its roles in the general natural cycles.⁴²⁴

What guided this spatial intervention was a historiosophic approach, rooted in Geddesian-Mumfordian concept of time and social evolution. Regional Planning was a practical programme for moving industrial civilization beyond the “Paleotechnic” epoch of metropolitan capitalism to the “Neotechnic” phase.⁴²⁵ In this process, present-day exploitation of natural resources at the thrall of short-term profits would give way to the rebirth of a society embedded within its natural regional environment.

For Fuhrmann and the Anglophone regionalists, this notion was undergirded by a deep fascination with pre-modern societies and their ability to “maintain the natural balance with the land, ensuring its permanent fertility and their livelihood.”⁴²⁶ The contemporary industrial age represented a break from the long history of human settlement as it co-existed with the natural environment. Regional Planning was meant to reconstruct this balance. It is—

a social expression aimed at the future. It is founded on the faith that the realization of the gravity of the situation, plus wisdom and goodwill, will launch society on a new road, where planning will march as one of the pioneers.⁴²⁷

Aware of the possible need to deflect future accusations that Regional Planning resonates as merely utopian and tinged with naiveté, he wrote that “any sincere and positive policy is partly based on Utopias.” He urged viewing Regional Planning as a “search for a practical way of a new tendency—which aims at a stable social life and the creation of a *modus vivendi* with the larger community of the Earth.”⁴²⁸

Geddes’ Survey Updated

Being a practical utopist, Glikson was eager to put these lofty aspirations into concrete and wide-scale action. This is best exemplified by his interpretation of the regional survey as a planning prerequisite. During the early 1950s, Glikson developed a survey technique that adapted Geddes’ triad to the postwar social, economic and technological realities.⁴²⁹ The goal was to introduce this

⁴²⁴ Ibid, 39.

⁴²⁵ On Geddes’ historiosophy, see Volker M. Welter, *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002); Helen Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner* (London; New York: Routledge, 1990).

⁴²⁶ Glikson, *Regional Planning and Development*, 29

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ See Glikson, “The Planner Geddes,” *Newsheet of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning*, 32 (1955), 12-15.

universally-applicable model into the context of state mechanisms and developmental policies around the world, replacing the prevailing modernist agenda.⁴³⁰

He explained that “as a leading idea, Geddes’ view of the threefold inter-relations of Folk, Work and Place seems to me immeasurably more fruitful than the rather technological C.I.A.M. definition of ‘Living, Working, Recreation, Circulation’ as the keys to town planning.”⁴³¹ Glikson’s integrative planning method was predicated on an exploration of both pre-modern and present environmental orders and their interrelations.⁴³² His goal was “to tie regional surveys and planning methods closely” to the idea of “inter-relations, as Geddes meant it”[emphasis in the original].⁴³³

Glikson expanded Geddes’ original triad to a grid of all nine possible combinations: Folk - sociology and demography, Place - physical-geographical research and Work - economic activity [Fig. 42-43]. Each combination was to be surveyed by the appropriate set of expertise required, and the results were to be presented in maps, models or written reports, according to the aspect explored. The updated survey was to engage a multidisciplinary taskforce of experts in various fields from across social and natural sciences, covering the most important aspects of the regional life, and thereby replacing the “unlimited extension or the superficial passing-over of surveys”.⁴³⁴

The architect-planner, *primus inter pares*, was to coordinate these operations. As discussed earlier in the chapter, for Glikson, regional planning was the culmination of his professional journey, an attempt to elevate the architectural act and to “integrate” it with a far-reaching vision of a new way of life. He envisioned regional planning as the key for global unity, reconciling “the East-West problem,” and bringing about peaceful social and environmental stability.⁴³⁵

⁴³⁰ These principles were articulated in his lecture series in the Hague, which later appeared in Glikson, *Regional Planning and Development: Six Lectures Delivered at the Institute of Social Studies, at the Hague*.

⁴³¹ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, April 16, 1953, LMP/22/1860. On Geddes’ impact on Team X, see Volker M. Welter, “Post-War CIAM, Team X, and the Influence of Patrick Geddes,” in *Conference on Team X between Modernity and Everyday*, 2003.

⁴³² Glikson presented four phases of environmental order: Basic Past, Historic Past, the Present (survey), and the Action in the Future. This model reflected Geddes’ evolutionary concept of the Valley Section.

⁴³³ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, April 16, 1953, LMP/22/1860.

⁴³⁴ Ibid. Glikson expanded Geddes’ original triad to a grid of all nine possible combinations. Each combination was to be surveyed by the appropriate set of expertise required, and the results were to be presented in maps, models or written reports, according to the aspect explored. **Folk** was to be explored by sociology and demography, **Place** by physical-geographical research and **Work** was understood as economic activity.

⁴³⁵ Just as Geddes beforehand, Glikson was especially drawn to the problems of regional planning in India. However, his plan in 1952 to leave service in Israel and work in India for several years did not materialize. See p. 109.

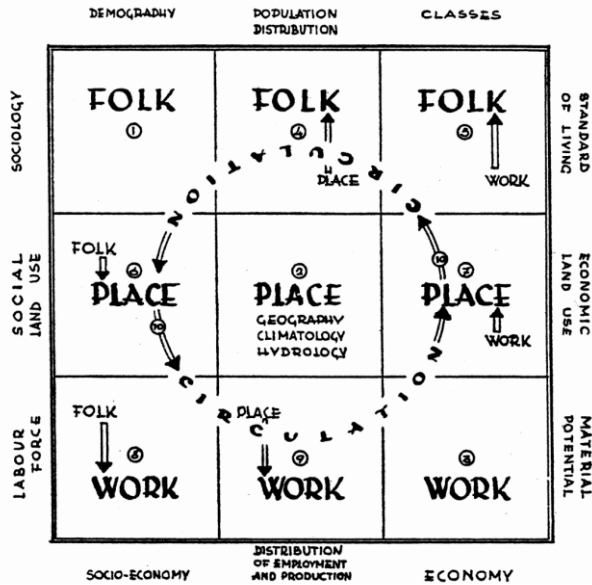


Fig. 42. Geddes' Triad, as appears in Glikson (Source: Regional Planning and Development, 79)

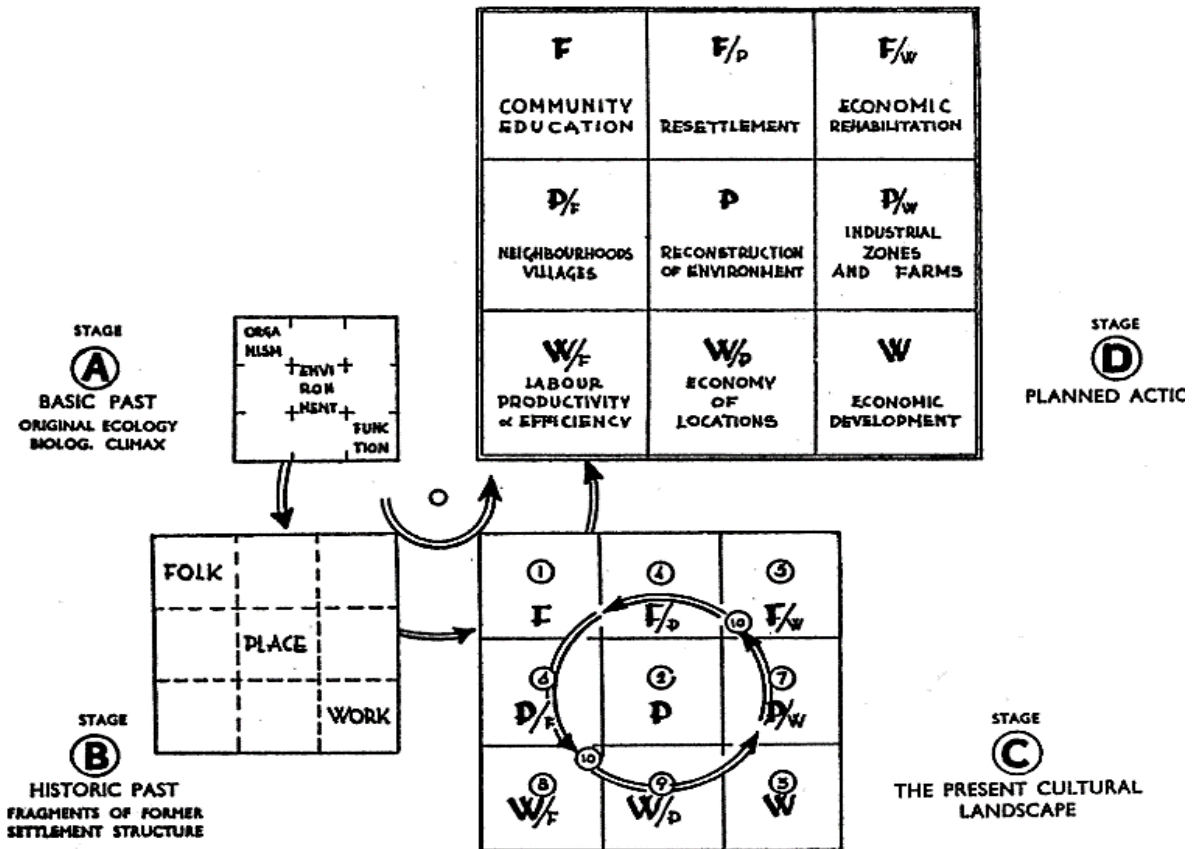


Fig. 43. Glikson's theoretical outline of phases and integrative planning, based on Geddes' triad (Source: Regional Planning and Development, 83)

Glikson's Emergence as a Transnational Regional Planner: 1950-1966

Glikson began to emerge in the 1950s and 1960s as an international expert on environmental regional planning. Highly attuned to the growing discontent with the modernist city which had arisen in the second half of the 1950s on both sides of the Atlantic, he sought to build an international network of like-minded experts and intellectuals who would offer an alternative way of thought through both their individual and collective work. Operating from the fringes, in Israel, Glikson was constantly in search of collaborations with those from among architects, planners, geographers, artists, and scientists whom he identified as sharing a “discontent by modern reality” and a pursuit of the “deeper truth.”

During those years, he built up an extensive network of connections. In North America, he was increasingly drawn to the American conservationist movement, and especially to the RPAA people. He developed a warm personal friendship and active intellectual exchange with Mumford, Geddes' best-known disciple and one of the leading critics of postwar modernist urbanism. Both were united in their rejection of the omnipresent design practices à-la CIAM, which were “too mechanistic, too arbitrary, too much influenced by spectacular showmanship.”⁴³⁶

In Europe, he tapped into the vanguard of the architectural debate revolving around the crisis of modernism. He collaborated with the dissident Team X group, and was in close contact with the Le Carré Bleu group, founded by André Schimmerling.⁴³⁷ As such, he was in contact with the ideas of French urbanism and the team of Georges Candilis, Alexis Josic, and Shadrach Woods.⁴³⁸

In September 1965, Glikson was invited by Van Eyck to a Team X meeting in Berlin, held in the Academy of Arts on Hansaplatz. This was the first time in 30 years that he had returned to the city, a place in which he “violently disliked being.”⁴³⁹ His high hopes for what “should have been a great occasion” to introduce his ideas to the group, however, were dashed. “The main reason being probably,” he suggested, “my own inability to raise interest and a good discussion on my work in Kiryath Gat [the Experimental Habitational Unit].”⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁶ Mumford, Introduction to *The Ecological Basis of Planning*, xiv.

⁴³⁷ “Artur Glikson,” Model House - Mapping Transcultural Modernisms, accessed May 21, 2017, <http://transculturalmodernism.org/article/175>.

⁴³⁸ “Artur Glikson,” Model House.

⁴³⁹ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, November 24, 1965, LMP/22/1860; Warhaftig, *They Laid the Foundations*, 363. For further information on the meeting and its outcomes, see “Berlin (Germany) 25-29 September 1965,” Team 10 Online, accessed May 21, 2017, <http://www.team10online.org/>.

⁴⁴⁰ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, November 24, 1965, LMP/22/1862. Glikson's response to the meeting can be found in A. Glikson, “Comment to Team X Meeting, September 25-29,” Berlin,” November 19, 1965, LMP/22/1862. On Glikson's encounter with Team X, see also Rachel Kallus, “Nation-Building Modernism and European Post-War Debates: Glikson's ‘Integral Habitational Unit’ and Team 10 Discourse,” *Arq: Architectural Research Quarterly* 18, no. 02 (June 2014): 123–133.

Of Team X, he was especially impressed with Aldo Van Eyck, “by far the most interesting of the group, ingenious and charming as a person and an architect.”⁴⁴¹ A private tour that Van Eyck gave him of his Amsterdam Orphanage project won Glikson’s enthusiasm for the structure: “I had never felt better in modern architecture.”⁴⁴² It was “the realized unification of the urbanistic and architectural approach to design [...] I had a feeling of having visited an architecture I had been hoping for, and if I would be better, I had found it myself.” However, “Van Eyck and his friends,” despite their good intentions, were not able to recognize the link between their attempts at establishing a “humanized architecture” and the groundwork laid by Geddes and Mumford. They “consider themselves beginners where they should represent **‘continuers.’** That the real architectural revolution would begin with some Continuity has not yet been understood.”⁴⁴³ [emphasis added].

Glikson reached out to other leading figures as well. These included planner Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, a founding mother of postwar urbanism (with whom, unsurprisingly, Glikson “disagreed on practically everything, but in a friendly way”);⁴⁴⁴ the Greek architect Dimitris Pikionis (with whom Glikson was especially impressed);⁴⁴⁵ the German-Jewish architect Otto Königsberger; Geddes’ biographer, Philip Mairet; and the British planner and writer Thomas Sharp.⁴⁴⁶

Reworking Fuhrmann’s Ideas: The ‘Geistige’

During those years, Glikson belonged to a group of German-speaking Jewish intellectuals who later immigrated to Palestine, on whom Fuhrmann’s teachings had made a particular impact. Members included the philosopher and Jewish theologian, Yoseph Schechter (Schächter) (1901-1994), a participant of the Viennese Circle who later inspired the local “Schechterist” Jewish renewal movement, architect Paul Engelmann (1891-1965), arguably the closest pupil of the modernist theorist Adolf Loos and a family friend of Ludwig Wittgenstein, the educator and founder of the progressive high school Tikhon Hadash, Tony Halle (1890-1964), and her partner, the philosopher Gustav Steinschneider (1899-1981).⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴¹ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, November 24, 1965, LMP/22/1862.

⁴⁴² A. Glikson to L. Mumford, March 7, 1962, LMP/22/1862.

⁴⁴³ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, February 20, 1962, LMP/22/1862.

⁴⁴⁴ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, May 1, 1965, LMP/22/1862.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, January 24, 1954, LMP/22/1861.

⁴⁴⁷ On Engelmann, see Warhaftig, *They Laid the Foundation*, 248-265. Especially interesting is Schechter’s description of the relationship between Englemann and Wittgenstein and the manner by which he builds on Englemann to discuss Wittgenstein’s thought. See Schechter, *Judaism and Education*, 161-195, esp. 161-187. Schechter, a pupil of Moritz Schlick, immigrated to Palestine in 1938 and was especially known for his attraction to Jewish mysticism. A group of his students, who gathered around his persona, became known as the “The Schechterists” and they established the rural community Yodfat, whose focus on was on creating a form of spiritual-ecological community life. The extent to which Schechter and Glikson collaborated directly is still not clear. In 1946, Glikson contributed an article, “Gedanken über Architektur und Gesellschaft,” to an essay collection on Loos initiated by Engelmann and Schechter. Paul Engelmann and Joseph Schechter, eds., *A True Style: In Memory of Adolf Loos* (Tel Aviv: Self-Published, 1946), 27-32.

It seems that the central member of the group was Schmuel Paul Guttfeld, who was virtually unknown, compared with the other group members, most of whom were public figures. Born in Berlin in 1891, Guttfeld was agricultural instructor by training, and an intimate friend of Fuhrmann.⁴⁴⁸ Prior to his emigration to Palestine, he worked at *Folkwang Verlag* a German art publishing house which Fuhrmann managed.⁴⁴⁹ It appears that Guttfeld was treated as the authority on Fuhrmann by the other group members.⁴⁵⁰ After 1948, Guttfeld served in the Ministry of Agriculture, where he took particular interest in promoting the idea of compost and its uses.⁴⁵¹

From what we know, this group formed what Glikson called (in a different context), “a study-group of intellectuals (‘*Geistige*’).”⁴⁵² Such an initiative was not unusual within the landscape of the German-speaking émigré community in Mandate Palestine.⁴⁵³ A previous attempt by Glikson to establish a reading group with the philosopher Martin Buber in Jerusalem, for instance, had failed.⁴⁵⁴ By contrast, the Fuhrmann study group would gather in Guttfeld’s home in the Haifa suburb of Kiryat Biyalik. They would discuss ways to adapt Fuhrmann’s “biosophy” to the postwar era, applying it both to the national endeavor and beyond.⁴⁵⁵ Vestiges of their collective interest in Fuhrmann can be found, for instance, in Schechter’s (1966, 1968) lofty musings and Guttfeld’s (1956) practical attempt to promote recycling of organic waste.⁴⁵⁶

There appears to have been an especially strong connection between Glikson and both Fuhrmann and Guttfeld, going back to Glikson’s days as a student in Berlin. Glikson corresponded separately with both of them at least from the early 1930s.⁴⁵⁷ When Guttfeld’s son, Michael, was killed in the 1948 War, Glikson took upon himself to convey the tragic news to Fuhrmann.⁴⁵⁸ Moreover, both Glikson and Guttfeld separately visited Fuhrmann at his New York home in Flushing, in the early 1950s.

⁴⁴⁸ Guttfeld Schmuel Paul, “Application for Palestinian Citizenship,” May 19, 1939, ISA/M-6300/52.

⁴⁴⁹ Folder Description, TGA/G.F.0158.

⁴⁵⁰ See for example, Guttfeld, quoted in Schechter, *Judaism and Education*, 214.

⁴⁵¹ Schmuel Paul Guttfeld, *The Compost and its Production*, ed. Nahman Teradion (Tel Aviv: Sifriyat ha-s’adeh, 1956).

⁴⁵² A. Glikson to L. Mumford, July 19, 1952, LMP/22/1860.

⁴⁵³ The German-speaking community that found refuge in Palestine after 1933 was especially vibrant, culturally and intellectually. Imbued with a distinct German-humanist elitist identity, and being highly organized, the community maintained its homeland culture in different forms via social associations, publications, magazines and various informal social- intellectual networks. Much has been written about the cultural and intellectual life of these first-generation émigrés in Palestine. See, for example, Curt D. Wormann, “German Jews in Israel: Their Cultural Situation since 1933,” *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 15, no. 1 (1970): 73–103; Adi Gordon, *In Palestine: In a Foreign Land* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2004). On the German-Jewish émigré community, see also Chapter 3.

⁴⁵⁴ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, July 19, 1952, LMP/22/1860.

⁴⁵⁵ Avigail Shefer recalls joining Glikson in one of the group’s meeting in Kiryat Biyalik. Interview by author, June 2016, Tel Aviv.

⁴⁵⁶ Joseph Schechter, *Chapters in the Thought of Ernst Fuhrmann* (Self-Published, 1968); *Judaism and Education*, 214-252; Guttfeld, Schmuel Paul. *The Compost and its Preparation*.

⁴⁵⁷ The exchange with Fuhrmann dates from at least 1933 until close to Fuhrmann’s death in 1956, and with Guttfeld, at least between the years 1931 until 1943, when both were already in Palestine. Both sets of correspondence can be found in TGA/G.F.0158.

⁴⁵⁸ A. Glikson to E. Fuhrmann, April 4, 1948, TGA/G.F.0158.

The letters between Glikson and Fuhrmann reflect a mentor-disciple relationship. In the spirit of the Germanic humanist tradition, they are replete with philosophical musings and literary references from Kafka, Kierkegaard, Shakespeare, alongside personal and emotional exchanges. Glikson's admiration for Fuhrmann is present throughout. On one occasion, Glikson confessed that "Every day since Years [I am] trying to live with thoughts of your seed—why should I deny it—[...] I have to say I often tried to escape your way of thinking and rediscovered your thoughts on my way or escaped them only a very little."⁴⁵⁹ On another occasion, he wrote to Fuhrmann: "Mr. Gutfeld is right, when he tell[s] me, that I have not learned very much from you. It is true that I have been a stupid pupil of yours."⁴⁶⁰

When Glikson visited Fuhrmann in New York in 1950, he viewed it as an opportunity to seek practical guidance for his planning work in Israel. Fuhrmann advised him that "the better geologic and topographic maps you bring along the better may it be possible really to have a few good ideas about planning there."⁴⁶¹ And, in early 1949, Glikson, as a freshly minted state planner, reported to Fuhrmann on his "little collaboration with his [Gutfeld's] compost matters."⁴⁶²

That said, the group has left behind very few traces of their interest in Fuhrmann. Yet, there is a clear sense that this milieu of German-Jewish exiles regarded themselves as cultural transmitters.⁴⁶³ Viewing their Germanic intellectual sensibilities, and their distinct political and cultural sensibilities, as crucial in this process, they were eager to participate in the building of a new postwar world. They were aware, however, of the limitations of operating from the geographical and cultural periphery of Palestine/Israel. An indication of their aspirations is suggested in Steinschneider's reproach of Glikson. Steinschneider, who came from a background of political activism, was the younger brother of Adolf-Mortiz Steinschneider, a prominent anti-Nazi lawyer and a follower of Fuhrman.⁴⁶⁴ In Glikson's last letter to Mumford before his sudden death, Glikson wrote—

My friend Gustav Steinschneider told me just last night, though not the first time: "You – he was talking about you and me – have to transmit something of central importance, - a new awareness and a program of action – to the people [...] but instead you are becoming even more 'specialists in universalism,' your writings are not accessible and understandable as they should be.

Glikson, on his part, regretfully shared this sentiment, expressing his own doubts about the efficacy of his "own brief publications" which are becoming "ever more esoteric."⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁵⁹ A. Glikson to E. Fuhrmann, February 24, 1948, TGA/G.F.0158.

⁴⁶⁰ A. Glikson to E. Fuhrmann, June 9, 1943, TGA/G.F.0158.

⁴⁶¹ E. Fuhrmann to A. Glikson, n.d., TGA/G.F.0158.

⁴⁶² A. Glikson to E. Fuhrmann, February 26, 1949, TGA/G.F.0158.

⁴⁶³ See footnote 362.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.* On Adolf-Mortiz Steinschneider, see "Adolf Moritz Steinschneider Archiv," accessed April 20, 2017, <http://www.steinschneider.net/english/amst.htm>.

⁴⁶⁵ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, April 11, 1966, LMP/22/1862.

Building a Transatlantic Regionalist Camp: Mumford and Glikson

Glikson and Mumford first met in 1950 in New York. According to Mumford: “we became friends at first sight.”⁴⁶⁶ Glikson, on his part, commented once: “whenever one encounters a man, who really seems to understand one’s particular “language,” it is again one of the best (and very rare) events in life.”⁴⁶⁷ The two embarked upon a relationship that included written exchanges and occasional meetings, ending only with Glikson’s untimely death in 1966.

On one side, there was the 55-year-old distinguished American public intellectual; on the other, a young, relatively unknown, German-Israeli practitioner. For Glikson, 16 years Mumford’s minor, this relationship was indispensable. It provided the young planner from the Middle East with unmediated access to the latest developments coming from the Anglophone world as distilled by one of its leading public intellectuals. His exchange with Mumford served as a laboratory for refinement of his thoughts and a source of constant intellectual stimulation. He often consulted with Mumford, testing new ideas and sharing thoughts on various reading that he had done, especially Mumford’s recommendation.⁴⁶⁸ [Fig. 44].

Mumford, for his part, seemed to be preparing Glikson to assume a leading role among the younger generation of practitioners, cultivating him to be a carrier of the Geddesian-Mumfordian regionalist tradition. In the 1920s, Mumford was a member of the Regional Planning Association of America” (RPAA)—perhaps the most profound, yet ultimately failed, attempt in the US to promote a regionalist alternative to the capitalist metropolis. Core members of this New York-based group, which rarely exceeded a membership of 20, included Mumford, Clarence Stein, Benton MacKaye and Henry Wright.⁴⁶⁹ After 1945, in face of mass suburbanization and the seemingly uncontrollable expansion of ‘Metropolitan America,’ their ultimate failure to carve out a new regionalist path was apparent. Postwar Mumford had grown to become an overall pessimist, for which he acquired his later reputation as “a prophet of the doom.”⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁶ L. Mumford to A. Glikson, quoted in Andrew Glikson, *The Event Horizon: Imagining the Real* (Fyshwick, Australian Capital Territory: Union Offset, 2016), 81.

⁴⁶⁷ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, March 14, 1951, LMP/22/1860.

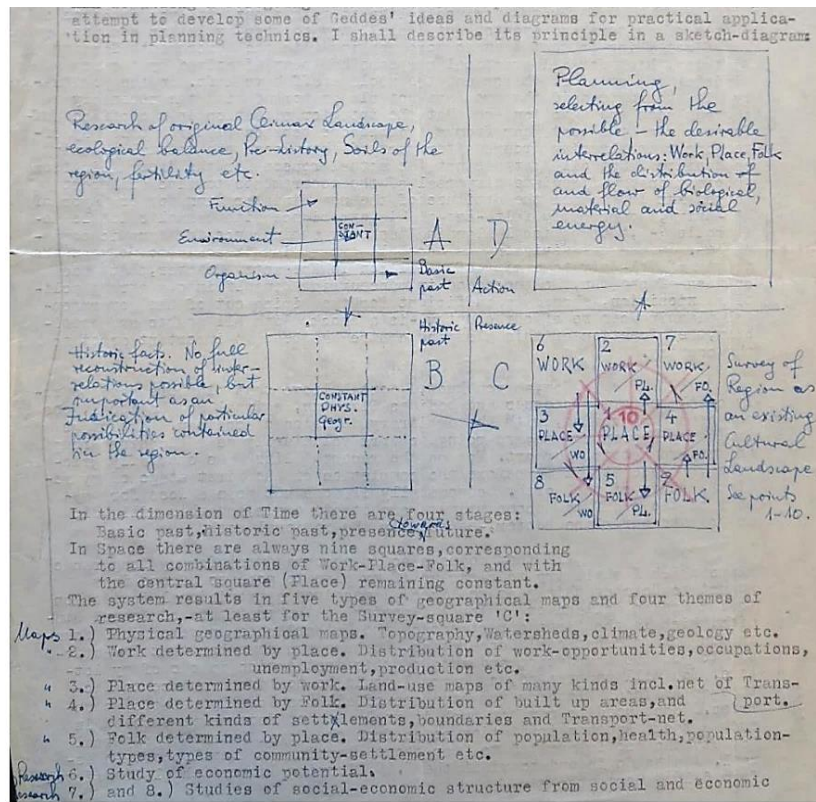
⁴⁶⁸ In the background, there were practical aspects to this intellectual alliance as well. Glikson sought Mumford’s assistance in publishing in English, consulted with him on various career matters; on one occasion in the early 1960’s, Mumford wrote Glikson a letter of recommendation for a job application at the Technion. These can be found in LMP/22/1860-1862.

