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### The Philosophical Foundation of the Pioneering Idea in Nachman Syrkin's Thought

Eilon Shamir

Historical academic research has barely dealt with Nachman Syrkin, despite his major importance in establishing the pioneer ethos of social Zionism. His thought relates to non-Marxist socialism, which enhances moral aspects in socialism, relying on Moshe Hess's theory, on the one hand, and on Narodnik's thought, on the other.

In his early twenties, Syrkin took on the task of constructing a political theory that would incorporate the seemingly contradicting aspirations of socialism and Zionism. At the core of his theory stood the confrontation with Marxism, as it was perceived at the time, with its rigid determinism and materialism. Syrkin dealt with philosophical-epistemological and historical aspects of the issue, in order to enhance the idea of the individual's freedom of will.

Freedom of will is important at the historical-political level: general movements stemming from materialistic developments are important in history; however, individuals and groups of individuals that can contribute a new interpretation to history are important, too. These individuals deviate from the society they belong to, and can direct history according to the ideas they present to society. Those voluntarily-contributed ideas helped lay down an important conceptual foundation for the development of constructive socialism in Eretz-Israel, in the second decade of the twentieth century, including the *Hehalutz* movement.

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### Zionism in the Thought of Rabbi Z.Y. Kook and the Origins of *Gush Emunim*

Motti Inbari

Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook (1891-1981) is one of the most important spiritual leaders of Religious Zionism and a major figure in the shaping of Israeli society. The *Gush Emunim* movement was established in 1974 under his spiritual leadership.

His teachings changed dramatically over the years, and can be divided into two major stages. During the first stage of his spiritual development, Rabbi Kook totally identified with Zionist ideology, and was very vocal against its opponents from the Orthodox world. After the 73' War, however, a dramatic change occurred, after which he started to shun from a complete identification with Zionism, while attacking the very legitimacy of the State to conduct an independent policy, when it came to returning land to Arab rule.

Analyzing the changes in his approach will provide a better understanding of the reasons that led him to change from a spiritual back-stage player to a political leader and spiritual guide for a mass movement, who was active in the public sphere. Hence we will be able to examine the spiritual background for the establishment of *Gush Emunim*, and the internal tensions that characterize this movement, from its very beginning to the present day.

### Rabbi Kook's Interpretation of Lurianic Kabbalah: The Appearance of New Souls and *Tikkun Ha'olam*

Elchanan Shilo

This article presents the topic of the appearance of souls in Rabbi Kook's writings and demonstrates how he introduced modern ideas into the processes of Lurianic Kabbalah.

The article is divided into three parts: (a) The appearance of the souls through sifting; (b) The appearance of souls from the elevation of Worlds; (c) New souls in the future. The article compares texts of Lurianic Kabbalah with passages from Rabbi Kook's writings and dispels much of the obscurity surrounding his work. By comparing Rabbi Kook's writings to his use of Lurianic Kabbalistic sources,

we can see his creativity, not only as a philosopher, but also as an exegete. Thus we can appreciate Rabbi Kook both as a Lurianic Kabbalist and as a modern philosopher.

## The Universal Mission of the Jewish People in the Thought of Emmanuel Levinas

Elisabeth Goldwin

Emmanuel Levinas's definition of ethics does not differentiate between Jews and non-Jews. However, in his Jewish writings, the Jewish people keep their particularity and do not disappear within ethnic universality. This paradoxical position has already been discussed. I would like to add the following points to the discussion:

- a. Levinas's Talmudic readings are not research, but interpretation; it is a reading geared towards linking the text to reality. The article interprets one of his Talmudic readings ('Vieux comme le monde?') dealing with this topic. Levinas's reading, while discussing whether Judaism is necessary to the world and to the universal values contained in the Torah, also leads to the importance of the Halacha in keeping those values, in connection with actual behavior and with Jewish destiny, as a special heritage. Thus the complexity of Levinas's approach to the question is uncovered.
- b. In Levinas's later writings, the self 'substitutes' for the other, although it remains separate and chosen, chosen for this substitution. There is a structural similarity between this point and the way Levinas envisions the relationship between the Jewish people and other peoples.
- c. Levinas's attitude towards the State of Israel and his expectation that in it a new balance between ethics and politics would be invented constitutes the second part of this article. Although his vision is utopian, it is connected to a specific reality and represents another aspect of the particularity of the Jewish people nowadays.
- d. Levinas's approach sets a challenge for the State of Israel and its self-definition as a Jewish State.

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### Gershom Scholem: From a Critique of Martin Buber's Hassidism to Its Negation

Shalom Ratzabi

The article discusses Martin Buber's interpretation of the Hasidic movement and Gershom Scholem's criticism of the enterprise. Its aim is twofold: the first is to reconstruct the polemic between Buber and Scholem. I follow the sources and the course of Scholem's arguments, while at the same time I heed to Buber's responses, when he did respond. The second goal is to understand the development of this polemic. Scholem's criticism of Buber's interpretation of Hasidism only reached its immoderate form in his article from 1961. The article concludes that we should understand Scholem's criticism of Buber on a larger basis than one that is purely scholarly. In order to understand the Buber-Scholem polemic around the Hasidic movement we should take into account not only their disputes on erudite matters but also their political attitudes, as well as their personal relations.

### Unemployment in Israel at the Turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Why Have the Unemployed Not Formed a Protest Movement?

Avraham Doron

Israel holds high unemployment rate of more than 10 percent, in the last decade, and a parallel continuous erosion of unemployment insurance benefits. This article explains the reasons for the passivity and for the lack of protest and resistance among the unemployed.

Israel is essentially an immigrant society, in which the bonds of solidarity among the various population groups remain weak. The economic and social gaps within Israeli society are mostly corollary to the issues of origin and identity that separate the various groups. Thus, the unemployed are seen as another separate group within the wider Israeli society, which draws negative attitudes toward them, thereby affecting their capacity to organize collective protest activities.

Other salient factors that limited the possibilities of the jobless to organize protest activities were linked to the indifference of the major labor parties towards the predicament of the unemployed; the weakness of the *Histadrut* – the Labor

Unions Federation – in general, and in particular among the lower etchelons of the workforce; the open and hidden efforts on the part of the government to de-legitimize the unemployed by manipulating public opinion against them and using various methods to control their behavior; the efforts to individualize the problem of high unemployment; and the heterogeneity of the unemployed themselves, regarding their individual frustration and incapacity to organize and act together.

A Comment on Yitzhak Greenberg's *Anatomy of a Crisis Foretold: The Collapse of Labor Owned Enterprises in the '80s*

Eliahu Borukhov

Reading Greenberg's book, one may gain the wrong impression that the liquidation of the 'Hevrat Ha'ovdim' (the holding company of the worker's economy) was the result of the economic crisis in the 1980's. The article describes the recovery of the main industrial companies that were owned by the *H.H.* during the years 1988-1991. It then criticizes Greenberg's analysis of the causes that led to the economic crisis of the 1980's, and rejects the claim according to which it stemmed from a 'genetic fault' on the part of labor-owned economic enterprises (as suggested by Greenberg) and lists several outcomes of the catastrophic policy of the *Likud* government during the years 1984-1988, and the economic stabilization policy of 1985: (1) The real appreciation of the exchange rate; (2) The astronomic interest rates after 1985; (3) The decline in construction activity; (4) The drop in the demand for military