⁴⁶⁹ Much has been written about the RPAA as well as the relationship between Mumford and his mentor Geddes, and the latter’s immense influence on the American regionalists. For a useful overview, see John L. Thomas, “Regional Visionaries: Benton MacKaye, Lewis Mumford, the Regional Planning Association of America, and the Region,” in *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual*, ed. Thomas P. and Agatha C. Hughes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 49–66. On Mumford and the RPAA, see Mark Luccarelli, *Lewis Mumford and the Ecological Region: The Politics of Planning* (Guilford Press, 1997); Robert L. Dorman, *Revolt of the Provinces: The Regionalist Movement in America, 1920-1945* (University of North Carolina Press, 2003). The exchange between Mumford and Geddes has been published in Frank G. Novak, ed., *Lewis Mumford and Patrick Geddes: The Correspondence* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

⁴⁷⁰ Ramachandra Guha, “Lewis Mumford: The Forgotten American Environmentalist: An Essay in Rehabilitation,” *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 2, no. 3 (1991), 79.

Mumford's encounter with Glikson seems to have provided him with a source of at least temporary optimism. Mumford saw in Glikson "the intellectual and moral leader of generation," a young idealist practitioner who was imbued with a true regionalist mentality, albeit of a Central European brand.⁴⁷¹ Rooted in Geddes' regionalism and Garden City principles, the RPAA promoted the idea of the "regional city" as a social reformist response to the problems of the congested industrial cities, and advocated the idea of decentralized satellite cities. According to urban scholar Emily Talen, the RPAA attempted to fashion "a new ideal that was simultaneously pragmatic, idealistic, and dedicated to reform."⁴⁷² As such, two distinguished features guided the RPAA's work: rejection of the large metropolis and a deep connection to the "notion of the ecological region."⁴⁷³ These two principles might well serve to explain Mumford's enthusiasm for Glikson's thought and his spirit of engagement.

Fig. 44. Glikson consulting with Mumford on his planning model (Source: A. Glikson to L. Mumford, April 16, 1953, LMP/22/1860)



Mumford had deep respect for Glikson, both as a theorist and a practitioner of regionalism. In Glikson's regional plan for Crete in the 1960, Mumford saw the last of a line of exemplary regional plans, "carrying further those [plans] begun in the Netherlands, in Israel, in the Rhone Valley, or the New Towns of Britain", the latter of which Mumford especially admired.⁴⁷⁴ Regarding Glikson's "Regional Reconstruction" (1955), Mumford, in his *magnum opus* "City in History" (1961), commented that it is "perhaps the best treatise in English on the

⁴⁷¹ L. Mumford to A. Glikson, quoted in Andrew Glikson, *The Event Horizon*, 81.

⁴⁷² Emily Talen, *New Urbanism and American Planning: The Conflict of Cultures* (Routledge, 2005), 213.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Mumford, Introduction, *The Ecological Basis of Planning*, xviii; Talen, 228.

philosophy of regional planning since Benton MacKaye's lonely classic *The New Exploration*.⁴⁷⁵ Indeed, MacKaye's "regionalist manifesto" from 1928 was a work that Glikson admired as well, and he discussed it at length in his letters to Mumford.⁴⁷⁶

Nonetheless, whether Mumford took seriously the work of Fuhrmann, Glikson's mentor, remains uncertain. Yet, Mumford did acknowledge Fuhrman's formative role in Glikson's intellectual gestation. He explained that "in Glikson's development the same role [played by Geddes] had in turn been played by Fuhrmann."⁴⁷⁷ This is why "we were drawn to the same constellation of ideas, represented to him by Fuhrmann, and to me by Geddes."⁴⁷⁸ Fuhrmann, however, was still secondary to Mumford's own teacher, Geddes. Fuhrmann was "one of those many German thinkers [...] who had resisted the purely mechanistic interpretation of nature," while "Geddes, with his gift for systematic thinking, enlarged and gave sharpness to the more intuitive approach of Fuhrmann."⁴⁷⁹

Glikson, for his part, constantly tried to raise Mumford's interest in Fuhrmann's ideas and to integrate the continental and American branches of a broader environmental consciousness. For instance, when *The City in History* came out, Glikson tried to explain to Mumford Fuhrmann's relevance to the Mumford's work:

The conflict between the 'deeper reality' discovered by imagination, and the historic reality could be solved, if we would succeed in developing a biological approach to happening in men's lives. We are still far from it. Fuhrmann has tried it many times sometimes with surprising discoveries which some people, myself among them, would accept.⁴⁸⁰

After Fuhrmann's death in 1957, Glikson urges Mumford to consider "the importance of preserving" Fuhrmann's "fantastic ideas, which are so much ahead of what we understand today."⁴⁸¹

In a particularly revealing moment, Glikson tried convey to Mumford the bygone German intellectual universe and Fuhrmann's immense influence on him. Upon Fuhrmann's death in 1956, he wrote:⁴⁸²

I don't know if you remember his name, which I mentioned to you several times. I think I even once suggested to you a meeting. For me he has been the greatest inspiration of my life, as simple as that.

⁴⁷⁵ Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York, N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, Inc, 1961), 598.

⁴⁷⁶ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, December 14, 1951, LMP/22/1860.

⁴⁷⁷ Mumford, Introduction, *The Ecological Basis of Planning*, xii.

⁴⁷⁸ L. Mumford to A. Glikson, quoted in Andrew Glikson, *The Event Horizon*, 81.

⁴⁷⁹ Mumford, Introduction, *The Ecological Basis of Planning*, xii.

⁴⁸⁰ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, October 12, 1957, LMP/22/1861, 5.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² A. Glikson to L. Mumford, January 10, 1957, LMP/22/1861.

Glikson further explains-

He was and remains a fierce and lasting provocation in the best sense, with his mixture of impossibilities, lack of public success, (practically: on principle) “wholesale” criticism concerning the present social realities, and on the other side the most far-sighted and in a way most hopeful realism, based on wisdom and a deep knowledge of biological context and processes from amoeba [sic] to man. A most troubled existence, and at the same time a most tender personality and, at times, the best friend one could dream of.

Unfortunately, during the last few years he felt, I think, a little disappointed with my activities and our relationship was not what it had been. Yet, I think and hope, that I shall have to produce more and more what I have learnt from Fuhrmann (it was more than learning, but I find it difficult to give you in a few sentences the impression of what it all amounts to).

Glikson and the American Regionalists

Following Mumford’s guidance, Glikson probed more deeply into the writings of the RPAA regionalists in the early 1950s.⁴⁸³ By that time, their ideas had largely lost currency. The group itself had dissolved already in the early 1930s. And, “Regional Science,” a policy-driven field geared towards metropolitan development and economic stimulation, came to dominate the field of planning, thereby banishing earlier regionalism into a mere historical footnote. By the 1970s, when the environmentalist movement in the United States emerged, the RPAA and Mumford were not part of its self-conscious “genealogy and pantheon of heroes.”⁴⁸⁴

Nevertheless, Glikson’s belated discovery of the RPAA circle had been a stimulating one. The American Wilderness advocates (MacKaye), the conservationists (Leopold), and the New Towns advocates (Stein)— all represented for him a constellation of ideas that lead to a new ethics and programme of human settlement. As he explained: “Geddes’ *Cities in Evolution* and Aldo Leopold and all these works [Mumford, MacKaye and Stein] seem to me to tend towards the formation of ONE new mental kernel” [emphasis original].⁴⁸⁵

His writings from the 1950s and 1960s are replete with references to MacKaye, Mumford and Aldo Leopold, as he carefully interweaves their work with the ideas of Fuhrmann and Geddes, yielding a fascinating synthesis of thought. In addition, he actively reached out to his new American like-minded allies, the surviving members of the RPAA, from MacKaye to Aldo

⁴⁸³ According to Mumford, he was the one who introduced Glikson to his like-minded colleagues in North America. In Mumford, Introduction, *The Ecological Basis of Planning*, xiii. However, Mumford’s claim that he was the one who introduced Patrick Geddes’ work to Glikson seems exaggerated. Geddes, who had operated in Palestine by the invitation of Zionist institutions, was already well-known within local professional circles. He was especially known for his urban plan of Tel Aviv (1924) as well as his unrealized plan for the Hebrew University. See Noah Hysler-Rubin, *Patrick Geddes and Town Planning: A Critical View* (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge, 2011).

⁴⁸⁴ Guha, “Lewis Mumford,” 68. I thank Professor Kerwin Klein for drawing my attention to this point.

⁴⁸⁵ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, July 1, 1957, LMP/22/1860.

and Clarence Stein.⁴⁸⁶ And, he also met with the Bay Area-based housing advocate, Catherine Bauer, another member.⁴⁸⁷

Glikson was especially impressed with MacKaye, being one of those “mental outsiders who have attracted my attention as individuals and with ideas.”⁴⁸⁸ MacKaye’s work on “indigenous landscape” resonated well with Glikson’s earlier appreciation for the environmental wisdom of “primitive cultures,” a tenet of Fuhrmann’s theory.⁴⁸⁹ Ever practical, he concluded that MacKaye’s notions on “indigenous landscape, rural and city life, the flow of population and commodities, habitability, and active and passive recreation, constitute most essential building stones of regional planning.”⁴⁹⁰ In his 1964-65 plan for the island of Crete, Glikson already used these new insights, drawing upon MacKaye’s Appalachian Trail for a Cretan trail that would serve as a backbone of primeval wilderness for the entire island [Fig. 45]. He asked Mumford to inform his close associate MacKaye that “he is an inspiration for Landscape Planning on Crete, where the creation (or re-creation) of a ‘Cretan Trail’ is the most natural thing to do.”⁴⁹¹ On a different occasion, he consulted Mumford whether to dedicate an article he wrote to MacKaye, given the latter’s immense impact on him.⁴⁹² Another source of inspiration was Aldo Leopold’s 1949, *A Sand County*.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁶ Glikson began corresponding with both MacKaye and Stein in the early 1950s. His impressions from this correspondence, which he shares with Mumford, can be found in LMP/22/1860.

⁴⁸⁷ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, August 14, 1959, LMP/22/1862.

⁴⁸⁸ A. Glikson to L. Mumford, December 14, 1951, LMP/22/1860.

⁴⁸⁹ See Gutfeld, quoted in Schechter, *Judaism and Education*, 214.

⁴⁹⁰ Glikson, “Recreational Land Use,” in *Ecological Basis of Planning*, 35. MacKaye’s Habitability is a key term in Glikson’s concept of regional planning. “Planning for Habitability” was the opening topic of his six-lecture publication. See Glikson, “The Background of Regional Planning,” *Regional Planning and Development*, 7-12.

⁴⁹¹ Glikson to L. Mumford, May 1, 1965, LMP/22/1862.

⁴⁹² A. Glikson to L. Mumford, January 24, 1954, LMP/22/1861.

⁴⁹³ Glikson’s lectures are replete with references to Leopold’s text. See, for example, Glikson, *Regional Reconstruction*, 66. Some of Glikson’s first-hand impressions are also discussed in A. Glikson to L. Mumford, February 19, 1952, LMP/22/1862.

A particularly interesting moment was the 1955 Wenner-Gren conference, “Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth”, held at Princeton. Arguably the “first major environmental conference in modern times,” it was organized—in addition to Mumford—by Carl Sauer, a pioneer in human geography, who was an American champion for the idea of cultural landscapes.⁴⁹⁴ Glikson contributed a philosophical essay, “Man’s Relationship to the Environment,” in the substantial volume that followed the conference, a project dedicated by Carl Sauer to George Perkins Marsh, the nineteenth-century founding father of American environmentalism.⁴⁹⁵

However, whatever expectations the organizers may have had, the conference seems to have had little impact on the community of planners or the environmentalist movement that would emerge in the following decade. Glikson, however, seems to have taken it seriously. It stimulated him to ponder the possibility of developing “a most realistic and profound program of research” that would reconcile regionalist “ideals of Health” and “wholeness” with the “ideals of civilizatory [sic] progress” and technology.⁴⁹⁶

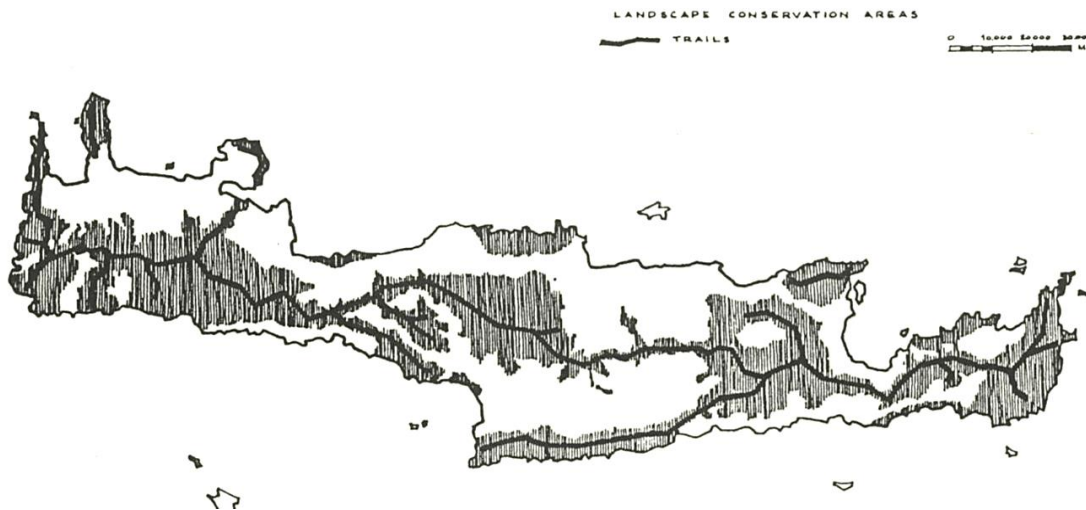


Fig. 45. The Cretan Trail, 1964 (Source: *Planned Regional Settlement Projects*, 73)

Glikson and Contemporary Environmentalism

Glikson’s career was dedicated to the pursuit of modernity’s lost qualities of “wholeness,” “balance,” and an “organic” sense of life. His tale is one of “integration:” between high-order environmental ethics and practical planning, Europe and America, interwar thought and postwar realities, and, above all, modern civilization and the natural environment. Like his modernist

⁴⁹⁴ David D. Kemp, *Exploring Environmental Issues: An Integrated Approach* (Psychology Press, 2004), 14. The idea of cultural landscape featured prominently in Glikson’s survey methodology. Sauer himself, in turn, was deeply influenced by fin-de-siècle German regionalist geography.

⁴⁹⁵ See Michael Williams, “Sauer and “Man’s Role in Changing the Face of the Earth,”” *Geographical Review*, 1987, 218–231. Other participants include the architect Albert Mayer, who is known for his innovative design work in India, and the geographer Clarence Glacken. For a list of participants, see “Man’s Role in Changing the Face of the Earth, The Wenner-Gren Foundation,” accessed June 30, 2016, <http://www.wennergren.org/history/conferences-seminars-symposia/wenner-gren-symposia/cumulative-list-wenner-gren-symposia/we-80>.

⁴⁹⁶ Glikson to L. Mumford, June 23, 1956, LMP/22/1861.

contemporaries, he was imbued with a utopian desire to transform social and spatial realities through state power, only utilizing it to provide an alternative ecological programme. In face of the postwar built landscape *à la* International Modernism, his ecological credo highlights an alternative path and a source of cultural renewal.

His journey from the hotbed of Berlin Modernism to the American wilderness conservationists and regionalists points not only a potentially continued strand of environmental thought within twentieth-century urbanism and planning but also one which extends to present-day environmentalism and sustainability discourse. Growing scholarly attention is turning to the American regionalists as a precursor to present-day environmentalism and in particular, rehabilitating Mumford as a harbinger of environmental consciousness.⁴⁹⁷ In this context, Glikson's work, and his affinity with Mumford and the American regionalists, has become especially intriguing. Indeed, Glikson's planning credo presaged many of the central issues that frame the present global environmental crisis, from biodiversity and resource renewal to waste management, water pollution, food production and sustainable development.

Alongside this celebratory narrative, Glikson's story also draws attention to ethical tensions within environmentalist attitudes. Glikson's state-led experimentation in ecological planning, what ultimately paved the way for his international career, was predicated on mass dislocation of the Palestinian population and, in turn, an ethnically exclusive mass settlement campaign on the depopulated vast lands (see chapter 5). Glikson, in this sense, failed to give recognition to the native Palestinian community, and the realities of disjuncture and rupture—the polar opposite to “integration” and “harmony”—on which his lofty experimentation was predicated. Ironically, this community had maintained, prior to its dislocation, the type of balanced, “organic” connection with the natural setting so admired by Glikson and his like-minded environmentalists.

One way or another, further work is still needed to delve into Glikson's vast body of conceptual and practical work in order to fully appreciate his original contribution to planning, housing and ecological thought. Until then, we are left to ponder Mumford's parting words from Glikson: “Such leaders must often wait quietly, for a generation or two, if needed, before their quality is fully recognized.”⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁷ Talen, for instance, views the RPAA as a precursor to “present-day environmentalism”. She draws a direct line between the work of Geddes, MacKaye and Mumford, to Ian McHarg's ecological planning in the 1960s-1970s and to the contemporary environmentalist movement. See Talen, 213-250, esp. 213. Aaron Sachs highlights Mumford as a “harbinger of green urbanism” and Guha wishes to restore his role as a key thinker in shaping the American environmental movement. See Aaron Sachs, “Lewis Mumford's Urbanism and the Problem of Environmental Modernity,” *Environmental History* 21, no. 4 (October 1, 2016): 638–59; Guha, “Lewis Mumford.”

⁴⁹⁸ Mumford, Introduction, *The Ecological Basis of Planning*, viii.

Chapter 5 | The Road to National Planning, 1942-1953

Common knowledge has it that only in 1947-1948, with independence looming, did serious thinking on mass urbanization begin to take place. The standard story focuses on the establishment of the Settlement Reform Circle in late 1947, a planning advocacy group initiated by architects, planners and settlement experts, who responded to the imperative of the moment. It further argues that their work, guided by Bauhaus-graduate Arie Sharon, served as the hotbed for early statehood national planning and mass urbanization. According to this version, only one isolated antecedent to the Settlement Reform Circle occurred during the pre-state period: the work of the Jewish Agency Postwar Reconstruction Shadow Committee in 1944-1945, which has largely been left unpacked.⁴⁹⁹

While these two moments—the Reform Circle and the Jewish Agency Planning Committee—are an important part of the story of the rise of national planning, they are far from constituting the entire picture. The aim of this chapter is to disclose the rich historical context—events, initiatives, individuals and professional networks—which has been neglected by previous scholarship. Following the previous chapters, this chapter seeks to provide a first account of the *evolution* of national planning, and it does so by weaving together pre-state and post-state conceptual planning work, showing a continuous process that had been occurring since the late 1930s.

In fact, as this chapter demonstrates, the ideas presented by the Settlement Reform Circle were anything but novel. To the contrary, they had already been consolidated during the 1940s by an emergent class of urban administrators. Further, and perhaps most important, this chapter will show that the dominant authorial voice in consolidating early statehood planning policy was that of Brutzkus rather than that of the chief state planner Sharon, to whom the post-state plans are usually attributed.

In **the first part**, we will examine the emergent discourse on national planning policy in the years prior to 1948. Exploring the uncharted landscape of Jewish-Zionist professional organizations in Mandate Palestine reveals the activity of the “Joint Committee of the Jewish Members of the Local Town Planning in the Lydda District,” an unknown body which seems to have been the first urban planning advocacy group. This forum, composed of an emergent network of Jewish-Zionist municipal administrators, served as a hotbed for the work of the Jewish Agency Planning Committee in 1944-1945.

⁴⁹⁹ This narrative was first set out in the seminal study of Shalom Reichman, *From Foothold*. For later examples that followed Reichman’s line, see Schechter, “Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats”; Anat Bar-Cohen, “Legislative Process”, 2007). An especially telling instance of the disregard of the pre-state period is Ruth Kark, “Planning, Housing and Land Policy 1948–1952: The Formation of Concepts and Governmental Frameworks,” in *Israel: The First Decade of Independence*, ed. Ilan Troen and Noah Lucas (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), 461–94.

The importance that its members attributed to this forum stands in sharp contrast to the folkloristic curiosity with which they approached the activity of another professional group in which they took part, the tri-national “Association of the Municipal Engineers in Palestine.” Comprised of British, Palestinians and Jewish municipal engineers, this association is itself another example of an unexplored, yet fascinating, pre-state professional organization. The difference in the attitude of the Jewish planners towards the two organizations highlights the importance of sectorial and territorial interests in shaping their professional attitudes towards urban and national planning.

Proceeding to the more familiar terrain of the Jewish Agency Planning Committee in 1944-1945, I suggest a nuanced rereading of the committee’s work. I emphasize continuities from the “Joint Committee” of the Lydda District Jewish municipal engineers, while examining the manner by which these planners imported overseas discourse on postwar reconstruction and trends towards planned economy and society, especially from Britain, adapting them to the local realities. Further, I demonstrate how these planners struggled to incorporate physical planning within the predominant economic planning discourse, and how this struggle shaped the consolidation and reception of the idea of national physical planning in the following years.

The Israeli Planning Department was established in summer 1948. **The second part** looks at the period of 1948-1953, the “golden age” of Israeli national planning under Sharon’s leadership. By that time, existing planning ideas were adapted to the profound territorial and demographic outcomes of the 1948 War, yielding shortly thereafter a nationwide “Population Dispersal Policy.” The major policy document from that period was the National Master Plan for the Dispersal of the Population (1951-1952), also known as the “Sharon Plan”, named after Sharon, who was the Chief Planner.

The work of the Planning Department brought our main protagonists from the previous chapters together for the first time to the drawing board. I will point both to their competing voices within the department and the competition with other state bodies in the physical shaping of the newly-founded state. I will conclude with a discussion on the extent of Sharon’s conceptual contributions to this Plan, arguing that in fact it was Brutzkus who was the main individual behind the key planning ideas.

Further, I propose that the importance accorded in the existing scholarship to the Settlement Reform Circle has been exaggerated, due to a lack of appreciation of the context of the pre-state years. Instead, I argue that its importance lay not in the *consolidation* of ideas, but in the *dissemination* of already existing notions, mainly those of Brutzkus, who was a co-founder of the Settlement Reform Circle and one of its main driving forces.

A theme that runs throughout the chapter is the relations between architecture and planning. I focus on the reception of the idea of planning and the institutionalization of the field vis-à-vis the more established field of architecture. I examine the tensions between the emergent milieu of urban administrators concerned with large-scale *policy* vis-à-vis the explicit professional culture and natural interest of architects in *form and design*, and I show how these relations shaped early national planning.

A final note on methodology: this chapter stands out within the overall context of the project in terms of its goals and methodology. The initial aim was to focus on weaving together the work of the individuals discussed in the previous chapters within one “postscript”, namely, into the larger context of institutionalization and the rise of national planning, in which all three were active. However, as my research proceeded, I came to realize that although the post-independence era has been the subject of (relatively) more scholarly attention, such research has been partial in its scope.

Instead, I decided to recount the main themes that have been highlighted in the secondary literature about the immediate post-independence period as the basis for adding a new perspective. The upshot is that, especially in my discussion on post-independence state planning, I offer a series of nuanced revisions to the standard storyline, critically reflecting on the existing narrative and the sources that have informed it. In so doing, I hope that a fresh and fuller picture arises.

Part I. The Consolidation of an Urban Camp, 1942-1948

The small community of Zionist built environment professionals in Palestine—architects, engineers, surveyors and urban administrators—began organizing collectively from the early 1920s. By 1948, there were at least four professional organizations in which Jewish planners were involved. Three were exclusively Jewish: two labor unions of engineers and architects (The Association of the Engineers and Architects in Palestine, The Engineers, Architects and Surveyors' Union) and one voluntary urban lobby comprised of municipal functionaries (The Joint Committee of the Jewish Members of the Local Town Planning in the Lydda District). The fourth one was The Association of the Municipal Engineers in Palestine, the only known tri-national organization (British, Arab and Jewish) operating in Mandate Palestine.

What follows is a preliminary mapping of the activities and discourse within these groups, with special emphasis on the consolidation of a milieu of urbanists who rose to prominence after 1948 and the adaptation of overseas ideas and their reception by the formal Zionist institutions. Since much of the activities of the professional organizations within the built environment disciplines have yet to be explored, I placed special emphasis on providing signposts for further study.

Professional Organizations in the Mandate Period

The Association of the Engineers and Architects in Palestine (heretofore: the Association) is the oldest, most important and most documented professional organization, still active today.⁵⁰⁰ Established in 1922 by engineer Yoseph Tischler and others, it was the chief labor union of the Jewish-Zionist built environment professionals during the pre-1948 period. It worked to advance the professional status and interests of its members, while also fostering a vibrant professional community life. As a Zionist body, the Association sought to assume a leading role within the Jewish community, viewing their expertise as indispensable in the physical construction of the national Jewish homeland. In furtherance of this goal, the Association organized design competitions, exhibitions and conferences on various aspects of the Zionist settlement endeavor, and was engaged in professional research and publication. Active local chapters in the three main

⁵⁰⁰ After 1948, the association changed its name to “The Association of the Engineers and Architects in Israel.” It is active today under the name “The Association of Engineers, Architects and Graduates in Technological Sciences in Israel (AEAI).” For a short historical background, see Yosef Tischler, “The Founding of the Association of the Engineers and Architects in Palestine: A Chronicle of its Early Days,” *The Journal of the Association of the Engineers and Architects in Israel* 1–2 (1963): 8. Another useful source on its early days is General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine: Engineers', Architects' and Surveyors Union, *Twenty Years of Building: Workers' Settlements, Housing and Public Institutions* (Tel Aviv, 1940), published in connection to an exhibition bearing the same name and organized by the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine (*Histadrut*).

cities, Haifa, Jerusalem, and its headquarters in Tel Aviv, provided its members with library facilities and space for lectures and cultural activities.⁵⁰¹

The Association's bulletin, "Journal of the Association of Engineers and Architects in Palestine" (*Iton Agudat ha-ing'inerim yeha-arkhiṭekṭim be-Yisra'el*), was published regularly from 1923, with several issues appearing each year.⁵⁰² Written in Hebrew (with English abstracts provided), it served as the chief professional publication during the pre-state years, providing a platform for a lively exchange regarding both architectural and engineering issues. Many of the leading Jewish-Zionist architects contributed to it, including modernist architects Dov Karmi, Arieḥ Sharon and Tel Aviv city engineer Yaakov Ben Sira (the latter two of whom also served on the editorial board).

According to Brutzkus, until the UN's adoption of the Partition Plan in November 1947, a decision which paved the way for a Jewish independent state, the Association "did not deal, and actually disregarded [...] matters of regional and national planning, and very little even to matters of local planning."⁵⁰³ An examination of the journal's issues during the 1930s-1940s affirms his conclusion. The orientation was overwhelmingly architectural, with topics ranging from project showcasing to programmatic essays on design, housing and form, to reports on local architectural competitions, especially regarding public buildings. Despite the dramatic urban growth that occurred in Palestine during those years, discussion on urban and national urban policy was largely absent. Questions concerning town-village relations, urban and regional land uses, national planning policy, demography, economy, suburbanization, speculation, and relations between private landownership and public interest were, by and large, left unaddressed by the journal.

A second professional association, which remains largely unexplored, was the **Engineers, Architects and Surveyors' Union** (heretofore: the Union), which operated under the auspices of the *Histadrut*, the powerful Zionist umbrella organization of trade unions.⁵⁰⁴ Founded by engineer Elhanan Polsky (Peles), the Union was engaged in cultural and research activities, which to some extent put it in competition with the Association.⁵⁰⁵ The Union operated only for several years, and by early statehood it merged with the Association.

⁵⁰¹ The Tel Aviv headquarters, "The House of the Engineer and Architect" (*Beit ha-mahandes ve-ha'adrichal*), was built in the mid-1930s and it still resides in the original site.

⁵⁰² Publication was suspended twice during war times: between June 1939-June 1941 and November 1948-February 1950. In 1957, the title was changed to "Engineering and Architecture" (*Handasah ye-adrikhalut*).

⁵⁰³ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 70. He mentions one exception: a series of lectures organized by the Association on the planning of Tel Aviv and its adjacent suburbs of Ramat Gan, Beney Berak and Petah Tikva. While Brutzkus did not mention a specific year, this series seems to have taken place in the mid-1940s, in the context of preparations for the postwar period.

⁵⁰⁴ As mentioned earlier, the *Histadrut* was far more than a trade union. Through its various institutions, associations and social facilitates, it served the Labor movement as a prime tool for social and ideological control within Palestine Jewry. See footnote 90.

⁵⁰⁵ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 70-71. Research topics included an analysis of planning in the Kibbutz and urban neighborhoods. In 1943, it held a conference dedicated to matters of urban development policy. A limited number of authorized surveyors had their own association and, overall, it regarded planning "reluctantly, as something in effect superfluous." *Ibid*, 71.

During the 1940s, the Union published a short-lived bulletin, “Engineering Survey” (*Bi-netive ha-tekhnikah*).⁵⁰⁶ Despite the brief period of its publication, a dynamic professional exchange took place within the journal pages. Prominent architects such as Richard Kaufmann, Arie Sharon, Ze’ev Rechter and Heinz Rau contributed articles on various topics related to the Zionist building endeavor, alongside reports on competitions, conferences and exhibitions held by the Union.

While the scope of its topics and cadre of contributors were similar to the “Journal of the Association of Engineers and Architects in Palestine,” the “Engineering Survey” seems to have included more discussion about urban policy.⁵⁰⁷ As well, between 1942-1945, the Union had maintained an “Institute for Research of Building and Technics”, which engaged in research on topics such as urban housing and development policy.⁵⁰⁸ Further, it seems safe to conclude, based on an examination of its relative small number of published issues, that the journal constitutes an extremely rich resource for the study of the Jewish professional community of that period. Further research into both the journal and the Union’s activities in order to properly assess its contributions to the field exceeds the scope of this study, but is much needed.

In addition, there were two informal groups that were active during the 1930s-1940s within the Zionist professional community.⁵⁰⁹ The first was composed of self-proclaimed avant-garde modernist architects, “The Architects Circle in Palestine” (the *Chug*). It sought to promote European architectural modernism as the Zionist national style and it included leading architects such as Sharon, architectural historian Julius Posener (who emigrated to Palestine in 1935 before settling in Britain), Ze’ev Karmi, Israel Dicker, Benjamin Tchlenov, and Sam Barkai.⁵¹⁰

The second group was organized by engineer Ben Sira, and was composed of such figures as Yehushua (Shani) Steinbuch and Genia Averbuch.⁵¹¹ According to Brutzkus, both groups had an interest in matters of urban and large-scale planning.⁵¹² The former circle published during the 1930s the short-lived, but extremely influential, journals, “Building in the Near East” (*Ha-binyan ba-mizrah ha-karov*) (1934-1937) and later the “Building: A Magazine of Architecture and Town Planning” (*Ha-binjan ba-misrah ha-karov*) (1937-1938, 3 volumes).⁵¹³

⁵⁰⁶ The name of the journal was changed several times during its short period of publication; in English, it was also called “Engineering Records.” For a list of the different titles in Hebrew, see item description on the National Library catalog, accessed February 15, 2017, aleph.nli.org.il/F/VLC1XA53TLXAV9L7Y7VEEGHKPHTUJ2FV7TI9GYLFBH27RHC7G9-02119?func=find-acc&acc_sequence=018351433, accessed February 15, 2017.

⁵⁰⁷ See for example H. Rau, “Quarters Instead of Zones,” *Engineering Survey*, September 1942, 26–28; A. Kahane, “Amendment to Jerusalem Regulations for Zone ‘B,’” *Engineering Survey*, March 1944, 14–16; Z. Rosin, “Building By-Laws and their Application,” *Engineering Survey*, September 1942, 28–30.

⁵⁰⁸ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 71.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁵¹⁰ On the *Chug* and its modernist agenda, see Alona Nitzan-Shifan, “Contested Zionism -- Alternative Modernism: Erich Mendelsohn and the Tel Aviv Chug in Mandate Palestine,” *Architectural History* 39 (January 1, 1996): 147–180.

⁵¹¹ Transcripts of interview with Yaakov Ben Sira by Eliezer Brutzkus and Avital Schechter (unpublished), February 18, 1987, ASC. Tel Aviv. On Steinbuch, see Zvi Elhayani, “The Forgotten Virtuoso Architect: The Legacy of Yehushua Steinbuch,” XNET, September 30, 2014, <http://xnet.ynet.co.il/architecture/articles/0,14710,L-3107159,00.html>, accessed February 15, 2017.

⁵¹² Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 73.

⁵¹³ See, for example, the Special Issue on the Planning of Tel Aviv, 5-6 (December 1935); Otto Schiller, “Early Works of Town Planning,” *Building: A Magazine of Architecture and Town Planning*, February 1935, 1–4.

Despite its limited number of published issues, its historiographical lot has far exceeded that of the Union's journal. The fascination and ensuing preoccupation among architectural historians as well as the general public with interwar avant-garde modernism (see Afterword) has assured ongoing scholarly attention to the journal by local and international scholars alike.⁵¹⁴

Oriental Adventures: The Association of the Municipal Engineers in Palestine, 1935-1948

Another group altogether was the **Association of the Municipal Engineers in Palestine**. Not only was it a forum composed exclusively of public servants, but it also appears to have been the only professional organization that consisted of British, Arab and Jewish engineers. Despite its potential to illuminate aspects of the social history of the Mandate period, to the best of my knowledge, the activities of this body have never been explored. A few first-hand accounts and pieces cobbled together from various archives provide a fragmentary background of its activities and the manner in which it was perceived by Jewish practitioners.

The organization was established in 1935, at the initiative of the municipal engineers of the three biggest cities: Ben Sira (Tel Aviv), Watson (Haifa) and Park (Jerusalem), and was headed by the British chief planner in Palestine, Henry Kendall.⁵¹⁵ Members included the municipal engineers of historical Arab cities such as Jaffa, Tiberius, Acre, Hebron and Gaza as well as new Jewish towns such as Petah Tikva and Netanya. Meetings were held once or twice a year, each time in a different city, and each such meeting extended over two to three days.

Discussions focused on planning issues, especially those concerning the host city, however, no minutes were kept.⁵¹⁶ According to Zvi Hashimshoni, the municipal engineer of Petah Tikva (who in 1948 would become the deputy director of the Israeli Planning Department), "during that period, it was the only organization (except for the Free Masons) where people from different nationalities, ethnic groups, political orientations and traditions met."⁵¹⁷ He described the atmosphere that reigned in these meeting as positive and strictly professional, characterized by "good, pleasant, friendly relations."⁵¹⁸

Meetings were held in Arab, Jewish and mixed cities, and would include on-site visitations.⁵¹⁹ The itinerary in connection with the meeting in Petah Tikva in December 1938, for instance, included a tour of the newly-founded Beilinson Hospital, a new rural housing scheme, a

⁵¹⁴ Ines Sonder provides a useful account of the importance of this journal to the construction of narrative of the "Bauhaus Vernacular." Ines Sonder, "Bauhaus Architecture in Israel: De-Constructing a Modernist Vernacular and the Myth of Tel Aviv's 'White City,'" in *Handbook of Israel: Major Debates*, ed. Eliezer Ben-Rafael et al. (De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2016), 87–101. For a critique of the myth of Zionist-Israeli "White Architecture", and its popularity within Israeli national imagination, see Sharon Rotbard, *White City, Black City: Architecture and War in Tel Aviv and Jaffa* (London: Pluto Press, 2015).

⁵¹⁵ Unless otherwise noted, the following information is based on Zvi Hashimshoni, *The Path*, 122-125.

⁵¹⁶ Hashimshoni, *The Path*, 122.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ Documents regarding these meetings are located in the PTHA/2-195/180; Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 72.

citrus packing house and several factories.⁵²⁰ Meetings continued throughout the Great Arab Revolt (1936-1939), but due to the growing violence and political tensions during those years, only Ben Sira and Hashimshoni were sent to participate from the Jewish side.

Hashimshoni makes a special note of the social aspects of these meetings. He recalled festive lunches, in which the city council members, city notables and the district governor took part; professional discussions took place “around a white table,” as “some mayors tried to make use of the ‘experts’ to solve pressing problems of the moment in their cities.”⁵²¹ By 1948, with the growing political tensions, the association ceased to operate.

Despite what might look at first glance as a fruitful platform for professional exchange between various municipalities facing similar problems of rapid urbanization that was sweeping through the country, it seems that the Jewish encounter with the Arab colleagues was essentially a paternalistic one. Jewish participants viewed these meetings as mainly folkloristic in nature. For them, it was a gesture of goodwill toward the backward local population, a common attitude among the Jewish community towards the Arab population.⁵²² Hashimshoni’s account of his trip to the meeting in Gaza is telling in this regard. Gaza during the interwar period was a southern port city undergoing rapid growth, while seeking a modern urban future.⁵²³ Its mayor seems to have viewed the gathering as an opportunity to promote his vision of urban modernization, for Hashimshoni, it was mainly an opportunity to get a taste of the oriental in his veritable backyard.

This tour took place during the Great Arab Revolt (1936-1939), at a time when roads were unsafe. At the southern tip of the Jewish areas, somewhat before Gaza,⁵²⁴

The mayor and members of the city council approached us as a gesture of welcoming, but mainly out of fear for our safety. All the time they drove by our side, forming a protective shield, probably because they were more fearful for their guests than from us.

The principal part of the tour took place in the west of the city, and it included the new urban park and the expansive beach. They were at that time just starting to prepare the development plan for the coastline, the building of a port and a recreation center. In their naiveté, they thought of us as having decision-making authority [...] In the park they built a huge Bedouin tent, in which there was a pot filled with goodies, seemingly limitless, while the Mayor and other city notables were standing there to serve us. The interesting thing was that each one of us had a bottle of whiskey in front of us. They knew that the district engineer was a heavy drinker and they thought that all of us had this weakness for alcohol. They were very much surprised when we did not touch the bottles in front of us.

[...] Of course, I ate according their custom. Namely, I used my hands even though forks and spoons were provided. One of the hosts told me that he was happy that I was eating in this manner, since ‘many people use [the same] fork, while with your hands, you are the only one who is using it’. This makes more sense, indeed, I learned something. All of the delegation then escorted us back to the boundaries of the Jewish territory.

⁵²⁰ Z. Hashimshoni to H. Kendall, “Engineering Meeting,” December 8, 1938, PTHA/2-195/180.

⁵²¹ Hashimshoni, *The Path*, 125.

⁵²² See footnote 340.

⁵²³ For background on the urbanization of Gaza during the first half of the twentieth century, see Dotan Halevy, “The Making of Al-Rimal: Colonial Land Management and Urbanization in Gaza 1890-1946” (unpublished), 2015. I thank Dotan Halevy for sharing this paper with me.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid*, 124-125.

A Hotbed of National Planning: The Joint Committee of the Jewish Members of the Local Town Planning in the Lydda District, 1942-1948

The Zionist planners were faced with a conundrum. On the one hand, the tri-national platform of the Association of Municipal Engineers was seen mostly as an opportunity for exotic dabbling. On the other hand, none of the exiting Jewish professional forums provided a real platform to discuss pressing urban issues. In 1942, a group of urban planners established The Joint Committee of the Jewish Members of the Local Town Planning in the Lydda District” (heretofore: Joint Committee) in order to meet the felt need to found a Zionist planners’ association.

The Joint Committee seems to have been the earliest professional forum within the Jewish community dedicated to matters of *national urban policy*. Its work preceded that of The Planning Committee, the Zionist postwar shadow reconstruction committee, which would be established two years later in 1944, and which is usually described by the scant literature on the subject as the initial hotbed of national planning. However, as I will show, the actual incubator of national planning was the Joint Committee, a group which, to the best of my knowledge, has never been studied. The Joint Committee’s key members continued to serve on both committees and later assumed central roles in the post-independence planning apparatus. Tracing its conceptual underpinnings, modes of operation and key members reveals fascinating continuities with the following years as well as a constant negotiation between the disciplinary agenda and national-territorial interests.

As in Britain and its colonies, wartime and postwar planning was marked in Jewish Palestine by the leap forward of urban planning as a national expertise.⁵²⁵ Attuned to the increasing discourse on postwar preparation throughout the British empire, the Joint Committee had been established in 1942 by planners and mayors of Jewish urban communities in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area. Coming from the most populated region in Palestine, its founders anticipated that an acute housing shortage would occur in the immediate period after the war, and they sought to prepare for it in advance.

Their goals, however, went beyond regional interests. They operated as a self-appointed task force for national planning, acting upon what they perceived as a wholesale lack of national urban policy (see chapter 2).⁵²⁶ In that capacity, they began consolidating principles for national planning, with the aim of establishing a central planning committee for the Jewish sector. The group began working in winter 1942, at the initiative of Israel Rokach, the mayor of Tel Aviv, who within Palestine Jewry was a prominent voice within the liberal, non-socialist minority

⁵²⁵ See, for example, Helen Elizabeth Meller, *Towns, Plans, and Society in Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 67-84; Robert Freestone, “Post-War Reconstruction and Planning Promotion in 1940s Australia,” in *Paper at the 15th International Planning History Society Conference, July, Sao Paulo, Brazil, 2012*.

⁵²⁶ See, for example, the discussion regarding the lack of a municipal department devoted to large-scale planning within the national institutions. “Continued Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Council,” February 1, 1943, PTHA/2-195/181.

camp.⁵²⁷ For Rokach and his urban compatriots, the socialist leadership's utopian experimentations in the rural sector could no longer continue to push to a corner the daily problems within the cities—land speculation, public housing and infrastructure, and above all, how to deal with the anticipated influx of Jewish immigrants after the war.

The Lydda district, with Tel Aviv as its Jewish economic center and Jaffa as the Palestinian equivalent, was the fastest growing and most densely populated area in Palestine. It included 12 local planning areas out of the 46 areas in total in Palestine.⁵²⁸ A Regional Outline Planning Scheme was approved by the British government in March 1942.⁵²⁹ Yet, for Rokach, it was insufficient to meet the needs of the expected growth of the Jewish sector, which he described as a “heavy massive, large immigration that will rise from the remains of the Jewish diaspora and will lend a hand to the continuation of our enterprise.”⁵³⁰ In his letter of invitation to the urban Jewish communities in the Lydda district, Rokach explained that similar to the Allied nations—

There is no doubt that in our country as well sweeping economic and social changes will occur. [...] Now is the time to prepare for the period after the war, whose days are imminent, and it is our duty to avoid making all the [previous] mistakes in squandering capital and energies, and to formulate in advance—even if only in general terms—plans for the development of the country.

The science of town planning provides the public with many means, and good ones at that, which enable guiding the development of each country. Also here, in this country, it seems that this vehicle can bring great benefit.⁵³¹

How “the science of town planning” could benefit the national endeavor was further elaborated by Ben Sira:

Social assets do not take shape in immigrant camps but in fixed settlements that serve as a repository for the spiritual contributions and character of the society in the making. Therefore, we must devise our plans **for the long term and for vast [geographical] scope**, preserving landscape assets and agriculture, and creating the proper conditions for continuous and sustainable development **of both the city and the agricultural villages (*Moshava*)**.⁵³² [emphasis added].

⁵²⁷ It included representatives from at least the following townships: Kefar Saba, Bat Yam, Herzeliya, Givatayim, Ra'anana, Rishon Le'Zion, Beney Beraq, Petah Tikva, Ramat Gan, Rehovot, and Holon. In *ibid*; “Minutes of Sixth Meeting of the Management,” July 1, 1943, PTHA/2-195/181.

⁵²⁸ The Lydda district included five cities (Municipal Areas), equaling the number of cities in the districts of Galilee and Jerusalem together, and it had the highest number of emerging urban settlements (Local Council Areas) with seven out of a total of 16 nationwide. See El-Eini, *Mandated Landscape*, 48, 385-86.

⁵²⁹ For an analysis of the scheme, see *ibid*, 422-423.

⁵³⁰ Y. Rokach and H. Ariav. “The Gathering of the Jewish Members in the Town Building Committees of the Southern District,” [n.d., invitation for March 2, 1942], PTHA/2-195/181. Ariav was the head of the Association of the Jewish Local Councils (smaller urban communities that were legally distinct from the cities), and he had endorsed the initiative on behalf of the local councils. However, from the records it seems that Mayor Rokach was the driving force behind the joint committee. The Association of the Jewish Local Councils actively published a bulletin in which housing and planning issues were occasionally discussed. See Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 31.

⁵³¹ *Ibid*.

⁵³² “Continued Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Council,” February 1, 1943, 3, PTHA/2-195/181.

Thus, the Joint Committee strove to “unite all the Hebrew Local Building and Planning Commissions in the country,” and ultimately to “establish a central national planning institution” which will “guide planning problems in the country at the service of the Jewish settlement interest.”⁵³³ Yet, at the same time, their topics of discussion reflected more immediate and concrete local concerns, including public housing, urban extensions, and above all, municipal bylaws and taxes to curb speculation. Regional issues included transportation and water systems, preservation of agricultural land and open areas (especially along the Yarkon river and the Mediterranean seashore), Jewish land acquisition, location of industry, and ways of controlling suburbanization and urban sprawl.

The Joint Committee operated from February 1942 to 1948.⁵³⁴ The general assembly would gather three or four times a year, each time in a different city. A special professional sub-committee comprised of municipal engineers, headed by Ben Sira, used to meet more frequently, every three to four weeks. The sub-committee would prepare background material for the meetings, including maps, surveys and legislation proposals, deliver lectures and lead the discussions that took place in the general forum. Among the members of the sub-committee were Eliezer Brutzkus, Zvi Hashimshoni and Yaakov Ben Sira—all who would become key actors in post-1948 national planning.⁵³⁵

Brutzkus argued that this was where the actual work was conducted within the Joint Committee, describing “systematic” discussions that took place on planning, legal and administrative issues.⁵³⁶ He further argued that this was also the principal body that analyzed and consolidated the comments from the Jewish sector on the new planning ordinances of 1945 and 1947.⁵³⁷ In addition, a steering committee, comprised of both professionals and elected urban officials, led by mayor Rokach and his municipal engineer Ben Sira, prepared and coordinated the overall activities.⁵³⁸

The Committee’s discussions reveal the need to negotiate the idea of planning within the context of a settler society, geared towards territorial expansion and relying on private and public initiatives for its economic and territorial enterprise. Britain’s wartime and postwar planning measures were adapted for the purpose of nation- and society-building. In the committee’s view, Jewish local authorities were to comprise the “basic units” of future Jewish independence. Thus, applying Britain’s interventionist planning tools strengthened the Jewish local authorities’ powers to control private land ownership and speculative investment within their respective jurisdictions. It provided them with the legal and administrative framework within which to

⁵³³ Ibid; “The Gathering of the Jewish Members in the Town Building Committees of the Southern District,” [n.d., invitation for March 2, 1942], PTHA/2-195/181.

⁵³⁴ According to Brutzkus, unpublished, 67. Minutes of their meetings until 1945 can be found in Petah Tikva Historical Archives 2-195-180; -195-181.

⁵³⁵ Brutzkus and Hashimshoni became senior planners in the governmental planning apparatus. Ben Sira, who continued to serve as the Tel Aviv municipal engineer, was the major force behind promoting planning legislation on the national level, and he headed various governmental committees in this connection. See for example, Y. Ben Sira to the Prime Minister et al, September 21, 1949, ISA G/5409/1 11.55.46. For a short autobiographical account see Yaakov Ben Sira, “My Work as the Municipal Engineer of Tel Aviv (1929-1951),” *Gazit* 33, no. 9 (1984): 17.

⁵³⁶ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 67.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Members of the steering committee included Kugel, Sapir, Ostrovsky, Ben Sira, Ariav, and De Shalit, among others. See, for example, “Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Management,” August 21, 1942, PTHA/2-195/181.

deflect possible internal opposition to such measures, and to lay sound progressive foundations for the future Jewish state.

In this spirit, there was a consensus among the committee members regarding the need to levy an urban betterment tax. Modeled on the famous 1942 Uthwatt Report, such proposal was a clearly unpopular demand within Palestine Jewry.⁵³⁹ Moreover, at least in one case, the Joint Committee intended to go further than the existing British ordinance in Palestine. It wished to expand urban expropriation rights for public use without compensation, suggesting an increase in the allowed percentage (from a maximum 25% of the land for this purpose), as well as to expand the kinds of uses permissible under this authority. While yielding no immediate results, this idea continued to resonate during the years that followed. It was reprised as one of the central recommendations in the 1945 Jewish Agency's Planning Committee report. Ultimately, it was made part of the 1965 Israeli planning law, allowing a maximum of 40% to be expropriated (in effect until today).⁵⁴⁰

Aware of the unpopularity of the demand for regulating development within the Jewish sector, a major concern of the Committee was the issue of public outreach within the Jewish community.⁵⁴¹ They hoped to counter their reputation as "hostile" to the national cause, while raising awareness of the advantages of the notion of planning in support of the Zionist enterprise. Towards this goal, one of the first acts of the Committee was to put together a lecture program by its planners.⁵⁴²

Their message was a complicated one. They needed not only to overcome the general ideological hostility towards the city and to explain the advantages of addressing urban issues, but also to convince the Jewish population why self-regulating development would pay off in the long run. In one fascinating discussion, they grappled with the question of how to prevent planning from becoming a "double-edged sword", as one of the participants put it, whereby "we must find a way to prevent speculation without limiting the purchasing of land."⁵⁴³

At the same time, they sought to represent Zionist territorial interests vis-à-vis the British planning authorities. Britain's growing trend towards large-scale planning, manifested perhaps most notably in the planning of Greater London that was taking place during those years, was mobilized in Palestine for territorial benefits. At an early stage, they brought up the idea of

⁵³⁹ "The Technical Difficulties of Town Planning Work in our Area," lecture delivered by M. Roytman, October 22, 1944, PTHA/2-195/18.

⁵⁴⁰ "The Gathering of the Jewish Members in the Town Building Committees of the Southern District" including "Mr. Hashimshoni's Lecture", delivered during the meeting, October 22, 1944, PTHA/2-195/181.

⁵⁴¹ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 66.

⁵⁴² For the list of proposed lectures, see "Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Engineers Council," June 24, 1942, PTHA/2-195/18.

⁵⁴³ "Continued Minutes of Third Meeting of the Council," February 1, 1943, 2, PTHA/2-195/181. Another major topic of concern was the need to protect agricultural land, a theme that continued well into the statehood era. A special committee was established in early statehood as part of the planning system, and it was later institutionalized in the 1965 "Planning and Building Law." It currently operates as "The Committee for the Protection of Agricultural Land and Open Spaces" under the Planning Administration.

inviting Patrick Abercrombie, the Greater London planner, to consult the local authorities about conurbation and regional development.⁵⁴⁴

A more direct move vis-à-vis the British government was made in 1943. The Committee appealed to the Lydda District Commission, requesting voting representation within the district planning committee, but the request were rejected.⁵⁴⁵ In its place, they accepted the alternative British suggestion of submitting to the district authorities an advisory proposal for a general plan for the Jewish areas, in which roads and key land uses were to be determined by the Jewish planners.⁵⁴⁶

Engineer Yitzhak Perlstein, a student of Abercrombie, who had returned from Britain to Palestine, was appointed to be responsible for the task. He prepared an initial plan covering a continuous stretch of the Tel Aviv metropolitan running from south (Rishon Le’Zion) to north (Herzeliya). The plan included development boundaries as well as green buffer zones between the cities.⁵⁴⁷ While this initiative never matured beyond the draft plan, based on this preliminary work, in 1948, the head of the Israeli Planning Department, Arie Sharon, appointed Perlstein to plan the Tel Aviv metropolitan plan.

A bolder attempt was to establish a Jewish planning subdistrict connecting the northern Tel Aviv suburbs. The initiative seems to have come from Ben Sira, who presented it to the committee and negotiated it vis-à-vis the British authorities. Following Tel Aviv’s success to annex land to the east and create a continuous planning area, the committee sought to create a new category of planning jurisdiction, a subdistrict for the areas outside of official urban areas.⁵⁴⁸ In this way, they wished to form an autonomous planning unit stretching continuously from Tel Aviv to the suburbs of Petah Tikva in the east and to Herzeliya in the north, and including a small number of Arab communities within it.⁵⁴⁹

Their hope was to set a “precedent for founding similar districts in all parts of the country.”⁵⁵⁰ They envisioned a similar subdistrict connecting the southern suburbs of Rishon Le’Zion and Rehovot, which, together with the northern subdistrict would ensure Jewish control over the core areas of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area. However, cautious of the political implications of such a step, should Arabs demand a similar autonomous jurisdiction in a

⁵⁴⁴ This was not the first time the Zionist movement had used the services of Abercrombie to gain control over land. During the 1920s, a large-scale scheme was prepared by Richard Kaufmann for The Bay of Haifa. This plan was rejected by the British Central Planning Commission. In order to exert pressure on the government, the Zionist movement invited Patrick Abercrombie to prepare a plan for the area, which was eventually accepted. This plan provided the basis for the development of Haifa Bay, which included 19 new settlements in the region. See Joseph Fruchtman, *Statutory Planning as a Form of Control*, 1986, 119-120.

⁵⁴⁵ District Town Planning Commission to Krugliakoff, May 26, 1943, PTHA/2-195/181.

⁵⁴⁶ “Minutes of Sixth Meeting of the Management,” July 1, 1943, PTHA/2-195/181. The British proposal included the point that the Joint Committee become an unofficial advisory committee for the district committee’s work, and for this purpose they even legally registered the Joint Committee as a foundation.

⁵⁴⁷ “Minutes of the Tenth Meeting of the Joint Committee,” December 12th, 1944, PTHA/2-195/181; Hashimshoni, *The Path*, 136-137.

⁵⁴⁸ On Tel Aviv urban annexation campaign, see, Nati Marom, *City of Concept: Planning Tel Aviv* (Tel Aviv: Babel, 2009), 118-121.

⁵⁴⁹ See especially “Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of the Management”, December 5, 1943, PTHA/2-195/181; “Minutes of the Eleventh Meeting of the Management”, May 2, 1945, *ibid*; “Minutes of the Twelfth Meeting of the Management,” May 28, 1945, *ibid*.

⁵⁵⁰ “Minutes of the Twelfth Meeting of the Management,” May 28, 1945, PTHA/2-195/181.

predominantly Arab area, they decided to consult with the political department of the Jewish Agency before approaching the British authorities.⁵⁵¹

Impact and Reception

By March 1943, within one year of its activity, Rokach could satisfactorily congratulate the assembly for a “handsome beginning,” summing it as a year of “intensive and continuous” activity for the organization.⁵⁵² Not only had the “impact of the committee only increase among all the local planning stakeholders within our district and in the country,” but the question of postwar planning, which they had posed a year earlier, now “became one of the central questions of the society in Palestine and around the world.”⁵⁵³ While the degree of accuracy of Rokach’s statement remains open to debate, the British planning reconstruction programme was announced in the same month, and it was followed shortly thereafter with the establishment of the Zionist shadow committee. It took, however, more than another year before physical planning would be seriously put on the discussion table of the political leadership.

Despite all of this activity, the Joint Committee has entirely escaped the scholarly radar. However, these early beginnings were crucial for the evolution of national planning thought. Several of its key members found their way into the Jewish Agency Planning Committee, and later, were part of the founding team of the Israeli Planning Department, in charge of national planning and the New Towns campaign [Fig. 46]. These developments are considered more fully in the sections that follow.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵⁵² “Minutes of the Fourth Gathering of the Joint Committee,” March 10, 1943, PTHA/2-195/181.

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

Fig. 46. The Rise of National Planning, 1942-1948: The Major Signposts

		1942 Lydda Joint Committee	1944 Zionist Postwar Shadow Committee	1947 Settlement Reform Circle	1948 Planning Department
Key Actors	Y. Ben-Sira (Schiffman)				*
	E. Brutzkus		*		
	Z. Hashimshoni				
	D. Zaversky				
	Z. Berenson				**
Minor Actors	A. Sharon			***	
	A. Glikson				
	A. Kahane				
	A. Klein; R. Kauffmann				

■ - Participated; □ - not participated

* Not officially a member, but an active participant from outside the committee/department

** Pushed the agenda of the Planning Department as Director General of the Ministry responsible for the department

*** Loose association

Physical Planning Introduced: The Jewish Agency Postwar Reconstruction Planning Committee, 1944-1945

The first instance in which urban policy seems to have been discussed by the national leadership was in the context of the Jewish Agency Planning Committee (*Va'adat Ticun*, hereafter: Planning Committee), the Zionist shadow committee for postwar reconstruction. The committee was established in the summer of 1943, following the British appointment of the Postwar Reconstruction Committee in Palestine on March 22nd of that year. It focused on creating an economic infrastructure within the Jewish sector as the means for absorbing the highly anticipated mass immigration from Europe. In the short term, such economic planning was the key for negotiating with the British government to increase the “absorptive capacity” and thereby the immigration quotas (see chapter 2). In the long run, however, it was to lay the foundation for future independence. As put by a senior Jewish Agency official—

The fundamental goal of Zionist economic planning is: providing the conditions for the absorption of masses of Hebrew immigrants [*Olim*] after the war, an absorption in a scale that includes a Zionist solution for the question of the Diaspora.⁵⁵⁴

Israeli scholars portray the committee's work as a Zionist feat of self-organization and scientific achievement, one which shaped socio-economic life in early statehood.⁵⁵⁵ Indeed, over the course of its work between 1943-1946, the Planning Committee had engaged around 80 in-house experts, scientists and policy makers in its various subcommittees—statisticians, economists, industrialists, geologists, hydrologists, agronomists, planners and surveyors—producing reports on key topics, including land, capital and water to industry, agriculture, housing, finance, transportation, commerce and vocational education. Many of the individuals involved in its work continued to hold leading positions within the administrative and economic life of the nascent state.⁵⁵⁶

What is usually lacking in this narrative is the international perspective. The Planning Committee is usually treated as yet another case of Zionist-Israeli exceptionalism. Yet, this ostensible local phenomenon must be read within the broader context of postwar reconstruction and the rise of technocratic ideas of planned economy and society. The Zionist Planning Committee embodies a powerful case of a national movement, bereft of sovereignty, which nevertheless utilized these international trends to prepare the groundwork for its national aspirations. Similar shadow committees had been formed throughout the British Empire by refugee groups from Poland, France, Belgium, and Norway.⁵⁵⁷ Seen in this light, the work of the Planning Committee opens a new comparative window to explore the ways by which wartime planning and postwar reconstruction discourse that had emerged during the war informed the post-1948 sweeping social engineering programmes.

An instructive way to explore this international phenomenon is to examine the relations between the different kinds of “planning,” namely, the scientific fields and professional expertise that informed the various national campaigns. In the Zionist case, the road to physical planning had to go through economic planning. The economist David Horowitz was appointed by David Ben Gurion, the head of the Jewish Agency, to oversee the work of the committee.⁵⁵⁸ This appointment marked a profound change in the economic strategy of the Zionist national institutions, moving from a rural focus to an urban-industrial one. As discussed earlier (see chapter 2), Horowitz had been a key advocate of the rapid development paradigm since the 1930s, arguing that the key for mass immigration and a viable Jewish independence lay in urban growth rather than agriculture. According to the economic historian Arie Krampf, this appointment was the beginning of the institutionalization of this new approach, a moment when “decision-makers and

⁵⁵⁴ H. Frumkin, “Proposals for a Theoretical Economic Facing the Future,” n.d, BGA/Planning (hatichon) Committee/6116.1.

⁵⁵⁵ HaCohen, *From Fantasy to Reality*, 1994; Krampf, *The National Origins of the Market Economy*, 2015, 56-82; Troen, *Imagining Zion*. On the committee's work in connection to physical planning, see Reichman, *From Foothold*, 316-321.

⁵⁵⁶ HaCohen, *ibid*, 118. A detailed list of the committee members and their post-1948 institutional positions is provided in Krampf, *ibid*, 72-82.

⁵⁵⁷ Troen, *Imagining Zion*, 181.

⁵⁵⁸ Underlying this move was Ben Gurion's ambitious “Million Plan” for Jewish mass immigration, a direction he began pushing for in the 1930s, despite disagreement from within the leadership and the economists. See chapter 2.

experts translated the abstract ideas into concrete development plans,” laying the groundwork for the post-1948 period.⁵⁵⁹

However, although both Horowitz’s economic attitude and the planners’ urban ideas promoted urban modernization (with Brutzkus directly on Horowitz’s ideas, as discussed in chapter 2), the planners did not receive an attentive ear from their fellow economists. Despite the committee’s wide-ranging scope, physical planning was not on the agenda.

This overarching economic orientation is a crucial point that has eluded the few planning historians that have addressed the committee’s work. The conventional story told of the emergence of planning begins at this “formative moment,” the first time that physical planning was brought to the discussion table of the decision makers, and continues in a linear fashion, culminating in the ascendancy of the field to national prominence in 1948.⁵⁶⁰

However, an appreciation of the complexities that characterized this formative moment shows the difficulties that the urban planners faced in advocating a new area of expertise, given their inferior status vis-à-vis economic and related areas of planning. These struggles shaped the discourse on, and reception of, the idea of planning in the years that followed. As such, they invite a more nuanced reading of the so-called triumphant moment of local planning advocacy.

The Physical Planning Subcommittee

Physical planning was not on the central committee’s original agenda. The “Physical Planning Subcommittee” (hereafter: the subcommittee) had been established in June 1944, as the fifth ad-hoc subcommittee of the “Housing Subcommittee.”⁵⁶¹ The latter had been responsible for the planning of public housing in the urban sector. Not surprisingly, the initiative came from Ben Sira, who was a member the Housing Subcommittee (and a key member of the Joint Committee, operating at the same time). Ben Sira managed to convince the head of the Housing Subcommittee, the economist Eliezer Hoffien, of the importance of national urban policy for matters of housing.⁵⁶² Hoffien then approached Ben Gurion, who chaired the central committee. He cautiously introduced the benefits of national planning, drawing on international precedents:

Our committee has stumbled upon one problem [namely] that someone has to address the question of town building. That is, what should be our general direction in regards to urban expansion and town building. After they addressed the issue in Europe as town planning, it **became a new science – planning the entire country**. In the UK, for instance, they [...] consider the entire country as one unit that should be planned from the vantage point of **both town and country**.⁵⁶³ [emphasis added].

⁵⁵⁹ Krampf, *The National Origins*, 55.

⁵⁶⁰ Reichman *From Foothold*, 426; Bar-Cohen, “Legislative Process of the Planning and Building Law,” 2007, 40-41; Schechter, “Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats,” 1990, 48. The two latter sources rely entirely on Reichman, *ibid*, and Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 66-67.

⁵⁶¹ “Minutes of Planning Committee,” July 2, 1944, 10, CZA/S40/273/1. Quoted in Bar-Cohen, *Ibid*, 40.

⁵⁶² “Minutes of the 16th Meeting of the Housing Subcommittee,” June 22, 1944, CZA/S40/273/1. Quoted in *ibid*.

⁵⁶³ “Minutes of Planning Committee,” July 2, 1944, 10, CZA/S40/273/1. Quoted in *ibid*.

Hoffien argued that “it is not enough to have only one engineer of this kind, Mr. Shiffmann [Ben Sira],” and requested that a new “committee should be appointed.”⁵⁶⁴ Ben Gurion approved. The new subcommittee was appointed in October 1944, and began working by early 1945. Thus, it was only by the end of the war that planners had managed to introduce physical planning into the Zionist policy debate, doing it through the “back door” of public housing, and owing it to the assertiveness of Ben Sira, who seems to have pulled the strings behind the scenes.

Composition and Work

The planning subcommittee was composed of architects, policy makers and various experts, seven in total. Headed by Avraham Granot, the director of the Jewish National Fund (JNF, the powerful national land purchasing agency), it included three built environment professionals: the leading Zionist architect Richard Kauffmann, architect Alexander Klein and city engineer Ben Sira. The remaining members were Ernst Kahn, a Jerusalemite economist and housing expert, Avraham Zaversky, a director of a housing company within the *Histadrut* and a member of the Tel Aviv city council (and a member of the Joint Committee), and Adiya Konikoff, an economist at the JNF Economic Research Unit who served as the secretary. Eliezer Brutzkus, although not an official committee member, was engaged in the committee’s work as an external expert.

If we include Brutzkus, we see that together with Ben Sira and Zaversky, three of the participants were also active in the work of the Joint Committee. This fact perhaps marks an interesting moment of a generational transition. The two other built environment experts on the committee, Kauffman and Klein, were well-established architects who had been working on JNF’s settlement campaigns since the 1920s. Kaufmann was the leading architect of the Zionist movement, and was celebrated for his pioneering agricultural experiments; Klein was a professor at the Technion, who was well-regarded for his design of JNF working class suburbs around Haifa.

However, by 1948, both Klein and Kauffmann had lost their status within the political leadership, and a younger generation took over the newly-founded national planning bureau. The Planning Committee brought together, in a rather interesting and perhaps final moment, the senior generation of architects who had dedicated their careers to utopian social and spatial experimentation with a younger group of urban administrators, ever-practical mid-20th century technocrats. Such a meeting of minds would not repeat itself in the post-1948 administration.

For the first time, terminology used by urban planning advocates since the mid-1930s found its way into the language of national decision makers. Issues of “national planning,” “urban decentralization” and “industrial location” were now the focus of the discussions, and rural development was relegated to a secondary role. Since “one cannot ignore the fact that most of our population resides in the cities,” the committee argued, “it cannot be assumed that urban expansion is reaching an end; on the contrary, the mass immigration to which we are looking forward requires further urban growth.”⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ “Report on the Subcommittee for Physical Planning,” n.d., BGA/Planning (hatichon) Committee/6116.1.

At the request of Granot, the head of the subcommittee, the terms of reference for the subcommittee were expanded from general “proposals on town planning and development of the urban settlement” to cover no less than—

Questions concerning **national planning**, such as directions of urban development, the relation and balance between town and country, the establishment of new urban neighborhoods and new urban centers, localization of industry, the question of seaports, the aspect of transportation and its various means (roads, railroads, sea). A discussion of the problems [will take place] not only from the vantage point of planning in the technical sense but [will also] **expand to include economic aspects**.⁵⁶⁶ [emphasis added].

During the course of 1945, the subcommittee held twelve meetings.⁵⁶⁷ Each meeting centered on a lecture given by one of the members, based on a pre-circulated report (“thesis”) prepared by the lecturer. The opening lecturer was Ben Sira, who delivered two lectures (on planning legislation and urban development). Brutzkus, who was invited as an external expert, talked about “Decentralization of the Urban Population;” Kauffmann lectured on “Countryside Planning and Agricultural Regions,” reflecting on his vast experience in shaping the Zionist rural landscape; and Klein addressed the “Foundations of Urban Development,” in which he elaborated on his idea of the “organic city,” a local take on the garden city and the neighborhood idea. Other lecture topics included land issues (Cohen), location of industry, and transportation (the latter two by Konikoff).⁵⁶⁸

The final conclusions were submitted directly to David Ben Gurion on November 29th, 1945. The report, drawing on up-to-date British planning ideas, introduced no professional innovations. As a whole, it can be best described as a concise, localized version of the Barlow, Uthwatt and Scott reports, condensed into 11 pages. The interventionist tools devised for postwar reconstruction were reworked by the planners for imagining the future state.

Major recommendations included decentralization of industry and urban population through the construction of industrial estates and new towns (following the Barlow Report),⁵⁶⁹ regulating speculation by imposing betterment tax (The Uthwatt Report) as a means to ensure “urban land policy [built] upon sound progressive foundations,” and the protection of agricultural land as a top national priority to secure food production and open land (à la the Scott Report).⁵⁷⁰ The proposed mechanism for its implementation was to establish a shadow central

⁵⁶⁶ “To David Ben Gurion from A. Granovsky,” October 1945, CZA/A175/120.

⁵⁶⁷ From January 15 through October 24. According to Bar-Cohen, meetings were conducted in the German language. In Bar-Cohen, “Legislative Process of the Planning and Building Law,” 2007, 44. However, minutes were circulated in both Hebrew and German. See ample examples in CZA/A175/120.

⁵⁶⁸ For a list, see “To David Ben Gurion from A. Granovsky,” October 1945, CZA/A175/120. Two other non-members who were invited to participate as expert witnesses were Z. Lublianker and A. Fridland.

⁵⁶⁹ Excerpts from the Barlow Report concerning planning in Calcutta and Singapore were found in the papers of Kauffman regarding the committee’s work. “From the Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population, January 1940, CZA/A175/120

⁵⁷⁰ “Report on the Subcommittee for Physical Planning,” n.d., BGA/Planning (hatichon) Committee/6116.1, 4. Other important means of creating “robust progressive foundations” for urban areas included the expansion of expropriation rights and enlarging publicly-owned land reserves by means of municipal and national acquisition.

planning authority for the Jewish sector. Despite its informal “advisory status”, it nonetheless should “have enough authority to achieve its goals”.⁵⁷¹ Local branches were to be established in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, echoing the British district planning system.

In terms of reforming the settlement structure, the planners recommended that new urban centers were to be built as a chain of new cities along the coast, each with an “optimal size” of maximum 50-60,000 residents (and a maximum of 300,000 in exceptional cases). For the Haifa and Tel Aviv metropolitan areas, it offered the British metropolitan satellite model: “a cluster of cities, composed of municipal units, each separate and self-contained, while at the same time to be connected to their sister cities as well as to the central city, with interspersed rural strips meticulously planned and well maintained.”⁵⁷²

However, perhaps the most interesting aspect was the nature of national planning as understood by the committee members. **The report linked statutory physical planning with national economic development.** It introduced into Palestine an emerging concept of planning law, one which would cover the entire national territory according to a fixed hierarchy, radiating out from the urban, to the district, the regional and national levels (see chapter 2). In this way, they argued, a division of key land uses for the entire country would be possible, ensuring “the proper use of all kinds of soil in the context of a **balanced, organic economy**, for the needs of agriculture, industry, housing, transport, culture and recreation, while preserving agricultural land, and places with historic and scenic qualities as well as natural resources” [emphasis added].⁵⁷³ Indeed, this all-encompassing planning approach would underpin early statehood planning, especially the 1951/2 national master plan, as I will discuss later in the chapter.

The report was effective in presenting basic planning ideas as a policy document to be read by the highest echelons of power. Nonetheless, it was ultimately no more than a general roadmap that sought to summarize advanced planning ideas, rather than a concrete programme for urban modernization. It came with no supporting maps, hardly any concrete references to specific geographical locations, nor was there any consideration of the distinct planning issues that were present in the burgeoning metropolitan areas around the three main cities.

Reichman associates “the weakness of the operative recommendations” to the lack of fixed territorial boundaries, given the political uncertainties present at the time, as well to the lack of clarity of its long term goals.⁵⁷⁴ To this, we can add another reason: the ideological unease to fully embrace the urban option. While speaking the expert language of international planning norms of urbanism, they were not able to challenge directly the rural pioneering ethos, the ideological core of the Zionist settlement endeavor. Brutzkus argued that despite the fact that it was “clear to the committee, perhaps for the first time in a forum of the national institutions, that most of the absorption of the immigration would take place not in the rural, but in the urban

The famous 1891 Frankfurt-originated Lex Adickes is also mentioned in the report as another source of redistributive tools. In *ibid*, 6.

⁵⁷¹ See chapter 2 for Boris Brutzkus’ idea for a similar apparatus and the means by which the Jewish community could sanction and control its community.

⁵⁷² “Report on the Subcommittee for Physical Planning,” n.d., BGA/Planning (hatichon) Committee/6116.1, 9.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid*, 5.

⁵⁷⁴ Reichman, *From Foothold*, 95. A third reason, according to Reichmann, was the lack of understanding among the decision makers regarding the benefits of physical planning for promoting national development. In *ibid*, 94.

sector,” nonetheless, it “was supposedly agreed upon also in this committee that agriculture and rural settlement has some priority over the urban sector.”

Indeed, no direct attack was launched on the increasingly anachronistic ideological position, and the primacy of agricultural land within the national landscape was emphasized time and again. The urban future was acknowledged as the least bad option; as such, it was embraced cautiously, but hardly celebrated.

Reception

For some members of the committee, these conclusions and the lack of immediate impact were disappointing. In a conference in 1946, Zaversky remarked on the “lack of required understanding” among Zionist circles about “policy questions.” He explained: “I participated with several friends in one of the subcommittees that was finally established for these questions. We did some work, but also its conclusions were doomed to be filed and then ignored [...] nothing has been done thus far.”⁵⁷⁵

Brutzkus, in particular, seemed to have had high hopes for this committee. He found the conclusions, however, to be “very general”, “almost academic,” reflecting “in a not insubstantial way principles of physical planning and land policy that were common in the enlightened world, and agreed upon by the few physical planners in Palestine.”⁵⁷⁶ The conclusions, in his view, were buried, “perhaps because they were new to the general [Jewish] public, including the leaders and municipal and housing functionaries.”⁵⁷⁷

Further, he goes on to assert that none of the post-1948 policy makers or planners “had probably ever read this document and nor did they likely even know that it existed. It was found in the archives and published only about thirty years later.”⁵⁷⁸ However, there are different versions to this story. We know that at least in one instance, Arie Sharon, the head of the Planning Department, had asked to consider the materials of the Planning Committee.⁵⁷⁹ Hashimshoni, his deputy, discussed the report in relative length in his autobiography, arguing that the report “has guided us a lot in our work.”⁵⁸⁰ He explained that—

All the problems that they had handled in the “pre-state” period were identical to the problems and constraints that we in effect stumbled upon [after 1948], except for the problem of land ownership ... [the report’s] foresight, goal and content was accepted by us. **Our hands were free**

⁵⁷⁵ *On the Municipal Action of the Histadrut: Discussions of the Annual (ninth) Municipal Meeting of the Histadrut, December 1946* (Tel Aviv: The Histadrut, 1947), 32.

⁵⁷⁶ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 143-144.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 153. The publication Brutzkus refers to is the work of Shalom Reichmann 1979.

⁵⁷⁹ From Arie Sharon to the Government Secretariat, November 8, 1948, ISA/G/336/27. Sharon asked for the material of the Planning Committee in its entirety. He does not specify the Physical Planning Committee.

⁵⁸⁰ Hashimshoni, *The Path*, 141.

to try and realize their fundamental ideas while adapting them to the new reality.⁵⁸¹
[emphasis added].

One way or another, a line can be drawn from the earlier attempts of planning advocacy in the early 1940s, through the Planning Committee's work to the urban turn of early statehood. By 1948, the generation that had grown up professionally in the Hebrew municipalities of Palestine, such as Brutzkus, Hashimshoni and Ben Sira, rose to national prominence. Many of the ideas morphed into the national urban policy of the independent state, in one way or another, taking into account matters ranging from a city's "optimal size," through urban and industrial decentralization to national division of key land uses, all of which would become underlying principles in early statehood planning.

Conclusions

British Imperial preparations for *postwar reconstruction* were the main catalyst for the introduction of physical planning as a domain of national policy within the Zionist institutions. Individual, isolated calls for planning from before the war, such as Brutzkus' 1938 plan (see chapter 2), now reverberated within a growing community of practitioners who were eager to elevate the urban problem as a priority on the agenda of the Zionist leadership. By the early 1940s, planners began to organize collectively, establishing probably the first planning advocacy group in Jewish Palestine, The Joint Committee of the Jewish Members of the Local Town Planning in the Lydda District. Driven by ideas of a planned economy and society as the key for the postwar society, they sought to provide an integrative solution combining significant settlement reform, mass immigration and economic modernization.

During this period, first within the context of the voluntary Joint Committee, and later, within the official Jewish Agency Planning Committee, purely professional ideas for mass urbanization were reformulated as policy, ultimately laying the groundwork for the post-1948 urban turn. The planners were not deterred by the fact that they were operating within the context of a national movement bereft of sovereign authority. For them, planning was a central tool in nation-building and they were keen to begin immediately: "the transition from war time to peacetime enables us to generate changes within the settlement structure, and we should seize this opportunity."⁵⁸² With hopes dashed for the immediate postwar years, they had to wait three more years, until 1948, before they could implement these ideas, now under independent Jewish sovereignty.

As in other countries, the individual agency of determined planning advocates was crucial in the process of promoting this new field as a policy expertise.⁵⁸³ The most prominent advocates, Ben Sira and Brutzkus, were trained as civil engineers rather than architects, and gained the professional experience in municipal administration. This is a crucial point. Planning advocacy did not come from their generational contemporaries, the architects who had been

⁵⁸¹ Ibid.

⁵⁸² "Minutes of the Ninth Meeting of the Subcommittee for Physical Planning," June 26-27, 1945, CZA/A175/120.

⁵⁸³ See footnote 48.

trained during the interwar years in the main centers of European architectural modernism (such as in the Bauhaus). Nor was it initiated by the older generation of the leading institutional architects, who worked with the Jewish Agency and were engaged in rural pioneering design experiments.⁵⁸⁴

Rather, the initiative came from a tier of proto-technocratic, young urban administrators who had turned to public service. These practitioners were those who sought, and ultimately succeeded in, “**infiltrating into policy circles,**” as Brutzkus put it.⁵⁸⁵ The relative tedium of policy activity, far from the public eye, stood in direct contrast to highly visible avant-garde design. Yet it turned out to be crucial at the end of the day. It was their ideas on large scale planning, rather than avant-garde modernist theories on social transformation, that were ultimately put before the decision makers, eventually serving as the foundations for the post-1948 urban turn.

Further, the planners were able to succeed in introducing physical planning into the policy discourse because of their ability to speak the language of economic modernization. The overall orientation of the Planning Committee was economic, into which physical planning managed to gain access, albeit through the ‘back door,’ and with no results at first. This connection seems to have come naturally to urban administrators, who were already dealing with economic aspects of urban land policy within their cities. And especially so for Brutzkus. His close affinity to economic and demographic issues seems to have been especially useful for articulating spatial ideas in the form of economic and demographic policy.⁵⁸⁶

Nonetheless, it is also worth paying attention to the tension between the Zionist national interests and the kinds of knowledge imported by the planners. The work of the planners required constant negotiations between the two. On the one hand, there were professional norms of metropolitan decentralization, in the form of new urban satellite communities and increased public control of private land. On the other hand, the Zionist ideological imperative rejected both the urban orientation and putting any restraints on Jewish development.

The rather general nature of the Planning Committee’s conclusions, absent any meaningful operational detail, reflect these tensions. Realizing, perhaps, that the Zionist endeavor, should it strive to become a robust modern economy, would ultimately face an urban, rather than agricultural, future, they avoided a direct statement affirming the city. However, by 1948, conditions had changed profoundly. The previous hesitance gave way to a full-fledged urban programme.

⁵⁸⁴ Architects, industrialists, and the building sector joined in the anticipation of postwar reconstruction and organized exhibitions, competitions, conferences and various public events. See, for example, the special issue on “The Exhibition for the Issues of Wartime Building and Thereafter,” *The Journal of the Association of the Engineers and Architects in Palestine* 4, no. 4, (June/July 1943):11-12.

⁵⁸⁵ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 155.

⁵⁸⁶ The data and underlying working assumptions that guided the subcommittee reflect Brutzkus’ ideas on the “polar settlement pattern,” discussed in chapter 2. See “Report on the Subcommittee for Physical Planning,” n.d., BGA/Planning (hatichon) Committee/6116.1

Part II. Sharon's Plan Revisited, 1948-1953

Planning in the era of independence brings us back to somewhat firmer scholarly ground. Between the years 1948-1951, within three years following independence, Israel established fifteen New Towns, more than half of its twenty-seven New Towns in total. The settlement campaign was guided by the "National Master Plan for Dispersal of the Population", prepared by the national Planning Department.

Conventional history on the Planning Department's work focuses on aspects of the *realization* of the settlement plan in connection with the early statehood nation-building. Aspects explored include settlement patterns, organizational history of the Planning Department and the institutionalization of the field, as well as case studies of specific new towns. A special emphasis is placed on the enduring demographic, economic and cultural impact of the New Towns on Israeli society.⁵⁸⁷ The goal of this section is to complement this scholarship by illuminating unexplored aspects within post-1948 planning. I will focus on the continuities and discontinuities from the pre-state period with respect to *ideas of planning and our main protagonists as they were engaged therewith*. As well, I will explore the competing socio-spatial imaginations, both within the department and vis-à-vis competing settlement programmes championed by other developmental agencies.

A key theme that runs throughout is the relations of the planners with the state. As will emerge, the historical circumstances complicate the general sociological construct of an unequivocal high modernist alliance between the planners and state. By analyzing the power relations within the Israeli administration, I will argue that in fact the legal and administrative position of the planning department was weak and fragile. As a result, planners had to employ strategies and cultivate alliances with developmental state agencies in order to bypass the political leadership's lack of interest, maneuvers that resulted in profound changes to their original plans. Further, this intricate web of relations challenges the idea of a monolithic complex of either "state" or "planners," as it points to conflicting visions of modernization within both.

Within the Planning Department, the internal conflicts call into question the popularly-held view of the planning work as a product of avant-garde modernist ideas, guided by Bauhaus-graduate Arie Sharon, who headed the planning team. Instead, it demonstrates the continuity of key ideas conceived by the planners on the team during the pre-statehood period. It shows that the post-1948 planning work derived from economic, demographic and technocratic ideas that had percolated within planning circles for some time, rather than developed in response to the exigencies of the moment. This conclusion leads to a reconsideration of the relations between architects and planners, and how the tensions between the two sister professions, as they were expressed within the department, affected the planning schemes that were put into place.

⁵⁸⁷ See, for example, Erika Spiegel, *New Towns in Israel* (Praeger, New York: 1967); Miriam Tuvia and Michael Boneh, eds., *Building the Land: Public Housing in the 1950s* (Tel Aviv: Ha'Kibbutz Ha'Meuchad, 1999). Zvi Tzameret, Aviva Halamish, and Esther Meir-Glitzenstein, eds., *The Development Towns*, vol. 24, Idan Series (Jerusalem: Yad Itzhak Ben-Zvi, 2009).

The Planning Lobby: The Settlement Reform Circle, 1947-1951

The “Settlement Reform Circle” (hereafter: Reform Circle) was established following the UN Resolution of November 29th 1947 on the partition of British-ruled Palestine into two independent states, Arab and Jewish. Conventional scholarship views the Reform Circle as the harbinger of national planning. Its work is considered as the ideological hotbed for ideas of national urban decentralization, the result of a voluntary group of professionals and administrators, responding to the pressing challenges of nation-building.⁵⁸⁸ Since scholars usually consider it a mere segway to the transformative post-48 period, the Reform Circle’s advocacy work is treated very briefly, and never as a moment that merits a more thorough scrutiny.

However, a careful examination of historical records calls into question key parts of the conventional understanding. It shows that the Reform Circle’s role as a *producer* of original ideas has been exaggerated. Most of the conceptual work had been already carried out within the framework of the Planning Committee and the Joint Committee, with no indication that the Reform Circle actually then produced any original work. Instead, the importance of the Reform Circle was not in the *consolidation* of ideas, but rather in the *dissemination* and *reception* of already existing ideas, mainly those of Brutzkus and engineer Yosef Tischler, the co-founders of the Reform Circle.

Further, it turns out that most of the resources generated by the Reform Circle derive from Brutzkus: from primary documents written by him during the 1940s and early 1950s to academic studies relying on Brutzkus as a main oral informant.⁵⁸⁹ For instance, Sharon, the head of the state’s first planning team, does not mention the Reform Circle in his writings on the period, nor does Zvi Hashimshoni, Sharon’s deputy on the team. The only person who seems to have discussed it is Brutzkus himself, who founded the Reform Circle and managed its activities. In other words, all the evidence points to Brutzkus as the key protagonist behind the creation of the narrative about the Reform Circle.

Brutzkus co-founded the Reform Circle with his close colleague Yosef Tischler, a senior engineer and a lifelong advocate of the Zionist garden city. For Brutzkus, the establishment of

⁵⁸⁸ See footnote 499.

⁵⁸⁹ Scholars who relied on Brutzkus as an oral informant include Reichman, Yehudai and Schechter. See Reichman and Yehudai, *A Survey*, for which Brutzkus served as a special consultant; Shalom Reichman, “Three Dilemmas in the Evolution of Jewish Settlement in Palestine: Colonization, Urbanization and Reconstruction,” *City and Region* 2, no. 3 (February 1975). 51-52 [footnote 18] ; Schechter, “Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats,” Acknowledgments. The Israel State Archives (ISA) hold folders with primary-source materials regarding the Reform Circle, which are accompanied by special explanatory notes written by Brutzkus in the 1980s. Most of these primary source materials, which Brutzkus later identified as expressing the work of the Reform Circle, were also put together by earlier by Brutzkus himself, as will emerge in this chapter.

Scholars have been relying on these primary sources as well as on Reichman’s studies ever since. Selected examples include, Kark, “Planning, Housing and Land Policy 1948–1952,”; Troen, *Imagining Zion*; Smadar Sharon, “Planners, the State, and the Shaping of National Space in the 1950s,” *Theory and Criticism* 29 (Autumn 2006): 31–58.

the Reform Circle marked the triumph of the marginal urban lobby to which he belonged, now rising to national prominence. His desire to show that the urban ideas that he had long advocated were now the consensus, a conclusion embraced by the professional community can explain why he chose to present the work of the Reform Circle as a *collective* enterprise that served as an “ideological cradle for national planning,” even at the cost of downplaying his own crucial engagement within it. However, as we will show, the group served mostly as a platform to rework previously-conceived ideas into the new historical conditions of an independent Jewish state.⁵⁹⁰

Activities and Manifesto

The group was established in December 1947 and it began operating regularly by March-April 1948, shortly before the Jewish Declaration of Independence published on May 14th of that year.⁵⁹¹ Composed of settlement experts, public figures and publicists, the group’s meetings took place in Tel Aviv every two to three weeks between the years 1948-1951, and were attended by up to 80 people.⁵⁹² It was headed by Yosef Tischler, a veteran municipal engineer. Brutzkus served as the secretary of the group. The steering committee members included Zvi Berenson (the head of the Municipal Department of the *Histadrut*), Avraham Werber (the Jewish Agency Water expert), the Ha’aretz journalist Moshe Ater (Ettinger), and architects Uriel Schiller and W. Poltschak, the latter two of whom were later part of the state’s first planning team.⁵⁹³

The group’s advocacy work included publishing articles in daily newspapers and meetings with politicians.⁵⁹⁴ Between August 1948 and March 1949, at least 14 meetings took place, each dedicated to a different lecture given by one of the members.⁵⁹⁵ The principal speakers were Brutzkus and Tischler, the only speakers who gave two talks each (Brutzkus, who spoke both on “Population Dispersal and Economic Stability” and “Ways of Absorbing Immigration,” and Tischler, who spoke both on the Jerusalem Planning and on his long-standing idea for establishing *Qiyra Ne’emana*, (The Faithful City), a new form of Jewish garden city.

⁵⁹⁰ Brutzkus believed in “quiet bureaucratic action,” namely, the constant efforts of experts in public service for achieving long-term goals and bypassing what he considered as shortsighted political interests. See Eliezer Brutzkus, “What Was There Before the Beginning?,” *Nature and Land* 29 (September 1987): 28. Schechter, who worked closely with Brutzkus, provides a first-hand account of his technocratic attitude. As he explained to her, since his goal was “to keep the politicians out” of planning issues, he unfolded the strategies which he employed in various instances during his career. In Schechter, “Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats,” 70.

⁵⁹¹ Reichman, *From Foothold*, 426.

⁵⁹² Schechter, “Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats,” 48.

⁵⁹³ Reichman, *From Foothold*, 426. Other individuals who attended, according to Reichman, were Heinz Rau, and Eliezer Livne, a journalist and a Labor Party (*mapai*) politician. In *Ibid*.

⁵⁹⁴ Schechter, “Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats,” 48.

⁵⁹⁵ Yosef Tischler, “Lecture (Conversation) List,” Yosef Tischler’s Papers, in Givoli, “The Beginning of Physical Planning in Israel : Analysis of the First Comprehensive Plan of Israel,” Appendix IV.2, 117.

The final meetings in this lecture series were dedicated to a discussion on Brutzkus and Tischler's lectures.⁵⁹⁶

The principles advocated by the group were, as Reichman put it, “ a regionalist approach to national development, population dispersal, the use of comprehensive regional and national planning, landscape preservation and blunting the growth of the Tel Aviv area.”⁵⁹⁷ An unsigned circular published by the group appears to have functioned as the Reform Circle's manifesto.⁵⁹⁸ It follows Brutzkus' terminology and line of argumentation, and it seems safe to assume that he was the main narrator behind it. Beginning with the “polar settlement pattern,” through the familiar demographic statistics on the “three large cities” and the danger that such polarity poses to the “economic stability,” the manifesto argues for the need to establish “small and medium-sized urban centers” throughout the country by means of centralized national planning. The circular further contends that these planning ideas have international backing, having been recognized “not only by the Soviet Union, but also by the United States and England, [where] in the past twenty years they have great impact on applied economic policy.”⁵⁹⁹

A look into the list of members reveals a wide range of professionals from different newly-founded ministries, such as Transportation, Agriculture, Finance and Commerce, as well as water experts, meteorologists, and statisticians, among others.⁶⁰⁰ However, the nature of the membership and the degree of engagement of the members is not entirely clear. From the scarce primary resources about the group's activity, there is no evidence regarding any conceptual or practical work carried out by the group, in whole or in part. The only known outcomes were policy papers produced by Brutzkus, and, to a lesser extent, by Tischler, which mainly echo their long-argued, personally-held ideas for settlement reform.⁶⁰¹

According to Brutzkus, the appointment of several members to key positions within the new administration contributed to the partial reception of its ideas: Berenson, who used his executive powers as the general director of the Ministry of Labor and Construction responsible for public housing; Brutzkus himself, who became a senior planner in the new Planning Department; and U. Schiller and W. Poltschak, as regional planners in the Galilee and Central

⁵⁹⁶ Three additional meetings were devoted to other debates: two on the topic of tourism, and one on Oppenheimer's lecture on “The Pioneering City.” Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ Reichman, *From Foothold*, 426.

⁵⁹⁸ “The Reform Settlement Circle,” n.d., LIA/V-203.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid. Brutzkus' thought is discussed in detail in chapter 2.

⁶⁰⁰ Yosef Tischler, “The Members of the Settlement Reform Circle,” Yosef Tischler's Papers, in Givoli, “The Beginning of Physical Planning,” 1993, Appendix IV.1, 115-116.

⁶⁰¹ Two of them are detailed in Eliezer Brutzkus, “Three Documents Characteristic of the Very First Period after the Establishment of the State”, November 9, 1980, ISA/G/7067/6. One key document, however, has been lost: Brutzkus' unpublished manuscript on “Planning Thought” is missing, one section of which contained the majority of his analysis of the work.

District, respectively.⁶⁰² Others members who were appointed to the Planning Department were Ariel Kahane, Arieh Dudai, Matytiahu Shilon, and Dr. Herlinger.⁶⁰³

Perhaps more important were the people who were missing from the Reform Circle's membership list. It did not include the modernist architects from the Architects Circle (discussed earlier in this chapter). As well, glaringly absent are senior planners in the Planning Department, Brutzkus' immediate colleagues. Heinz Rau, who served as the head of the National Plans Unit, was not a member of the Reform Circle.⁶⁰⁴ Nor was Glikson a member of the Reform Circle, although, according to Brutzkus, he "sympathized" with its ideas.⁶⁰⁵ Arieh Sharon seemed to have joined the Reform Circle at a later point, but he played only a limited role within it.⁶⁰⁶

The Tischler-Brutzkus Urban Camp

The collaboration between Tischler and Brutzkus, as the co-founders and central forces behind the Circle, merits further discussion. According to Brutzkus, the initiative to establish the Circle stemmed from discussions that took place between Tischler and himself in the two months following the UN Decision in November 1949.⁶⁰⁷ At the time, Brutzkus was the municipal engineer of Beney Berak, while Tischler was a resident of the town. It was more than a mere geographical affinity: both were passionate urban advocates.

Tischler (1887-1971), a Viennese engineer who had immigrated in 1921, was a longtime champion of urban settlement. In 1919, he published a programme for large-scale garden city settlement, *Die Zukunft der Jüdischen Heimstätte: der Wiederaufbau des Landes Israel*, and in the years that followed, he promoted the establishment of a garden city, *Qiryā Ne'emana*, which never came to fruition.⁶⁰⁸ Inspired by Howard's Social City, he envisioned a national urban network situated within an agrarian-regional setting, in which town and country would be integrated within one economic and educational system. In Palestine, Tischler developed a successful career as an architect and, in addition, he was an extremely active in both the professional and public life of Palestine Jewry.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰² Reichman, *From Foothold*, 426.

⁶⁰³ Yosef Tischler, "The Members of the Settlement Reform Circle," Yosef Tischler's Papers, in Givoli, "The Beginning of Physical Planning," Appendix IV.1, 115-116; Schechter, "Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats," 49. I was not able to trace Dr. Herlinger's given name.

⁶⁰⁴ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 220.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 231.

⁶⁰⁶ This, according to Brutzkus, in transcripts of interviews with Zvi Berenson by Eliezer Brutzkus and Avital Schechter, August 26, 1986, Jerusalem, ASC, 7.

⁶⁰⁷ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 158.

⁶⁰⁸ Tischler's proposal was part of a Zionist utopian writing on garden cities. See Ines Sonder, "May Be Solved by the Construction of Garden Cities". German Literary Proposals on Garden Cities in Eretz Israel," in *Garden Cities and Colonial Planning. Transnationality and Urban Ideas in Africa and Palestine*, ed. Liora Bigon and Yossi Katz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); 123-43. See also Reichman, *From Foothold*, 91-93, 148-157.

⁶⁰⁹ He was a co-founder in 1921 of the Association of Engineers and Architects in Palestine, the first Zionist professional organization. For his architectural work, see Baruch Ravid, *Josef Tischler: Architect and Town Planner*

Despite his wide-spread activities, within the official settlement agencies, dominated by the socialist secular pioneers, Tischler's status was limited. Not only did he build mainly in the **urban private sector**, focusing on Tel Aviv and its nearby suburbs, but also politically, he seems to have been closely affiliated with the religious Zionist-religious sector, the *HaPoel HaMizrachi*.⁶¹⁰ A mirror image of the celebrated architect Richard Kauffmann and Arie Sharon, the well-connected socialist and confidant of Ben Gurion, Tischler seems have operated in a parallel realm, immersing himself in the service of the traditional Orthodox Jewish community residing in the cities.⁶¹¹

Brutzkus, 20 years Tischler's junior, found in him a source of inspiration as an and the originator of the urban alternative and a "pioneer of the regionalist approach."⁶¹² As such, Brutzkus held Tischler in high regard, arguing that "during the 1920s, Tischler was, after [Richard] Kauffmann, perhaps the only person in Palestine who had training and experience in town building."⁶¹³ In 1947, with Jewish independence looming, Tischler translated his 1919 German-language book on urban mass settlement into Hebrew, hoping to find an attentive ear for his ideas. According to Brutzkus, these ideas "had not received proper resonance nor made an impact during the Mandate period." It was only during the course of the Reform Circle's activities—"a natural continuation of the same conceptual line that he had adhered to three decades earlier"—that this relative neglect was finally corrected.⁶¹⁴ Thus, Brutzkus argued, with the Reform Circle's "immense direct impact, and even greater its indirect" impact on early statehood planning, Tischler finally had come full circle.⁶¹⁵

In other words, Brutzkus drew a direct line between Tischler's urban plans in 1919 and post-independence urbanization plans, viewing the engagement by Brutzkus in the latter as following in the footsteps of what Tischler had pioneered. The Reform Settlement Circle provided a rare moment in which Tischler, the long-time urban advocate together with the younger generation of planners, represented by Brutzkus himself, combined forces, jointly pointing the way towards an alternative urban trajectory.

in Tel Aviv (Tel Aviv: Bauhaus Center, 2008). For a description of his engagement in public life, see "Yosef Tischler," 1965, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.tidhar.tourolib.org/tidhar/view/14/4538>.

⁶¹⁰ Tischler studied in a *Heder* (the traditional Jewish Orthodox primary school for boys), along with the Nobel Prize winner, the author Shmuel Y. Agnon, and he continued independently to study religious topics thereafter. During WWI, as a head of a Russian prisoners' battalion, he took special care of the needs of Jewish prisoners, supplying Kosher food and the Torah scroll for religious services. In Palestine, he was engaged in the religious community, especially pedagogical activities (among them, the head of the Parents Committee of the religious school Talpiot) as well as in promotion of the Hebrew language. In Tidhar, "Yosef Tischler", 1965.

⁶¹¹ See, for example, an article published in Tischler's honor in the bulletin of the religious-Zionist movement: Dr. Kopel Blum, "Engineer Yosef Tischler: 25 Years since his Immigration to Palestine," *Hatzofe*, January 19, 1947.

⁶¹² Eliezer Brutzkus, "The Deceased Yosef Tischler: A Biographical Outline," *The Israeli Association for Environmental Planning Quarterly* 16 (June 1971): 7. The same obituary also appears in *The Engineer* 6 (1971):10.

⁶¹³ *Ibid*, 7.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid*, 7-8.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid*, 7.

The Establishment of the Israeli Planning Department, 1948

The Planning Department (*Agaf Ha'Tichnun*) was founded in July 1948, following the establishment of the State of Israel in May of that year. It assumed the legal responsibilities of the former British Town Planning Adviser as the supreme planning authority of the country. However, the regime shift entailed a profound change in its character. The British Town Planning Adviser had limited itself to aspects of regulation, supervision and coordination of land use, with the goal of securing local stability and strategic imperial interests. The Israeli successor, however, espoused a sweeping “proactive comprehensive approach” to planning.⁶¹⁶ It was founded with a centralist orientation and a direct connection with the different ministerial units responsible for implementation.⁶¹⁷

Its new administrative home was in the Labour and Construction Ministry, entrusted to MAPAM, a Jewish left-wing party that espoused a pro-Soviet party line. According to the historian Alex Bein, the Ministry’s senior officials embraced the idea of comprehensive planning, a notion that echoed the centralistic USSR planning norms with which they sympathized.⁶¹⁸ A planning unit was meant to complement the Ministry’s units responsible for execution (chiefly, Housing and Public Works), thereby creating a seamless in-house “production chain” from planning to the execution of state-led housing and development schemes.⁶¹⁹

Another profound departure from the previous period was in the personnel for the planning office. By and large, the Jewish Agency’s various departments were meant to become the backbone of the newly founded governmental offices (the prime example being the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, which was incorporated as the first Foreign Ministry).⁶²⁰ However, the senior professionals who had worked in the Settlement Department or the Technical Department of the Jewish Agency, the units responsible for national land development, were absent from the newly-founded Planning Department. In the background, a “power struggle” had taken place between two approaches.

On the one hand was the “centralist approach”, represented by the new Labour and Construction Minister Mordechi Bentov, which sought to promote large-scale proactive physical planning and execution in an integrative fashion, and therefore sought to recruit likeminded planner and experts. On the other side were the people from the Jewish Agency, notably Levy Eshkol (the head of the Settlement Department) and the engineer Yaakov Reiser (from the Technical Department). Both viewed the Jewish Agency as the natural candidate to lead national planning and construction. They sought to apply the existing organizational framework to the independent state, characterized by an incremental, improvisational approach to planning and

⁶¹⁶ As suggested by the book title of Reichman and Yehudai, "Survey." The literal translation of the Hebrew title is “Proactive Comprehensive Planning.”

⁶¹⁷ Ibid, 10.

⁶¹⁸ Schechter, “Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats,” 1990, 49.

⁶¹⁹ Reichman and Yehudai, “Survey,” 10.

⁶²⁰ Ibid, 10-11.

settlement. According to Reichmann, negotiations between Reiser and Bentov began before May 15th, 1948, but they were not successful.⁶²¹

The outcome was that new personnel, together with a new planning approach, took over. Neither the staff of the Jewish Agency (nor Kauffmann nor Klein, who had both worked closely with the Jewish Agency), were incorporated into the new planning team.⁶²² Instead, Arieh Sharon was appointed by Labour and Construction Minister Mordechi Bentov to head the new department. For the left-leaning Bentov, Sharon was especially suitable for the task. He was closely affiliated with the socialist political elite, and he was a personal acquaintance both of Minister Bentov as well as Prime Minister Ben Gurion, who were all part of a social milieu that harkened back to Sharon's early days as a young pioneer on the Kibbutz in the early 1920s.⁶²³ The progressive agenda of Bauhaus-Dessau, where Sharon had studied between 1926-1929, and his later his work at the office of architect Hans Mayer (1929-1931), were especially appealing to Socialist Zionism's utopian aspirations.

During the 1930s and 1940s, Sharon had established himself as perhaps the leading voice of architectural modernism within Palestine Jewry. With his ideological sympathies, personal charisma and his notable architectural pedigree, Sharon's private practice became extremely successful within the context of the socialist movement and beyond, with commissions ranging from Kibbutz planning to urban workers houses and key public buildings.⁶²⁴ However, during these pre-state years, he had hardly dealt with issues of urban and large scale planning.⁶²⁵

The Planning Department's "Golden Age", 1948-1953

Minister Bentov entrusted Sharon with the task of recruiting staff for the new planning department. Sharon appointed Zvi Hashimshoni as his deputy, Heinz Rau as the director of National Planning and Eliezer Brutzkus as the head of the Survey Unit.⁶²⁶ Other appointments included Artur Glikson and Ariel Kahane as regional planners [Fig. 47]. Additional planners and architects were recruited from municipalities, private offices, and various professional, civilian and military settings. Sharon recounted how "work began immediately, despite the [1948] war.

⁶²¹ Reichman and Yehudai, *Survey*, 11 [footnote 4].

⁶²² According to Schechter, the recommended nominee by the Engineers and Architects Association in Palestine for the position of the head of the Planning Department was Richard Kauffmann. In Schechter, "Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats," 114. While this is intriguing, I was not able to find further information to support this claim.

⁶²³ See Schechter, "Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats," 128, 130. Sharon was a member of the Hashomer Hatzar youth movement, the leftish faction of the Zionist Labor movement. He emigrated to Palestine in 1920, and he was part of the founding group of Kibbutz Gan Shmuel.

⁶²⁴ For biographical background on Sharon, see Myra Warhaftig, *They Laid the Foundation*, 2007, 122-25; Arieh Sharon Foundation Website, accessed February 22, 2017, <http://www.ariesharon.org/>.

⁶²⁵ Schechter, "Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats," 99.

⁶²⁶ On Rau, see footnote 58.

Together with some dozens of architects and engineers, we prepared a working programme for town and regional planning.”⁶²⁷

Hashimshoni, the Deputy, provides a vivid account of the recruitment process, replete with invaluable “inside information” about the professional performance and personalities of the various candidates. What especially emerges from his account is a sense of an eclectic ad-hoc assemblage of people, cobbled together in haste:⁶²⁸

The first problem that we faced was recruiting planners for our unit [Planning Department]. The overwhelming majority of those who understood planning had been drafted into the army. Only a few had been exempted from military service. We decided to approach the Defense Minister and ask him to release people and [instead] to assign them with us. We argued that today planning is a national necessity [and that] the people recommended by us will provide more benefit as planners than for the military. Prime minister Ben Gurion approved our request, and we were asked to submit a list of individuals with some experience in planning.

Thus, they “approached [Ariel] **Kahane**, who had worked for years at the office of the Town Planning Adviser.”⁶²⁹ Kahane was an especially good fit for the team since he “had great knowledge of planning theory and information on Israel” and he “always aspired to proactive planning,” from which “had been prevented” “during the Mandate period.”⁶³⁰ Hashimshoni goes on to describe how he brought “[Artur] **Glikson** and (Yehuda) **Levinson**,” whom had worked with me in preparing the master plan for [the town of] Petah Tikva (see chapter 4).⁶³¹ They also recruited “[Eliezer] **Brutzkus**, the Beney Berak municipal engineer, a man who had substantial statistical information about the country, and who wrote articles in professional outlets on planning issues.”⁶³²

Heinz Rau was held in high regard, the reason for appointing him to lead the complex process of devising national plans. He was a “brilliant architect,” who also “mastered planning ideas at their various levels.”⁶³³ He came as “a man who had built himself, rising from being a minor official in the Railroad Unit in Germany, through step-by-step personal development, to become an architect and planner.” As such, he arrived to the department with “practical experience,”⁶³⁴ while also being “a man of principle such that “his critical comments [were directed and taken to] heart us as well.”⁶³⁵

⁶²⁷ Arie Sharon, *Kibbutz + Bauhaus: An Architect's Way in a New Land* (Stuttgart: Kramer Verlag, 1976), 78.

⁶²⁸ Hashimshoni, *The Path*, 136-139.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*

⁶³² *Ibid.*, 138.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*

Another interesting appointment was **Marcel Janco**, the Dada artist (and an architect by training) as the director of the Landscape and Antiques Unit. As part of his job, Janco “went out to the field with team members and examined the early proposals, and he handled the [consolidation of planning] norms for open public areas.”⁶³⁶

Hashimshoni’s list goes on.⁶³⁷ Once the staff was recruited, its members “were faced with the dilemma of how to meld everyone into one conceptual entity. Indeed, each of them had come from a different background and each had his distinct opinions. We didn’t seek consensus, but merely a modus operandi that would bring us to a single, unified conceptual solution.”⁶³⁸ Sharon recounted how the “team was full of dash, imagination and enthusiasm. There was a fighting mood, we were determined to overcome vested interests, local ambitions and short-range emergency targets.”⁶³⁹

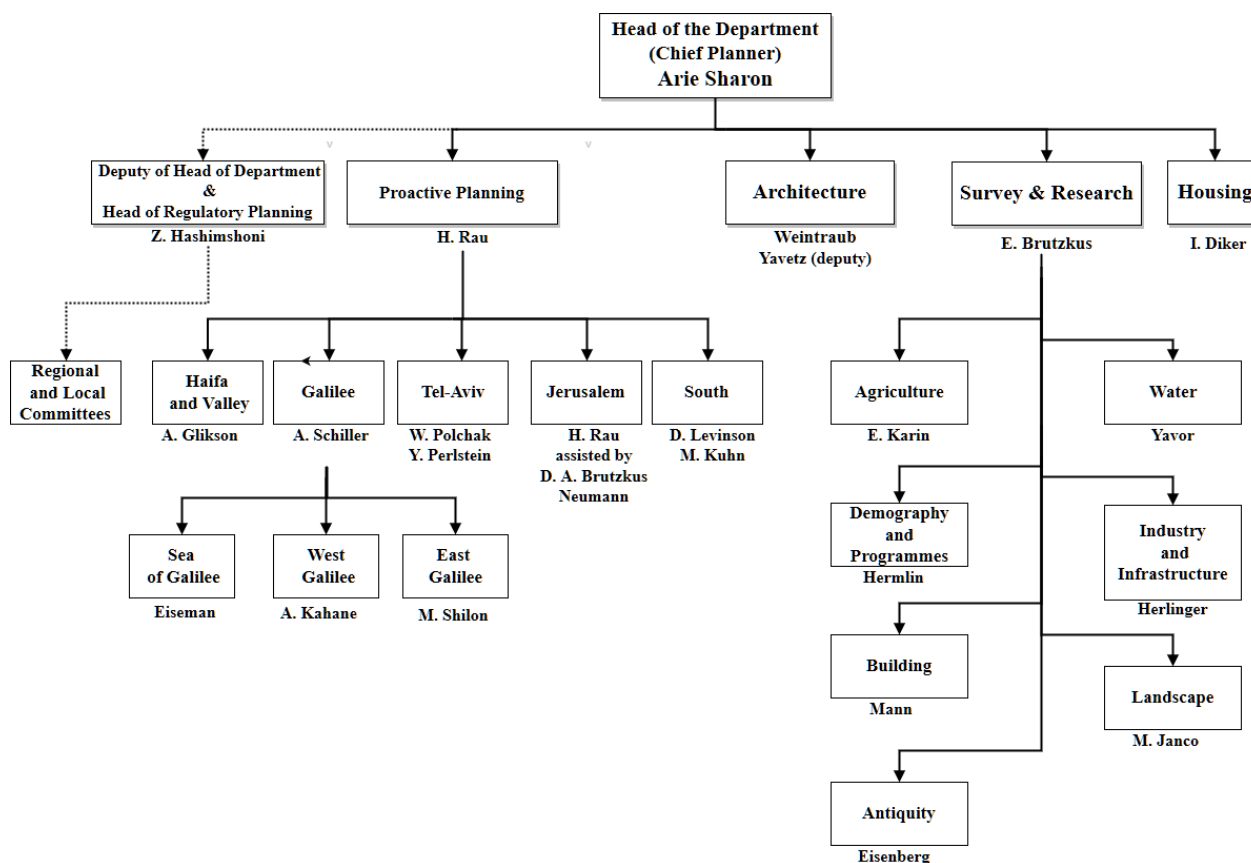
⁶³⁶ Ibid, 139. This seems to be an accurate description. Despite the fact that Janco was on the payroll as the head of a unit, unlike his colleagues, he does not appear in the materials regarding the ongoing administrative work in the office. His main focus was on field work, and locating historic sites and natural reserves for preservation. His daughter, Dedi Janco, has a strong recollection of these field trips as a young child. In Dedi Janco, phone interview by author, October 30, 2014. It is most likely that during one of these tours he found the depopulated Palestinian village of Ein Houd. Taken by its spectacular views and exquisite vernacular quality, Janco later managed to turn this village into a Jewish artist colony, Ein Hod. The original villagers settled a few kilometers away, and were not allowed to return. For a compelling analysis of the case, see Susan Slyomovics, “Discourses on the Pre-1948 Palestinian Village: The Case of Ein Hod/Ein Houd,” *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 4, no. 2 (1993): 27–37. Materials concerning Janco’s activity in the Planning Department can be found in The Janco-dada Museum, Ein Hod.

⁶³⁷ Other people who were mentioned by Hashimshoni are: **Chanan Mertens**, who “was accepted for a position following Glikson’s recommendation, “and “with time proved himself to be a distinguished planner.” **Uriel Schiller**, who “was drawn from private sector [...] On top of his architectural experience, he also had worked on regional planning and detailed planning;” Architect **Israel Diker**, who “was in effect the only expert in the country on housing problems. He came to work with us and he consulted with the planning teams on public housing issues;” The Bauhaus-graduate [Monio] **Weinraub**, and his deputy [Alfred] **Mansfeld**, came from the Technion to deal with the problem of public institutions and who consolidated [planning] norms for use by the regional planners; [...] **Yitzhak Perlstein**, whose metropolitan plan for Tel Aviv and its Environs from 1943 and his training with Abercrombie in the UK served as the basis for his hiring; Architect-planner **K.H. Baruth**, who eventually did not join the team; **Arthur Kuhn** – “from a Belgianschool, a man with immense knowledge, with a planning mindset and analytical power, though he was a ‘*mashugana*’ (“crazy person” in Yiddish) and hard to communicate with. [However] his ideas were good and we agreed to “bear with him” and incorporate him into our teams; **Chanan Pavel**, who despite his “rigid mentality was able to show flexibility within the team; **Flora Eiseman**, “who showed up from somewhere. We knew that she a camp survivor, but she never spoke about it all the years of our acquaintance [...] she was integrated immediately into the work as if she was a long-time resident of the country [and familiar] with its problems; “**M. Kaufman; M. Yaron; Engineers Yavor and Kottler**, Agronomist Emanuel Karin and engineer Mach. In Hashimshoni, *The Path*, 136-139.

⁶³⁸ Ibid, 139.

⁶³⁹ Sharon, *Kibbutz+Bauhaus*, 78.

Fig. 47. The Planning Department's administrative structure, 1948. I thank Yonatan Wilkof for his graphic assistance with this diagram (adapted from Reichman, Survey, 15)



This was the beginning of the so-called “Golden Age” of the planning department, which lasted for five years, until 1953. During this short period, the department underwent several administrative transformations. Within less than a year, following the first general elections for the Israeli Parliament (the *Knesset*) in March 1949, the department was transferred to the Prime Minister office.⁶⁴⁰ In January 1952 it was moved again, this time to the Ministry of Interior.⁶⁴¹ At this point, Sharon had stepped down from his position, but he continued to serve as a “special consultant.”

By 1953, the final blow was struck. The appointment of Israel Rokach, the former Mayor of Tel Aviv, as the Minister of Interior, led to major budget cuts and the ultimate relocation of the offices from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Kahane, for instance, called it “Rokach’s Pogrom.”⁶⁴²

⁶⁴⁰ To be precise, the department was split in March 1949. Regulatory planning was transferred to the Ministry of Interior, headed by Hashimshoni, while Sharon headed the proactive units shaping national policy. The split was a result of political coalition agreements and took place much to the department’s objection. However, both wings maintained close relations and de facto functioned as one unit.

⁶⁴¹ Where it remained until 2015. It is currently under the Ministry of Finance.

⁶⁴² Transcripts of Interview no. 1 by Mira Yehudai (unpublished), May 14, 1981, Professor Joshua and Dolly Kahane Collection.

With the move of the ministerial offices from central Tel Aviv to the more remote Jerusalem, Sharon and most of the senior staff resigned, returning to private practice.

During its heyday, and especially under the auspices of the Prime Minister's office 1949-1952, the department enjoyed high status and proximity to the highest echelons of government. Sharon described how the team's spirit soared "when, in the spring of 1949, a new Government was formed, and the importance of national planning was acknowledged by attaching our department to the Prime Minister's office. From there we could work with the lofty authority of David Ben-Gurion behind us."⁶⁴³ [Fig. 48].

The Planning Department was also a locus of social activity, fostering a somewhat Bohemian culture. The elaborate annual *Purim* (a Jewish holiday characterized by its carnival-like atmosphere)] proms were a central feature of the department's social life, and it earned "wide-spread reputation."⁶⁴⁴ Initiated by Sharon and Janco (the latter being responsible for "the decoration and drawing caricatures regarding planning"), "the preparations spanned an entire week during which the entire staff took pause from their regular work and focused instead on the upcoming event" [Fig. 49].⁶⁴⁵ "The combination of our work responsibilities together with the opportunity to loosen up at our social events," Hashimshoni argues, generated a sense of esprit de corps, perhaps even "a spirit of arrogance" within the Department.⁶⁴⁶

This testimony points to a latent tension that existed between the artistic-bohemian architectural milieu and those who did not share it. The former included Sharon, who embraced Janco, Glikson, and to some extent Rau, while on the other side were such sober personalities as Kahane and Brutzkus, who were 'left out' of Sharon's closest circles [Fig. 50-51]. For Kahane, Rokach's reforms in 1953 marked a watershed moment. The architects, "motivated "by personal fame and money," had departed, leaving only "genuine" civil servant planners, who were committed to their task and relocated to Jerusalem, the new site of the department's offices.⁶⁴⁷ Brutzkus and Kahane moved to Jerusalem and remained on in the department. Glikson stayed for several more years in public service, working as the head of the planning unit of the now powerful Housing Department, but by 1958 he resigned. When Kahane resigned in the early 1960's, Brutzkus remained as the only member of the original team, staying until his retirement in 1973.

⁶⁴³ Sharon, *Kibbutz+Bauhaus*, 78.

⁶⁴⁴ Hashimshoni, *The Path*, 169.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid. Janco later continued this tradition of Purim proms in his artists' colony in Ein Hod. See footnote 636. Another person who is mentioned as an organizer of the Purim carnivals is "Gat (Goldenberg)," who does not seem to have come from the professional ranks within the department.

⁶⁴⁷ Kahane, "Twenty-Five Years of National Planning in Israel," 1963, 256.



Fig. 48. The Planning Department in its "Golden Age," early 1950s, HaKirya, Tel Aviv. Identified, from left to right (Rau, standing in the extreme left; Sharon (seventh person standing), behind his shoulder to the right is Glikson; Hashmishoni (tallest person, standing in the center)) (Source: YAC)

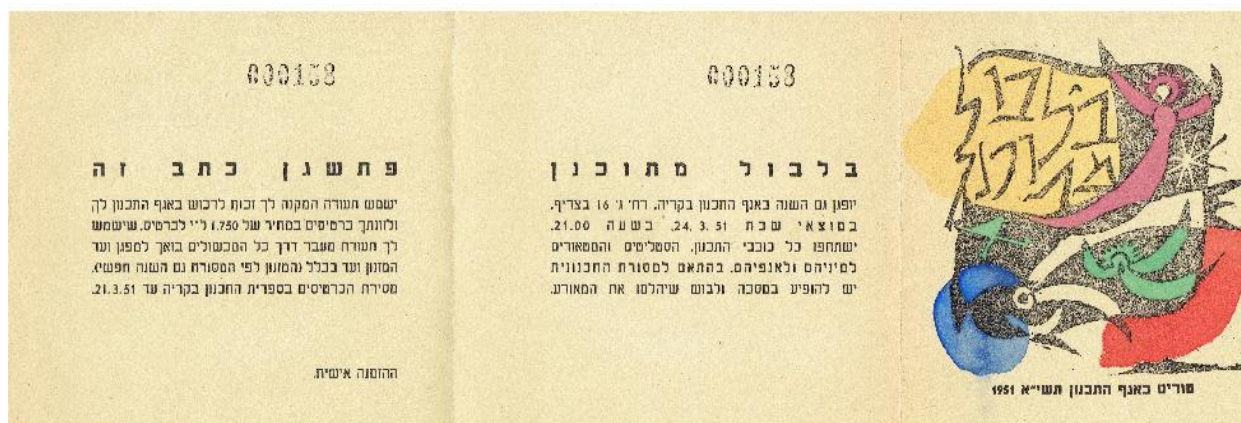


Fig. 49. Invitation to the Purim Prom entitled "Planned Disorder," indicating the carnival-like atmosphere of the holiday, characterized by humor and spontaneity. Drawing on the right is by Marcel Janco, The Planning Department 1951 (Source: GHU)



Fig. 50. Getting together for a photograph on a Tel Aviv street, c. 1950. Left to right: Glikson, Rau, Perlstein, Sharon. Tel Aviv Street. c. 1950 (Source: YAC)



Fig. 51. Planners pointing to each other in a whimsical manner, c. 1950. Left to right: Glikson, Perlstein, Rau, Sharon (Source: YAC)

The Planners and the State

For the planners, the establishment of the State of Israel had provided optimal conditions for realizing their long-advocated ideas. Sociologist Smadar Sharon has provided a compelling analysis of the alliance between the built environment experts and the state in early statehood, in the context of mid-twentieth century high modernism.⁶⁴⁸ She points to the homology between the modernist planning models and the national project, especially in colonial situations and in times of nation-building, as both professionals and the State were united in their desire to transform, and control, social order.⁶⁴⁹

According to Sharon, the profound demographic and territorial changes that occurred during the 1948 War provided the planners with two rare resources: land and people. Some 700,000 Arabs were expelled or had fled from their homes, leaving behind 2.5 million dunams, deemed “abandoned” land that was nationalized. More than 700,000 Jewish immigrants arrived within the first three and one-half years following statehood in 1948, leading to a more than doubling of the Jewish population. With both land and people available at the planners’ disposal, planned mass urbanization could be turned into a reality. In turn, their professional vision would address two of the most pressing needs of the nascent state: inner-colonization and mass immigration. The new cities would both settle vast peripheral areas, thereby securing a Jewish presence on former Arab lands, while providing immediate housing solutions for the influx of immigrants flooding in from devastated Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. [Fig. 52].

A telling indication of this convergence of interests can be found in the introductory words to the first national master plan, the key planning policy document produced in 1951-1952 by the department under Sharon (and to which we will return). Analyzing the unique circumstances and the opportunities they hold for the planners, it explains:

⁶⁴⁸ Smadar Sharon, “Planners, the State, and the Shaping of National Space in the 1950s,” *Theory and Criticism* 29 (Autumn 2006): 31–58. Sharon builds on works such as Holston, *The Modernist City*; Rabinow, *French Modern*; Scott, *Seeing Like a State*; Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). Holston 1989 and Mitchell 2002.

⁶⁴⁹ Sharon, “Planners, the State, and the Shaping of National Space,” 2006, 53.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel, a **great proportion of land** is in governmental and public ownership. This facilitates the possibility of urban expansion and agricultural settlement, and of harmonious and well-balanced population distribution throughout the country. In Israel, however, with **mass immigration**, the process entailed in ‘distribution of population’ does not involve a transfer of the existing population [...] as it would in other countries. The directing of the incessant and ever-growing stream of immigration to undeveloped agricultural areas and to new urban centers is a **relatively simple task**. [emphasis added].⁶⁵⁰

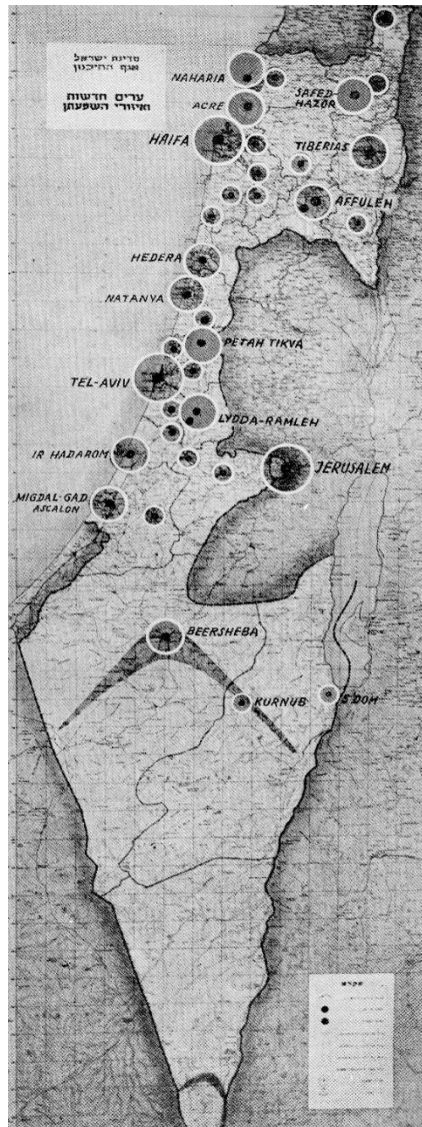


Fig. 52. “New Towns and their Areas of Influence”. By 1956, 25 settlements had been established throughout the country (Source: State of Israel, Planning Department, c. early 1950s)

⁶⁵⁰ Arieh Sharon, *Physical Planning in Israel* [English Supplement], (Government Printer, 1952), 4. Two decades later, Kahane also commented about the “ideal conditions” of early statehood when “land was allocated with a generous hand,” and there was an “unlimited abundance of problems, relatively fast decisions [being made] and confidence in their implementation.” Kahane, “Twenty-Five Years,” 256

It is fascinating to unpack the workings of this expert-state alliance in the Israeli case. To what extent were either the “State” or the “planners” a monolithic category, and what were the incongruities within this sociological construct of a shared modernist desire for control, power and order? The planners, for their part, would probably have welcomed such an unquestioned alliance with the State and a monopoly over spatial planning, but, matters were more complicated.

The legal and executive weakness of the planners and the fierce competition with other state agencies, which had clashing socio-spatial visions, all led to constant insecurity on the part of the planners. This impacted the strategies they developed to promote their distinct professional credo within the political system. In other words, the “messiness” of historical details productively complicates these neatly-organized sociological categories. The inferior position of the planners was a major factor in this unbalanced relationship which, at least in the Israeli case, shows the extent to which the particular circumstances must be scrutinized, and, in turn, how the results of this scrutiny can then enrich sociological insights.

The planners’ first obstacle was the lack of legal authority. National plans produced by the department had no legally binding status. The British legal inheritance in connection to planning did not include national planning (being limited to legislation for town and regional planning).⁶⁵¹ The creation of a national planning law was an issue of major concern and ongoing efforts on part of the department staff. Only in 1965 was the first national planning law passed. Until then, they were dependent on finding politicians and bureaucrats that personally identified with their planning agenda.⁶⁵²

The first step was to convince Prime Minister Ben Gurion of the idea of mass urbanization. The personal agency of Arie Sharon was crucial in this process. It seems that Sharon, who was close to Ben Gurion, was the person who had convinced Ben Gurion of the need of national planning.⁶⁵³ While the Prime Minister “gave prestige [and] general backing for the idea of the dispersal of the population,” he seemed to have shown very little interest in the planners’ work.⁶⁵⁴ Planners recalled how during the three years in which the Planning Department was under Ben Gurion’s direct authority in the Prime Minister’s office, he came to visit the department only once.⁶⁵⁵ In the face of the urgent tasks of immigration absorption and securing control over the national territory, “the Prime Minister’s office had no interest in

⁶⁵¹ A thorough analysis of the legal mechanisms of the British town planning in Palestine is provided in Fruchtman, *Statutory Planning as a Form of Control*, 1986.

⁶⁵² Ben Sira was especially active in these attempts, from as early as 1949. Despite these efforts, only in 1965 was the first planning law approved and these national master plans finally received a formal status. Other attempts, such as the effort to establish a supreme inter-ministerial committee, also failed, due to Ben Gurion’s refusal. See Reichman and Yehudai, *A Survey*, 27-28.

⁶⁵³ Transcripts of interview with Zvi Berenson by Eliezer Brutzkus and Avital Schechter, Jerusalem, August 26, 1987, ASC, 6.

⁶⁵⁴ Transcripts of interview with Ra’anan Weitz by Eliezer Brutzkus, Jerusalem, July 31, 1987, ASC, 10.

⁶⁵⁵ Transcripts of interview with Zvi Berenson, August 26, 1987, 6.

planning [...] it remained both an esoteric and detached matter, something that had no anchor in reality.⁶⁵⁶

For that reason, the planners framed their settlement reform programme in a different way. In an especially revealing comment by Brutzkus, we learn how the planners adopted what would become their hallmark, the “population dispersal policy”:

The problem of reforming the settlement structure [...] was not understood by the highest echelons of the political leadership. By contrast, the banner of population dispersal, which was but the other side of the same coin, was well-received. **That’s why it was decided to give the entire system the name of ‘population dispersal policy.’**⁶⁵⁷

Massive Judaization of former Arab lands being the “other side of the same coin” of the planners’ work, the planners embraced the new national banner and its underlying settlement agenda. Professional justifications conceived during the pre-state period assumed a secondary place and were now in the background.

⁶⁵⁶ Transcripts of interview with Asher Rosenblum (former director of the Office of Interior) by Brutzkus, Tel Aviv, May 19, 1987, 4.

⁶⁵⁷ Shalom Reichman, “Three Dilemmas,” 51-52 [footnotes 17-18].



Fig. 53. The Planning Department and PM Ben Gurion on a tour to the Eilat mountains, c. 1950. Sharon is holding the camera (Source: YAC)



Fig. 54. The Planning Department with Golda Meir, Minister of Labor and Construction, c. 1950 (Source: Arieh Sharon Foundation www.ariesharon.org)

Governmental Agencies: Collaboration and Friction

The 'Population Dispersal' doctrine championed the creation of a network of small- and medium-sized urban centers scattered throughout the country and to be inhabited primarily by immigrants. These new urban communities were to serve as the centers for nearby agricultural settlements, thereby creating a nation-wide network of "balanced," "organic" mixed regions. The main opponent to this urban vision was the Jewish Agency Settlement Department, the most important pre-state settlement agency. Losing the governmental planning department in summer 1948, the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department, headed by Ra'anana Weitz, embarked upon an independent settlement campaign. Between 1948-1952, the Jewish Agency established the unprecedented number of approximately 300 rural settlements across the country (200 of which in the years 1949-1950), to be inhabited by new immigrants.⁶⁵⁸

In comparison with the approximately 25 new urban centers established by the 1960s, this was a devastating blow to the planners' model of regional urban-rural cooperation. The former Arab lands that the planners had deemed as their professional turf, as they sought to refashion them as Jewish rural-urban regions, were in effect being developed as pure agricultural areas under the orchestration of the Jewish Agency. With no real legal authority, there was little the planners could do to stop the process, and only in 1951 did both sides reach some degree of cooperation.⁶⁵⁹

Thus, in effect, within the first three years after statehood, two separate settlement networks had arisen; one, urban in orientation, nominally official yet lacking any enforcement power, and the other, rural in focus, which quickly undermined the sweeping vision of the former. The competition between them was so fierce that Weitz, the head of the Jewish Agency Settlement Department, referred to the new towns as an "enemy's occupied territory".⁶⁶⁰

In that sense, the activity of the Jewish Agency, the powerful pre-state mechanism, points to the weakness of preconceived notions of a singlehanded developmental policy under the formidable leadership of Ben Gurion. Planners were caught in an endless struggle with other settlement agencies, and the picture that emerges is far from a harmonious marriage of interests between the political leadership and the planners, all being marshalled towards a single, unified path to modernization.

By contrast, the Planning Department's main ally was the Housing Department. As mentioned earlier, during the Interim Parliament (May 1948-March 1949), both departments were under the auspices of the centralist Housing and Construction Ministry. The Housing Department, in charge of the construction of public housing, gradually grew to become one of the most powerful, heavily funded governmental administrative agencies. It attained independent

⁶⁵⁸ Brutzkus, " 'The Dreams' ," 128.

⁶⁵⁹ Their cooperation reached a climax with the 1954 Lakhish Regional plan, the flagship developmental plan during that time. Reichman and Yehudai, Survey, 59.

⁶⁶⁰ Transcripts of interview with Zvi Berenson by Eliezer Brutzkus and Avital Schechter, Jerusalem, August 26, 1987, ASC, 11.

ministry status in 1961, leading to decades-long development of mass housing projects throughout the county.

“Planning minded” high-ranking officials within the Housing Department directed housing construction to the new urban centers, in accordance with the Population Dispersal Policy that had been formulated by the planners. Between the crucial years of 1950-1953, the two departments cooperated closely.⁶⁶¹ Especially important during this period were Zvi Berenson, the General Director of the Housing and Construction Ministry, and the head of the Housing Department, David Zaslavsky (both members of the Reform Circle).⁶⁶²

Other bodies involved, to a lesser extent, were the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency, in charge of providing immediate accommodation solutions for the influx of immigrants. It orchestrated the directing of the immigrants to temporary facilities and transitional camps (*Ma'abarot*). At the beginning, the Absorption Department rejected the planners' ideas, in the face of the urgency to prevent a humanitarian crisis; it perceived as the exorbitant privilege of the planners to be able to take their time and devise long-term plans. By the end of 1950, however, the two began to cooperate. The Absorption Department began sending the immigrants to the new towns in the periphery, not the least because they had run out of solutions in the central areas.⁶⁶³

Other administrative bodies whose collaboration was sought by the planners, but to no avail, were the Ministries of Transportation, Agriculture, and Commerce and Industry, as well as the Jewish National Fund (JNF).⁶⁶⁴ On the other hand, support came from the Defense Ministry, which viewed the urban inhabitation of the peripheral areas as a way to impose Jewish sovereignty and to secure the border areas.⁶⁶⁵ [These relations are summarized in Fig. 55].

The vulnerability of the Population Dispersal policy was reflected in Sharon's personal appeals to Prime Minister Ben Gurion. Despite Sharon's friendship with Prime Minister Ben Gurion, he was limited in his ability to exert much influence on him. As early as 1949, Sharon

⁶⁶¹ Eliezer Brutzkus, “‘The Dreams’ that Became Cities,” in *Olim and Ma'abarot, 1948-1952*, ed. Mordekhai Naor (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1986), 136.

⁶⁶² Reichman and Yehudai, *A Survey*, 55-56; Transcripts of interview with Zvi Berenson by Eliezer Brutzkus and Avital Schechter, Jerusalem, August 26, 1987, ASC.

⁶⁶³ In the first period after May 1948, immigrants were placed in and around the urban areas, wherever possible. This included former British military camps, improvised immigrant camps and tent camps, depopulated Arab property and various public facilities. From March 1950, planned absorption camps (*Ma'abarot*) appeared as the dominant form, providing a temporary housing solution for the influx of immigrants. By 1951, with continuous immigration and lack of available land in the existing cities and their environs, the Jewish Agency Absorption Department began to collaborate with the Planning Department's Population Dispersal Policy. The *Ma'abarot* were now conceived as the nucleus for new towns in peripheral areas, on sites located by the Planning Department. The degree of cooperation between the two bodies was so strong that the head of the Absorption Department, Giora Yoseftal, once told the planners: “tell me where are the locations of your dreams – and I will immediately build there a transitional camp!” In Brutzkus, “‘The Dreams’,” 135. The towns of Bet Shemesh, Hazor and Migdal ha'Emek are, among others, the outcomes of this collaboration. See *ibid*, 133-135; Reichman and Yehudai, *Survey*, 58-59.

⁶⁶⁴ Reichman and Yehudai, *Survey*, 56-59; Schechter, “Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats”, 215. Ample correspondence regarding the Planning Department's coordination efforts can be found, for instance, in ISA/GL/2754/4.

⁶⁶⁵ Schechter, “Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats”, 125.

had complained to Ben Gurion that nothing was being done to promote decentralization.⁶⁶⁶ The following year, his requests for a Ministry for Planning, modeled on the British example, was refused.⁶⁶⁷ These approaches were accompanied by constant attempts to interest Ben Gurion in the work of planners.⁶⁶⁸

Kahane summarized the situation in the following words:

Sharon, as [The Chief British Planner, Henri] Kendall before him, complained to me more than once about the apathy to the planning department that he encountered within the management of (governmental) offices. The anticipated status of a public professional office, [one that would] reach the level of a supreme planning institution given its crucial role in the development of the country, was not granted, and even Sharon was not able to achieve it, despite the weight of his personality.⁶⁶⁹

Reichman argues that while the first two years of statehood witnessed the “battle over the approach,” by 1950 there was largely a consensus with other ministerial offices regarding the policy for population dispersal.⁶⁷⁰ It remains an open question what would have happened to the planner’s ambitious schemes without their connection with the Housing Department and, especially, the collaboration with the Jewish Agency’s Absorption Department, which directed large numbers of immigrants against their will to remote locales. For Brutzkus, this collaboration made the planning conditions “especially convenient, due to the **control** of the government and the Jewish Agency regarding where immigrant settlement would take place, control over land and financial resources [emphasis added].”⁶⁷¹ In hindsight, this top-down form of ‘control,’ namely, the forced process of peripheralization of the immigrants into the New Towns, was a major factor in shaping Israeli society, its ethno-class identity and geo-social realities.

⁶⁶⁶ A. Sharon to Prime Minister D. Ben Gurion, August 15, 1949, ISA/GL/2754/4.

⁶⁶⁷ A. Sharon to Prime Minister D. Ben Gurion, July 1950, ISA/G/341/16. His request followed a professional tour to the Planning Ministries in France, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Britain.

⁶⁶⁸ See, for example, A. Sharon to Z. Sherf (The Government Secretary), November 1, 1950, ISA/G/341/16; D. Rosen (Prime Minister Office) to A. Sharon, November 9, 1949.

⁶⁶⁹ Kahane, “Twenty-Five Years,” 256.

⁶⁷⁰ Reichman and Yehudai, “Survey,” 41.

⁶⁷¹ E. Brutzkus, “New Towns within the Framework of Regional and National Planning,” n.d., ISA/G/7067/2-G.

The Relations between the Planning Department and other Developmental Agencies, Early Statehood

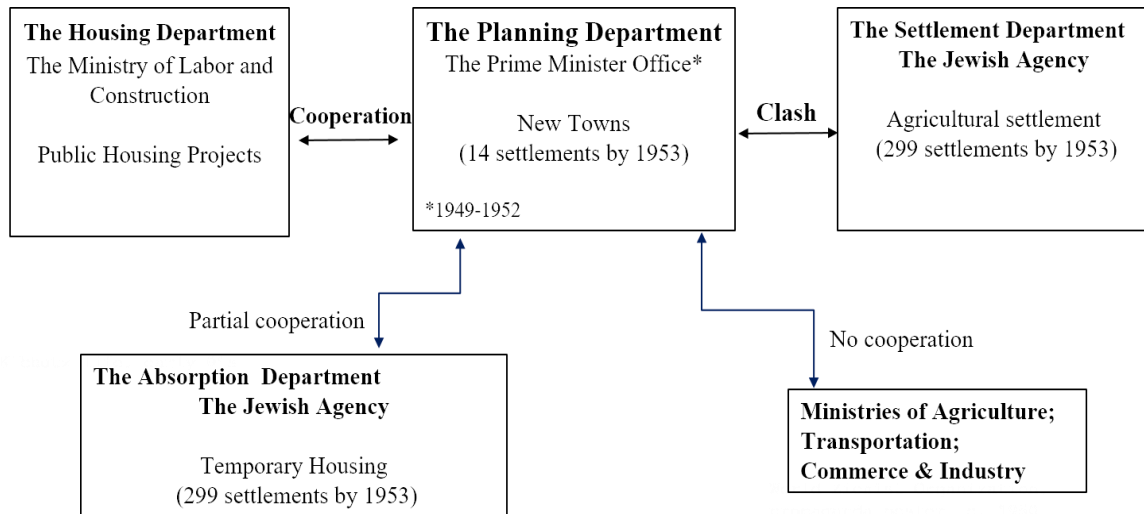


Fig. 55. The relations between the planning department and other developmental agencies (based on Brutzkus, *Dreams*, 134-13; Reichman and Yehudai, *Survey*, 55-56)

Metropolitan Decentralization: The Path Not Taken

Criticism about the economic viability of the Population Dispersal Plan was soon to appear. Despite the planners' initial hopes, the Commerce and Industry Ministry did not cooperate. It objected to the decentralization of investment, focusing instead on encouraging industrial development in the already existing urban areas.⁶⁷² The upshot was that at least until 1955, the government did not create any industrial infrastructure in the New Towns. No industrial zones were established; no state, military or public industries were directed to the new urban centers; and no mechanisms for encouraging private investors through tax breaks were established.⁶⁷³

In addition, no tourist infrastructure, from hotels to governmental recreation facilities and renovating historical sites, was developed in towns which might be ripe for tourism.⁶⁷⁴ Planners needed to provide in-house economic planning alongside the physical programme, a task that was soon assumed by Herlinger, whose was in charge of industry in the Survey Unit headed by

⁶⁷² Brutzkus, " 'The Dreams'," 136.

⁶⁷³ Reichman and Yehudai, "Survey," 59.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Brutzkus.⁶⁷⁵ It was not long before the economic viability of the new towns became a major problem and a source of ongoing external attack against the planners.

These criticisms led to the establishment of the “Committee for the Economic Examination of the Development Plan” (The Hoffien Committee), established by Prime Minister Ben Gurion in order to probe the economic foundations of the Planning Department’s urbanization programme. It was headed by the economist Eliezer Hoffien, who must have been well-versed in issues of urban and demographic policy, having been a member of the Jewish Agency’s Planning Subcommittee in 1945.

The very notion of population decentralization as a policy was put into question. The committee discussed a counter-proposal for national settlement, put together by Marcus Reiner, an engineering professor from the Technion in Haifa. The Reiner alternative, although it was never implemented, is a telling moment of counter-history, of “what if.”⁶⁷⁶ Reiner rejected decentralization and the semi-autonomous regional model proposed by the planners, by which the economy of the new towns would be based on their connections with their rural hinterland. He proposed instead a model of metropolitan decentralization in the form of satellite towns, following the example that had been adopted across various industrial Western countries [Fig. 56-57].

It proposed the creation of between seven to nine new urban communities, to be located in the already existing metropolitan areas, which enjoyed more economic opportunities. These new urban centers (ranging between 25,000-120,000 residents) were to be built on the coastal plain between Haifa and Tel Aviv, with an electric train connecting between them. As such, a coastal chain of “bounded” cities connected by “an efficient transportation system” would prevent ribbon development, preserve precious agricultural lands (located to the east) and provide adequate sanitary conditions for its residents. The beach and shoreline would be reserved for recreation, hotels and afforestation.⁶⁷⁷

The Planning Department rejected the plan completely, seeing it as the “antithesis” to their population dispersal policy.⁶⁷⁸ One of the main voices against the plan was Brutzkus, who a decade earlier had proposed a plan in the spirit of Reiner’s proposal (see chapter 2). He now held that the coastal plains were already too crowded, and that efforts should be diverted to create a web-like coverage of the peripherals lands with new settlements.⁶⁷⁹ Further, Brutzkus suggested that a new urban nucleus could be established without industrial infrastructure, based, at least initially, on temporary employment and construction work.⁶⁸⁰

⁶⁷⁵ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 313.

⁶⁷⁶ Reiner, who had a left-wing socialist background, was close to Minister Bentov. The latter had allocated resources to found a planning office especially for Reiner, which operated for a short time in parallel to the planning department. Schechter, “Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats”, 125.

⁶⁷⁷ Professor M. Reiner, “A Plan for the Development of the Coastal Strip between Haifa and Tel Aviv”. March 24, 1949, ISA/G/341/23.

⁶⁷⁸ Reichman and Yehudai, “Survey,” 53.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁰ Brutzkus continued with this line in order to deflect “criticism from official economists.” He further developed it in Eliezer Brutzkus “Founding New Cities,” *Journal of the Israel Town Planning Association* 2, 1951. In Eliezer

Thus, while Reiner advanced a vision of metropolitan economic development, the planners embraced the national-territorial interests of the state as their prime concern, undermining their original, pre-independence claims for urbanization based on economic rationality. The planners were backed by the military, which contributed an expert opinion that objected to the over-concentration of the population in the central areas, both due to a fear of aerial attack as well as the need to secure borders by civilian settlement. As well, the Transportation Ministry questioned the necessity of a new railroad, given the construction of a new coastal road and improvements to the existing railroad.⁶⁸¹

Harsh criticism also came also from within the planners' own professional community. Tel Aviv City Engineer Ben Sira, who testified before the committee against the plan, later published a lengthy article that slammed the department and doubted the entire economic, social and administrative necessity of new towns.⁶⁸² The department's concepts were "mechanistic-dogmatic", and new towns were "the easy solution."⁶⁸³ Instead, immigrants should be directed first to the existing towns and urbanizing communities, making use of its existing transportation and public resources, in addition to improving the urban conditions in the three large cities.

According to Ben Sira's proposal, only a limited number of new towns should be built, as a pilot for future development. The "incessant chase for virgin lands" must be stopped:⁶⁸⁴ "Beginnings are easy. But to sustain life in them and to secure continuity of development and growth is quite difficult."⁶⁸⁵ He also accused the department of acting in an undemocratic manner, with a lack of transparency and open discussion in either professional or public forums.

The article angered Sharon, who was extremely protective of the department's reputation. He instructed senior planners within the department to respond immediately, urging them to do so "if red blood flows in your veins and not tomato juice, and if the self-pride of the department and of the State if Israel is important to you."⁶⁸⁶ At least one of the planners, Arieh Dudai, replied to the call.⁶⁸⁷

Brutzkus, "Three Documents Characteristic of the Very First Period after the Establishment of the State", November 9, 1980, ISA/G/7067/6.

⁶⁸¹ From E. Hoffien and P. Naftali to Prime Minister Ben Gurion. August 28, 1949, ISA/G/341/23.

⁶⁸² Yaakov Ben Sira, "On Planning Town and Country in the State," *The Local Government*, 1949, 74–82.

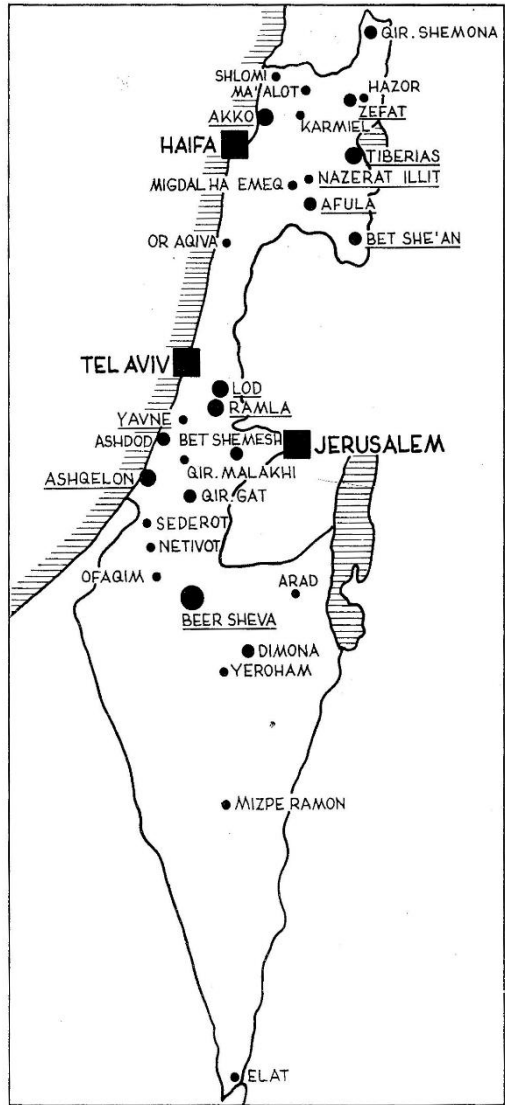
⁶⁸³ *Ibid*, 78, 80.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 80.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 82.

⁶⁸⁶ A. Sharon to E. Brutzkus et al, November 3, 1950, ISA/GL/2754/4.

⁶⁸⁷ E. Brutzkus, "General Planning Folder, June 1949 - December 31, 1952", May 18, 1981, *Ibid*, 3.



Metropolitan Decentralization vs National Decentralization:

Fig. 56. (right) National decentralization. The Planning Department's New Towns (Source: Spiegel, *New Towns*, cover).

Fig. 57. (left) Metropolitan decentralization. Reiner's unrealized proposal for a coastal chain, consisting of seven-nine new towns between Haifa and Tel Aviv. (Source ISA/G/341/23)

The Planning Department's Work and Internal Relations

Three Plans

Between 1949-1952, the Planning Department produced three different plans for the dispersal of the population: The Rau-Glikson Plan (mid-1949), the Brutzkus Plan (mid-1951) and the Sharon Plan (1951-1952), the latter of which was based primarily on Brutzkus' plan, with updates provided by Sharon and Glikson. The last plan was canonized in "Physical Planning in Israel," a 1951 governmental publication, which turned the third version into the principal policy document during the department's early years, in effect relegating the two earlier versions to near obscurity.⁶⁸⁸ As mentioned earlier, none of these plans had any legal status. The ability to translate them into policy depended upon personal initiatives taken from within the Planning Department, as well as the ability to mobilize their contacts within the relevant ministries.⁶⁸⁹

Concepts that were formulated in the pre-state years served as the foundation for the national plans. All three plans were based on the idea of "correcting" the settlement structure by establishing new urban communities, thereby creating a "balanced and healthy" population dispersal. The demographic-occupational balance of 20:40:40 (farmers: big city dwellers: small and medium cities dwellers), an idea that Brutzkus proposed in 1938, was now set as the goal of all three plans (with some variations according to immigration projections and other settlement patterns).

In May 1948, the country was divided by Brutzkus into 24 planning regions.⁶⁹⁰ Detailed demographic and settlement programmes were devised for each of the planning districts, according to the 20:40:40 ratio. This demographic key was to secure the creation of a rural-urban

⁶⁸⁸ A useful analysis of the differences between these plans has been provided by a handful of scholars. For a detailed comparison, see Reichman and Yehudai, *Survey*, 63-83. A concise summary can be found in Givoli, "The Beginnings of Physical Planning," 42-48.

The first plan (1:300,000) aimed at a target population of 2 million people, with no specific target year. The plan proposed a total of 72 urban communities in the county, 43 of them were to be New Towns. The second plan aimed at 2,725,000 residents by 1960. It proposed 93 urban centers in total, including 40 New Towns that did not appear in the first plan. This was the first time that the non-Jewish (Arab) sector was included in the national plan. It was treated as a distinct planning community. Another innovation was the introduction of a settlement hierarchy. The plan proposed three levels of settlement types, from rural communities (500-3000 people) to rural centers (3000-15,000) and one regional city (15,000-75,000 residents), in each of the regions.

The third plan (1951/2) aimed at 2,650,000 residents by the year 1960. It reflected the decrease in the pace of immigration. This plan also had fewer new towns as compared with the first two plans, and it introduced more coordination with other key land uses, from transportation networks to industry, recreation and agriculture.

⁶⁸⁹ Reichman and Yehudai, *Survey*, 81-83.

⁶⁹⁰ The 24 planning regions were to inhabit between 75,000-120,000 people each. The division was originally made by Brutzkus in May 1948. Their boundaries were determined by "geographical data (drainage basins) and economic factors, such as soil properties and qualities, mineral deposits and communication networks. Each planning region will contain an urban centre serving its rural hinterland [...] the regions will serve as complete and balanced units fostering interrelationship between the agricultural hinterland and the urban centers". In Sharon, *Physical Planning in Israel* [English Supplement], 1952, 11. For the history of this administrative division, see Eliezer Brutzkus, "The Origins of Subdivision of the Area of Israel into Administrative Districts and Sub-Districts," *Horizons in Geography* 23/24 (1988): 73-88.

balance within each of the districts. While it guided all three plans, Sharon's plan (the third plan) proposed significantly fewer new towns as compared to the two earlier ones. This reflected the decline in immigration from its peak in 1950-1951. As well, it marked the end of the initial period of enthusiasm expressed in both Glikson's and Brutzkus' earlier plans, having given way to Sharon's more "practical" approach, which objected to the building of smaller towns (3000-4000 people each).⁶⁹¹

Functional-Economic Brutzkus vs. Ecological Glikson

The planners were united behind the main principles of population dispersal and rural-urban integration. Yet, the differences in the plans reflected the diversity of approaches championed by the planners. Most notable was the clash of views between Glikson's so-called "ecological" approach versus the "functional-economic" attitude of Brutzkus. Their dispute revolved around one central issue: the location of the New Towns. Glikson's environmental focus prioritized the topographical advantages, namely, landscape and climate, while Brutzkus preferred sites enjoying the best functional-economic conditions in terms of proximity to transportation network, employment and the overall regional structure.⁶⁹² At first, Glikson's ecological approach was predominant, supported by both Sharon and Hashimshoni. But within two to three years of statehood, Brutzkus' functional approach, supported by David Zaslavsky from the Housing Department, became ascendant.

Most of these battles focused on the northern peripheral areas, where Glikson was the regional planner and most of the efforts for decentralization were concentrated during the first few years. The sites of current-day Upper Afula (*Afula Ilit*) in the Jezreel Valley and Upper Tiberius (*T'veria Ilit*), higher up the hills from the original towns of Afula and Tiberius, respectively, reflect Glikson's two main achievements in his struggle with Brutzkus (see chapter 4).⁶⁹³

Unfortunately, very little is left from the actual process of planning during those years, save the final maps and some archival records, which address the issue indirectly. Further, it is worth noting that this notion of "competition" between Brutzkus and Glikson derives from

⁶⁹¹ Christaller's Central Model Place was the main source of inspiration for the rural settlement campaign in the 1950s. However, the extent to which it informed the 1951 national master plan and the degree to which Christaller's Nazi past was known to the Planning Department staff, are topics of ongoing debate. According to Brutzkus, Christaller's theory was introduced to the department only in 1950-51. He argues that it was brought by Glikson, who became acquainted with the theory during his study tour in the Netherlands and that the department had "willingly welcomed it, since it provided the department a theatrical backing to its [already existing] policy." In Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 273-74. See also footnote 181.

⁶⁹² Reichman and Yehudai, *Survey*, 61.

⁶⁹³ *Ibid.*

Brutzkus himself; and is then cited by Reichman and later scholars, as well as in Brutzkus' writings.⁶⁹⁴

Another central debate within the department revolved around the question of whether to prefer a substantial number of urban centers or a small number of larger cities. Brutzkus was the main proponent for the first approach, while key planners, such as Sharon, Hashimshoni, Glikson, and Kahane, were on the other side of the issue.⁶⁹⁵ Brutzkus sought the establishment of numerous small urban centers, each with a population between 3,000 and 10,000 people, set about 8 to 10km apart from each other. The other approach called for fewer towns, each with a minimum of 30 to 50,000 residents, set apart from each other at a distance of between 20 to 25 km.⁶⁹⁶

Brutzkus' main reasoning was both territorial and economic. A denser network of towns would achieve better coverage of the national territory, while the economic lessons learnt from the Great Depression continued to guide his thought. For him, the same set of economic arguments he consolidated in the mid-1930s were applicable to the postwar reality: the experience in Germany between 1929-1933 showed that a multiplicity of small urban centers in a regional system increases **economic resilience** (see chapter 2).

The supporters of fewer, but larger, towns, based their argument on the need to prioritize the expenditure of limited state resources as well as to increase the ability of the new towns to develop their local economy and provide an adequate level of services. Sharon's 1952 update already embodied the majority opinion among the department's senior staff that supported planning larger towns with a larger distance between them. This trend continued in the following years.⁶⁹⁷

These disputes subsided by early 1953, with the end of Sharon's term and the resignation of many of the senior staff members following Minister Rokach's reforms. The plan that ensued, the 1954 Population Dispersal Plan, together with its major updates in 1964 and 1973 (the first statutory national physical plan, following the passage of the "Planning and Building Law" in 1965), were prepared by Brutzkus in the post-Sharon era of the department. For the rest of his professional career until his retirement in 1973, Brutzkus was the head of the National Plans unit, and he continued to adhere to his long-held principles, admitting only that he may have exaggerated the number of small cities to be established.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid, 60-62; Schechter, "Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats," 121, 224; Givoli, "The Beginning of Physical Planning," 41-48; Brutzkus, " 'The Dreams'," 138-139.

⁶⁹⁵ Schechter, "Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats", 130-131; Reichman and Yehudai, *Survey*, 62.

⁶⁹⁶ Reichman and Yehudai, *Survey*, 61-62.

⁶⁹⁷ Reichman and Yehudai, *Survey*, 62.

⁶⁹⁸ Schechter, "Planners, Politicians, Bureaucrats," 69.



Fig. 58. Sharon lectures on the Population Dispersal Plan, c. 1950 (Source: YAC)

Sharon vs. the Planners

As mentioned earlier, the “Sharon Plan” (the third plan), plan was based primarily on Brutzkus’ plan and was done in consultation with Glikson. An analysis of the “Sharon Plan,” compiled in 1951 and published by Sharon in fall 1952 under the title “Physical Planning in Israel,” underscores a notable degree of continuity with the contents of the previous two plans. **As such, the conceptual underpinnings for the plan that bears Sharon’s name was in large measure the work of others, coming full circle to a process that had begun in the 1930s.** That said, Sharon’s contribution to the process cannot be gainsaid. He was the main force behind the publishing of the department’s work in the form of a book, despite complaints expressed from within the department. In hindsight, thanks to Sharon’s persistence, his publication serves as the only extant document that clearly lays out the work of the planners of early statehood.

As for the plan itself, the overall population ratio between the 24 planning regions was quite similar to the previous plans, embracing, in other words, Brutzkus' core concept of an even demographic dispersal throughout the entire country within a rural-urban regional network [Fig. 59].⁶⁹⁹ According to the plan, by 1960, each planning region was to have between 75,000-120,000 residents, with one main urban center. Ultimately, these regions would serve as “complete and balanced units fostering an interrelationship between the agricultural hinterland and the urban centers”.⁷⁰⁰

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND DENSITY IN PLANNING REGIONS												16, 17
Region	Urban Centres	Urban Population		Rural Population		Total Population		% of Total Population		Density per sq. km.		
		15.5.48	First Stage	15.5.48	First Stage	15.5.48	First Stage	15.5.48	First Stage	15.5.48	First Stage	
1. Huleh	Khalisa, Metulla	2,500	45,000	4,450	30,000	4,450	50,000	0.7 %	1.9%	15.4	172	
2. Safed	Safed, Hatzor	1,250	14,000	1,250	14,000	3,750	59,000	0.6 %	2.2%	7.3	113	
3. Kinneret	Tiberias and small towns	5,800	55,000	8,200	43,500	14,000	95,500	2.1 %	3.7%	20.0	142	
4. Asher	Acre, Naharia, Oshrat	1,560	90,000	2,890	32,000	4,450	122,000	0.7 %	4.6%	8.4	225	
5. Nazareth	Nazareth, Shafar'am, Tzipori	50,000	200	300	31,500	300	81,500	0.03%	0.3%	0.3	136	
6. Bet Shean	Bet Shean, Murassas	25,000	9,650	9,650	30,000	9,650	55,000	1.4 %	2.1%	24.0	140	
7. Afula	Afula	2,610	40,000	2,790	46,000	5,400	86,000	0.8 %	3.2%	9.3	148	
8. Western Valley	Tiv'on, Kfar-Atta, Yokneam	4,730	65,000	14,720	30,000	19,450	95,000	3.3 %	3.6%	60.0	290	
9. Haifa	Haifa	95,000	260,000	95,000	260,000	260,000	260,000	15.0 %	9.8%	870.0	2,400	
10. Carmel	Zichron Yaakov, Carmel Town, Atlit	2,000	45,000	2,350	18,000	4,350	63,000	0.6 %	3.4%	12.5	180	
11. Northern Sharon	Hadera, Kessaria, Pardes Hanna	13,030	65,000	3,570	27,000	16,600	92,000	2.5 %	3.5%	32.0	180	
12. Central Sharon	Natanya	5,800	75,000	18,300	42,000	24,100	117,000	3.5 %	4.4%	70.0	370	
13. Southern Sharon	Kfar Saba, Hertzlia, Raanana	14,300	70,000	9,800	22,000	24,100	92,000	3.5 %	3.5%	150.0	570	
14. Dan	Petalah Tikva	26,900	65,000	26,900	23,500	26,900	83,500	4.1 %	3.4%	163.0	535	
15. Tel Aviv	Greater Tel Aviv	287,380	450,000	4,820	20,000	16,120	70,000	2.3 %	2.6%	126.0	540	
16. Rishon Lezion	Rishon Lezion, Ness Ziona	10,400	50,000	6,500	20,000	16,900	70,000	2.6 %	2.6%	77.0	320	
17. Yavneh	Rehovot, Yibneh	30,000	60,000	1,000	18,000	1,000	78,000	0.1 %	2.9%	3.3	260	
18. Ludd	Hartuv, Village centres	76,300	220,000	1,350	25,500	1,350	55,500	0.2 %	2.1%	1.7	70	
19. Yehuda	Jerusalem	30,000	220,000	76,800	220,000	220,000	220,000	11.7 %	8.3%	1680.0	4,850	
20. Jerusalem	Ir Hadarom, Migdal Gad	105,000	105,000	3,100	60,000	3,100	165,000	0.5 %	6.3%	3.1	162	
21. Daron	Beersheba, Village centres	65,000	750	750	55,000	750	120,000	0.1 %	4.5%	0.2	32	
22. Beersheba	Sdom, Kurnub	30,000	20,000	10,000	2,000	2,000	40,000	1.5%	1.5%	7.5	6	
23. Sdom	Elath	20,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	22,000	0.8%	0.8%	31.5	127.4	
24. Elath		555,610	2,050,000	95,690	600,000	655,300	2,650,000	100.0 %	100.0%			

Fig. 59. Population Distribution and Density in the 24 Planning Regions for the first stage, in 1960, “Sharon Plan”, 1952 (Source: *Physical Planning in Israel*, English Summary, 12-13)

Sharon's plan did, nevertheless, introduce several updates: updated demographic projections were provided, resulting both from a drop in the scale of immigration as compared to its peak of 1950-1951 and the extensive agricultural settlement campaign (mounted by the Jewish Agency); an increase in the number of residents in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area; retreat from the idea of small urban centers (3000-4000 inhabitants); and development of the concept of comprehensive planning, by which more attention was given to the integration of the different key land uses—transportation, industry, recreation and agriculture—for the geographic dispersal of the population.⁷⁰¹ [Fig. 60].

⁶⁹⁹ Reichman and Yehudai, *Survey*, 81.

⁷⁰⁰ Sharon, *Physical Planning in Israel* [English Supplement], 11.

⁷⁰¹ Reichman and Yehudai, *Survey*, 81-83.

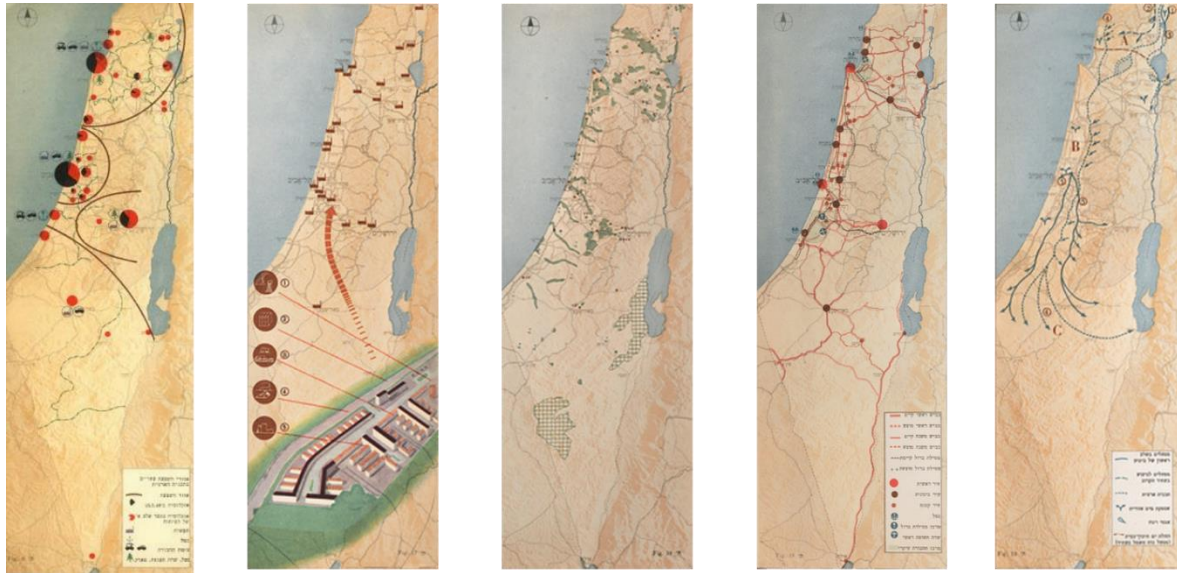


Fig. 60. "The Five Planning Branches." Left to right: Settlement, Industry, Recreation, Transportation, Agriculture. Considered together, they constituted the basis for "Comprehensive Physical Planning." (Source: *Physical Planning in Israel*, 1952)

Sharon also included a textual introduction to the plan. This was an innovation compared to the two earlier plans, which were both essentially only maps. The introduction serves as a concise roadmap of the department's working premises. Reading through it reveals the genealogy of its concepts, as well as the distinct contribution of specific individuals. The authorial voice is unmistakably that of Brutzkus. Following a brief statement about the particular conditions that characterize planning in Israel, the text introduces the polar theory as the rationale behind the plan, a loathing for the "Big City" and its "diseases," and the experience of the Great Depression as proof of the need for small, integrated urban-rural regions, the ultimate planning panacea.

The exposition of these points, which bear Brutzkus' terminology and writing style, are accompanied by comparative charts, which set out the ratio in various countries between the size of the population in the big cities in comparison with that of small- and medium-sized towns. Topping the charts as a desirable model is the ratio in Western European countries; at the bottom is the undesirable pattern found in colonial countries. These same charts (save for minor updates), were published by Brutzkus as early as 1937, when he first began consolidating his ideas (see chapter 2, esp. Fig. 6).

Physical Planning in Israel, bearing Sharon's name as its single author, is a carefully crafted book. The focus is on the visual contents, selected for maximum effect and accompanied by textual explanations. Maps were carefully painted in watercolor, and the black-and white photographs showed the best of the natural and newly built-up landscapes of the nascent state. This was the first a series of three monographs that Sharon published during his career. In 1973, he published *Planning Jerusalem, The Old City and Its Environs 1968-1971*. The book

summarized the work a planning team, headed by Sharon, for the historic area of Jerusalem. The third publication, *Kibbutz+Bauhaus: An Architect's Way in a New Land* (1976), was a professional biography, spanning from his early days as a pioneer on the Kibbutz, through his Bauhaus training, and his ultimate career in the following decades, first as a state planner and later as a leading private architect, commissioned with key public projects. These three elegant, visually attractive publications contributed to Sharon's fame worldwide, positioning him as perhaps the most celebrated Israeli architect of early statehood.

At the time of the preparation of the first monograph, however, planners within the department expressed reservations about the endeavor. They accused Sharon of being primarily engaged in public relations—the planning exhibition, held in 1950 at the Tel Aviv Museum, being “the center of his interest and attention,” and “his preoccupation with producing the book, *Physical Planning in Israel*, during his last year of his activity in the Department [in] 1952.”⁷⁰² [Fig. 61-62]. Further, arguments were made that the visual contents were more important to Sharon than its conceptual contents to the extent that by the time of its publication, some of the graphic materials “was no longer consistent with the attitudes held within the department.”⁷⁰³

For Sharon, however, the 1950 exhibition was the climax of his efforts to promote the idea of planning. He described how—

We tried very hard to gain the support of public opinion for our national planning, using various channels, such as press conferences, articles and lectures. The high point of this information drive was a town-planning exhibition in the Tel Aviv Museum [...] We presented panels showing the principles of the National Plan, some regional plans[...] and the general layout of new towns spread all over the country⁷⁰⁴.

Sharon's explicit architectural persona and the professional culture he cultivated, as well as his alleged over-emphasis on design and housing, drew criticism from those who saw themselves as planners, especially Kahane and Brutzkus. Their critique reveals the tensions between these two sister disciplines, and the intricate intertwining between design and policy, in shaping national policy.

According to Brutzkus, there were three different kinds of professional persona on the team: the conceptual innovators (such as Rau, Glikson, Brutzkus, and Kahane), experienced practitioners who contributed their skills rather than providing any new ideas (Hashimshoni and Perlstein), and the third group, “primarily architects, designers in essence,” who were less interested in planning issues and accepted the department's planning principles as a working premise.⁷⁰⁵ Sharon, according to Brutzkus, by nature belonged to the last group, had it not been for his leadership position, which “forced him to address principles and ideological issues of macro-planning.”⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰² Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 260, 265.

⁷⁰³ Ibid, 265.

⁷⁰⁴ Sharon, *Kibbutz+Bauhaus*, 78.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid, 215-217.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid, 217.

Kahane argued that the focus of Sharon and his colleges on visual aspects, design and mass housing projects, rather than large-scale planning policy, stemmed from their “architectural temperament,” which prevented them from delving into “a foreign area, so methodological and scholarly, as that of national planning.”⁷⁰⁷ Sharon’s appointment, he asserted, “stemmed less from his expertise in town building and planning and more from his organizational skills and the assumption that he would be able to facilitate the realization of the progressive planning policy and [confer on it] the status that is required for planning.”⁷⁰⁸ Some tensions also arose around the question of Sharon’s private commissions during his tenure as the chief state planner. The echoes of these tensions reached Prime Minister Ben Gurion, before whom Sharon had to clarify in person that there were no conflicts of interest.⁷⁰⁹

Nonetheless, both planners acknowledged Sharon’s vital contribution, resting on his excellent connections with the political leadership, his wide capacity for work, his quick analytical mind, his excellent interpersonal skills, and his pragmatism.⁷¹⁰ In the final account, Kahane wrote, “he succeeded in establishing a proper mechanism and securing a broad scope for planning.”⁷¹¹

For Sharon, his visual approach has proven itself: “Ben-Gurion, when asked how he liked the [1950 planning] exhibition, said: ‘Those are the most beautiful colours I have seen in my life,’ referring to the English watercolours of the new town plans. (I noted more proof of the importance of presenting ideas by visual means).”⁷¹² The planners, however, were critical of that approach. The scientific rigor of planners, albeit less accessible as compared with the facile, yet appealing, visual approach of architects, was best captured in the following words of Brutzkus:

Sharon quickly understood and adopted for himself, without difficulty, external ideas and ways of thinking without delving too deeply into their essence or examining their conceptual and scientific foundations. To the same extent that he adopted these ideas, he also knew how to “sell” them to others and to present them in an accessible graphic fashion, without the need to use overly cumbersome or scientific explanations. He was a public relations person par excellence, and he succeeded in achieving very wide publicity for the ideas that crystallized within the department. As an architect, he had special inclination and affection for presenting ideas in a graphic way through the use of models, flow charts and images, and sometimes in a quite simplistic manner.⁷¹³

⁷⁰⁷ Kahane, “Twenty-Five Years,” 256.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁹ A. Sharon to D. Ben Gurion, January 26, 1951, ISA/GL/2754/4.

⁷¹⁰ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 263, 267.

⁷¹¹ Kahane, “Twenty-Five Years,” 256.

⁷¹² Sharon, *Kibbutz+Bauhaus*, 78.

⁷¹³ Brutzkus, *Planning Thought*, 264.

Coming full circle, those early statehood tensions between the planners and architects regarding the professional expertise of the head of the Planning Department (now called The Planning Administration) are far from being resolved. In October, 2016, following the resignation of the chief planner, Binat Schwartz, the Young Architects Forum issued a call to seize the opportunity and place an architect in this position. They stated provocatively that “without the foundations of architectural training, town planning does not exist.”⁷¹⁴ The testy response of the Young Planners Forum followed shortly thereafter. The planners accused the architects of superficiality and guild-like interests. A heated debate over the proper expertise required for the position of the chief planner ensued, echoing bygone sentiments and forgotten battles from the early statehood period. This decades-long debate continues unabated.



Fig. 61. “The Planning of Israel”, by Arieh Sharon.

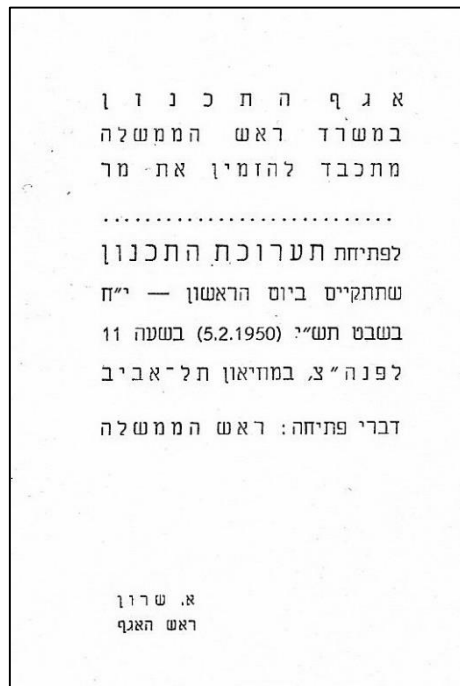


Fig. 62. Invitation to the Opening of the Planning Exhibition, 1950, Tel Aviv Museum. The key speaker PM David Ben Gurion failed to appear (Source: Arieh Sharon Foundation www.ariesharon.org)

⁷¹⁴ “Young Architects Forum: Home,” accessed March 30, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/yia.co.il/>.

Conclusions

The rich context that lies behind the so-called “Sharon Plan,” as described in this chapter, invites some final remarks regarding the continuities and discontinuities from the ideas of the pre-state period. The core of the Sharon Plan, the establishment of the New Towns, relied on previously-conceived demographic and macro-economic ideas on *planned urban decentralization*, rather than architectural modernism.

Within the Planning Department, a division of labor between planners and architects had taken shape. While the planners dealt with the more macro considerations, the architects, Sharon included, turned to issues of mass housing, design and form. They focused their modernist architectural agenda on the quality of the built environment, neglecting larger questions regarding national scale planning, the proper location for key land uses, and the connection between them. However, given the historiographical bent towards architecture, it was the architectural agenda that assumed importance, and with which the plan ultimately was associated.

After 1948, territorial and inner-colonization interests pushed aside metropolitan urbanization, common throughout the industrial West and the model from which the planners had originally drawn their inspiration. Reiner’s proposal seems to have been the only instance in which metropolitan urbanization was considered as an alternative, only to be quickly buried. Thus, the 1948 watershed embodied a profound, and perhaps ironic, transformation of the pre-state planning models.

Prior to 1948, the *raison d’être* of the urban lobby was based on economic rationalization. Drawing on overseas planning trends, they promoted planned metropolitan urbanization. The new satellite towns were meant to prevent over-concentration in the big cities, in the service of creating a viable, advanced modern economy, which would preserve the advantages of metropolitan concentration.

After 1948, economic reasoning was pushed aside in light of the imperative of the moment; nationwide coverage via the creation of new urban centers took precedence, at the price of economic modernization. Perhaps the most explicit example in this regard is Brutzkus, who after 1948 dismissed his own 1938 coastal plains plan. Brutzkus now pushed for founding new towns across the entire country, even when no firm economic basis was provided.⁷¹⁵

In the transition from the view of **compact, metropolitan decentralization** dominant in the Mandate period to a **web-like decentralization** covering the whole of the national territory, planners lost the economic edge of their orientation. Their push towards the periphery and the regional economic models that they championed, put them at odds with the new economic realities after the war. The historical wheel had turned. Now, ironically, it was they who held

⁷¹⁵ See footnote 680.

outdated, romantic economic ideas, in a fashion similar to the charges that they had leveled in the 1930s in waving the banner of urban modernization against the rural economic paradigm.



Fig. 63. Happy Jewish New Year Card, issued by the Planning Department, 1950. Wishing “A year of planning and construction, of founding New Towns, of agricultural development in the Galilee and the Negev,” signed by Arieh Sharon. Interestingly, the map disregards the state boundaries and encompasses the West Bank, then under Jordanian rule. (Source: CZA/A/175/200)

Afterword | From New Towns to Development Towns

In the early 1930s, three young Jews, all freshly minted graduates of TH Berlin, left Nazi Germany, embarking upon a new life in Palestine. Two architects and one civil engineer, each of them quickly integrated into the nascent professional community of Jewish Palestine, as they took different positions within the British planning system. One (Kahane) even made it to the top, serving as the senior draughtsman of the British Chief Planner. During the years of turmoil and the subsequent quest for a formula for ensuring a better future, each developed his own vision for a profound restructuring of the urban way of life. Despite their differences in approach, there was a fundamental commonality of purpose in seeking to formulate a planning model befitting the national cause while also serving as a universal model to be emulated by other nations.

In 1948, they arrived as co-founders of the newly-founded Israeli Planning Department. At that moment in time, three different visions of national planning were lined up at the starting line: Brutzkus' *functional-economic* approach, Glikson's *environmentalist* theory, and Kahane's brew of *aesthetic-functional* ideas, the first two of which being more mature as compared with those of Kahane. However, it was not long before Brutzkus' functional-economic approach prevailed over that of Glikson, becoming de facto the working premise guiding Israeli national planning and its population dispersal policy.

Brutzkus acted quickly. At the end of 1947, several months before independence, he founded the Settlement Reform Circle, intended to serve as a lobbyist group. Through its activities, he managed to garner support for his ideas amongst figures who would become key bureaucrats in the new administration, packaging his ideas in a language catered to the country's political and territorial interests. By the summer of 1948, when the Planning Department was officially established, there were no real alternatives on the table. With the lack any competing approach, his regional model of urban-rural cooperation reigned supreme as the paradigm for the population dispersal programme. The country was divided into 24 administrative "regions," and the New Towns, the plugged-in regional market towns, were mostly determined according to Brutzkus demographic and occupational criteria.

However, the wide-spread reception of Brutzkus' model runs deeper than his persistence and relentless lobbying. Brutzkus' pseudo-scientific approach, his economic orientation and his ever-practical, bureaucratic mindset spoke the language of high modernist technocracy and modernization. In that climate, Glikson's cry against the dehumanizing tendencies of modern development—just as with his colleagues, Lewis Mumford and the American regionalists—was deemed idealist, if not naïve, at best, and counter-productive, at worst. There is little room to assume that even if Glikson had the fervor and personal agency of Brutzkus, he would have been unable to convince the planning bureaucracy to adopt a scheme that ran so fundamentally counter to the Zionist developmental ethos of ever-expansion and the need for the nascent national economy to integrate within the Western capitalist system.

Nonetheless, it was not long before the failure of the Israeli New Towns had become apparent.⁷¹⁶ By the 1960s, the planners' dream of creating a Zionist urban arcadia receded in the face of the harsh economic, social and ethno-class realities that had taken root. Many reasons contributed to this outcome. Notably among them was the conceptual failure of the notion of the plugged-in market-town, indefatigably propagated by Brutzkus since the 1930s. On the one hand, the nearby rural communities of the socialist pioneers showed little interest in adopting the planners' economic model for regional cooperation; on the other, the lack of any industrial or commercial infrastructure prevented the newly-founded towns from developing economic independence. Further, the forced settlement into these towns of disempowered immigrant communities, mostly Mizrahi Jews from Africa and Asia, was accompanied by institutional discrimination and inadequate allocation of resources to enable successful absorption. In the towns themselves, the urban layout, comprised of Neighborhood Units, low density construction and strict separation of uses, failed to produce a dynamic urban life.

It was not long before the optimistic title of "New Towns," referring to the Israeli variant of the New Towns movement that had swept the postwar world, gave way to a more prosaic designation, "Development Towns," (Ayarot Pituah). Conjuring up images of backwardness and even poverty, this became these towns' collective title, still in effect. Their establishment marked the creation of the so-called ethno-class divide between "First Israel" in the central areas and "Second Israel" in the Development Towns, mostly populated by Mizrahi Jews.⁷¹⁷ These urban communities become the quintessential symbol of governmental neglect, paternalism, and intra-Jewish ethnic discrimination towards groups from a non-European background. As they undergird everyday life in Israel and its complex cultural, economic, and identity relations, these towns continue to be the center of ongoing public and scholarly debate.⁷¹⁸

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Knowing how the story ended, but not quite sure how it began, I embarked upon this project. My motivation was not to revisit the all-too-familiar topic of the *Development Towns*, but rather to focus on the unexplored subject of the *New Towns*: the planners' hopes, knowledge, biases and imaginations imbued in these towns, at an optimistic moment in time in which these new communities were "a marvelous glimpse at tomorrow."⁷¹⁹ I was interested in charting the

⁷¹⁶ However, in the short-term, New Towns met their population goals. By 1951, 7.5% of the Jewish population resided in the new towns, and these numbers increased to 16% by 1964. See Elisha Efrat, "The Development Towns," in *The First Decade 1948–1958*, ed. Zvi Tzameret and Hana Yablonka (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1998), 103–112, esp. 110.

⁷¹⁷ For a useful background on the relations between Ashkenazi-Zionists and the Mizrahi Jews in Israel, and particularly the political struggle of the latter, see Sami Shalom Chetrit, *Intra-Jewish Conflict in Israel: White Jews, Black Jews* (Routledge, 2009).

⁷¹⁸ A recent example is the documentary film "The Ancestral Sin" <http://www.docaviv.co.il/2017-en/films/the-ancestral-sin/> released in May 2017, and the public discussion that it has evoked. See, for instance, Shani Littman, "'The Ancestral Sin:' Documentary Explosives," *Haaretz*, May 16, 2017; Meirav Allush-Lavron, "From the 'White Papers' to the 'Black Notebook,'" *Haaretz*, May 23, 2017. On the unique counter-culture that emerged in the Development Towns, see, for instance, Galit Saada-Ophir, "Mizrahi Subaltern Counterpoints: Sderot's Alternative Bands," *Anthropological Quarterly* 80, no. 3 (September 17, 2007): 711–36.

⁷¹⁹ Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2016, 2016),

deeper cultural, professional and international roots of the local New Towns, adding a missing “prehistory” to the familiar terrains of its post-1948 “history” and present realities.

During my research for my Masters’ thesis, I encountered what seemed an enigmatic conflict between so-called “ecological” and “functional-economic” planning approaches, espoused by different planners on the New Towns team.⁷²⁰ Mentioned only in passing, they seemed to open a door to an entire, largely unknown world, one that goes beyond Sharon’s architectural modernism. Indeed, as this dissertation demonstrates, themes as wide as Jewish-diaspora social sciences, the Great Depression, German *Technique* and Fuhrmann’s “biosophy” unfolded as the building blocks that came to constitute the peculiar brew of Israeli New Towns.

Coming full circle, these initial hints about a multiplicity of professional attitudes also led to one of the central conclusions of this study. As my research proceeded, it became apparent that the so-called “functional-economic” planning approach espoused by Brutzkus was the main engine behind the New Towns plan. This finding calls into question the received narrative about the explicitly *architectural modernist* nature of the plan. Instead, it reveals how a cross-range of *planning* ideas, obscured by the overbearing architectural myth, were in fact the crucial sources of influence for the Israeli New Towns.

Why this myth took root goes beyond the difference between the communicative sparkle of architectural culture versus relative blandness of planning. It also has to do with the special role of modernist architecture in the construction of Israeli identity. Critical scholars have analyzed the association of architectural modernism with Zionism. They trace its origins back to the 1930s modernist ensembles of “White Tel Aviv,” promoted by Sharon and his circle of colleagues.⁷²¹ From then on, they argue, modernist architecture became a symbol of the “modern” progressive Zionist spirit. The flat roofs, white-stuccoed walls, and clean lines reflected the overarching values of the Ashkenazi-Zionist hegemony, aspiring to order, rationality, and European progressive modernism. In a what perhaps can be termed as “whitewashing,” modernist architecture became a symbolic justification for the 1948 Palestine expulsion, assuming “a decisive role in the construction of the case, the alibi, and the apologetics of the Jewish settlement across the country.”⁷²²

That the image of early statehood planning became so explicitly modernist is explained through the persona of Sharon, who had been at the forefront of the modernist vanguard in Jewish Palestine since the 1930s, and who incorporated early national planning as part of his

⁷²⁰ In *Reichman and Yehudai, Survey*, 61.

⁷²¹ See Rotbard, *White City*; Nitzan-Shifan, “Contested Zionism”; Sonder, “Bauhaus Architecture in Israel”; Zvi Efrat, “Bauhausbauten Ohne Bauhaus,” *Bauhaus Magazine* 2 (2011): 6–11; Daniel Bertrand Monk, “Autonomy Agreements: Zionism, Modernism, and the Myth of a ‘Bauhaus Vernacular,’” *AA Files* 28 (1994): 94–99.

⁷²² Rotbard, *White City*, 2. See also Sonder, “Bauhaus Architecture in Israel”, 98. Rotbard provides a compelling cultural observation regarding the moment in time in which this national narrative emerged. According to him, the mid-1980s “rediscovery” of “modernist Tel Aviv” came at a time when the Ashkenazi hegemony was losing its primacy (following the 1977 rise to power of the Likud Party). The myth of the White City provided the old guard with a sense of nostalgic reassurance. It allowed those who “felt disinherited of their Israeliness, the opportunity to console themselves in the warm embrace of a familiar white, European identity,” where the “stoic purity of the Bauhaus” articulated “values of order and rationality” against “the amorphous black chaos” of the present.” Rotbard, *White City*, 27.

oeuvre. Just as with the “White City of Tel Aviv,” so too was nascent Israel colored with European modernist utopianism; the country’s physical environment reflecting the national spirit: modest, just, authentic and future-oriented. The carefully selected photographs of public housing gracing the pages of Sharon’s *Physical Planning in Israel* (Sharon’s project as the chief state planner) became the symbol of the entire national plan. It obscured the work of the planners, who, engaged in their back room endeavors, and buried in maps and data, were the ones who de facto shaped the national plan in their image.

Israel and the Postwar New Towns Movement

By the time these planners sat at their drawing boards in the Planning Department after 1948, the New Towns Movement had swept across the world. It reflected a spirit of social reconstruction after the Second World War. Promoted as an answer both to the problems of the nineteenth-century “urban disease” and as a way to address the urgent need for housing after the second World War, New Towns “dominated thinking about urban utopia” in the post-1945 years.⁷²³ These distinctive planned environments were seen as models for a new era, exemplars of utopian and social and economic visions, coupled with modernist ideas of design and architecture. Springing up from Japan to the USSR to California and to Africa, they defied both East-West and Global North-South divisions, and encompassed a wide range of styles, forms and urban layouts.⁷²⁴

In Britain, the free world leader of the New Towns, the 1946 “New Towns Act” launched an ambitious programme, based on Garden Cities principles. Fourteen new towns were built by 1955, the majority of which was meant to accommodate the population spillover from London and Glasgow.⁷²⁵ Historian Rosemary Wakeman has noted the wide range of national purposes of the New Towns. New Towns, she writes, served as a “tool for reconstruction and resource extraction, for population resettlement and territorial dominion. They were solutions to the afflictions of the big city, a testing ground for regional planning and transportation systems, for living in nature, and living in outer space.”⁷²⁶

While the postwar New Towns moment exceeds the scope of this dissertation project, being the point in time at which our story comes to end, a few signposts for future research seem in place. Archival evidence suggests the extent to which Israeli Planners tapped into the international planning movement, through correspondence, professional literature, conferences

⁷²³ Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia*, 2.

⁷²⁴ A survey of the New Towns worldwide can be found in Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia*.

⁷²⁵ For a comprehensive historical account of the British New Towns Movement, tracing it back to the Garden City Movement, see Dennis Hardy, *From Garden Cities to New Towns: Campaigning for Town and Country Planning, 1899-1946* (Taylor & Francis, 1991); and its sequel, Dennis Hardy, *From New Towns to Green Politics: Campaigning for Town and Country Planning, 1946-1990* (Taylor & Francis, 1991). A concise background on the British New Towns, can be found in “New Towns Come of Age,” The Royal Town Planning Institute, accessed July 9, 2017, <http://www.rtpi.org.uk/knowledge/networks/rtpi-cih-planning-for-housing-network/new-towns-come-of-age/>.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

and study tours.⁷²⁷ The planners looked up to the British model, their erstwhile imperial ruler and now the free world leader of New Towns, but were also eager to learn from the American TVA, Dutch regional planning and more. In 1952, for instance, Patrick Abercrombie, the planner of the 1944 Greater London Plan, perhaps the most famous example of New Towns, was invited as a consultant for the Israeli New Towns project.⁷²⁸

Against this backdrop, several distinctive characteristics emerge in connection with the Israeli version of New Towns. First, a profound change in the Zionist idea of planned urbanization occurred in the transition from pre- to post-statehood. Originally, Zionist pre-state proposals for planned urbanization were formulated in the context of metropolitan decentralization. These plans followed the British trend towards planned dispersal around the metropolitan centers in the form of self-contained satellite communities.

Following the British model, the planners envisioned a modern national economy, one which would benefit from the advantages of the industrial city while providing a healthy, progressive living environment in the planned communities situated around it. However, with the acquisition of substantial territories as a result of the 1948 War, the concept of New Towns changed. The towns that were actually built served the purpose of inner-colonization. In this process, as emerges in chapter 5, the metropolitan scale and the economic *raison d'être* of compact dispersal from the pre-state period were abandoned.

What guided the work of the planners was the ethno-territorial imperative of inner-colonization, on the one hand, and the authoritarian, high modernist belief in state power as the ultimate means for the realization of their visions, on the other. Whether it was Glikson's lofty ecological ideals, Kahane's formalistic-aesthetic notions or Brutzkus' semi-urban model, all these planners relied on state mechanisms and lent themselves to the national project of Judaizing land.

The co-option of New Towns into the project of inner-colonization draws attention to one additional salient aspect. After 1948, several depopulated historic Palestinian towns were converted into New Towns for Jewish immigrants. Thus, former Palestinian towns, such as Safed, Tiberius, and Be'er Sheva, were reinvented as exclusively Jewish settlements, with the towns' existing fabric serving as the nucleus of the new developments.⁷²⁹ In other New Towns, such as Acre and Ramle, a small Palestinian community remained, but were joined by Jewish newcomers.

This hybrid of *Old-New Town* opens up several important questions. How did the idea of a New Town come into play in the face of an existing town's built environment and the former

⁷²⁷ Materials can be found in ISA/G/2769/21; ISA/G/2769/15; ISA/G/2762/9.

⁷²⁸ His impressions were positive overall, albeit expressed only in general terms, to the dismay of his Israeli hosts. See Patrick Abercrombie, "Report on Visit to Israel," n.d., CZA/A/175/200.

⁷²⁹ These Old-New Towns were only part of the wider process of re-settlement of Jewish immigrants in former Arab property. Immigrants were settled in depopulated villages, neighborhoods and various urban areas throughout the country. For the authoritative study of these villages, see Khalidi, *All That Remains*. A systematic mapping of their use under Israeli rule is provided in Noga Kadman, *Erased from Space and Consciousness: Israel and the Depopulated Palestinian Villages of 1948* (Indiana University Press, 2015).

urban life within it? How did planners, local authorities, and Palestinian and Jewish residents negotiate the tensions between a forward-oriented city, aspiring for “modernity”, and the continuing specter of its Palestinian past? The processes of erasure, re-use, urban renewal, slum clearance and preservation, all of which occurred in various degrees in these New Towns, merit further attention. These questions seem especially intriguing when compared to other cases in which New Towns were part of campaigns of colonization and re-settlement. Were there other cases in which depopulated existing settlements were used as New Towns or was the Israeli New-Old Town a sole exemplar for *Old-New Towns* altogether?

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By the 1960s, Israel had exported its New Towns experience to “Third World” developing countries in Asia and Africa. Many of these experts had served in the original governmental agencies in early statehood, including our main protagonist: Glikson, who in addition to his planning commission in Crete served as an expert on regional planning at the Israel-based Settlement Study Centre, which specialized in disseminating Israeli nation-building experience to developing countries; and Kahane, who served as a special UN consultant for planning in Turkey in the 1960s.⁷³⁰

The world in which they were operating now was utterly different from the one that they left behind three decades earlier. As young refugees, they escaped Nazi Germany to British-ruled Palestine, witnessing what ultimately was the end of the imperial age. Now they were establishing themselves as participants of equal standing in the emerging developmental discourse, at an optimistic time of liberal internationalism and decolonization. The later moment of outward flow of Israeli knowledge, attitudes and experts had also begun to attract scholarly attention, with more expected in the years to come.⁷³¹

Our story, however, comes to an end. This work recounted the story of a group of built-environment experts, intertwined within wider professional and cultural flows, imaginations and the turbulent events of the first half of the twentieth century. It is arguably a story confined to a specific place and time. Yet, as I hope to have demonstrated, it also harbors potential which goes beyond its geographical and temporal boundaries. Focusing on *planning history* enriches our historical imagination. It invites a continuous movement in, between, and beyond the interstices of built-environment history. Clearly, further research is needed.

⁷³⁰ The center was part of the *National and University Institute of Agriculture*, the Rehovot campus of the Hebrew University, and was headed by Ra'anah Weitz, the former head of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency.

⁷³¹ See footnote 215.

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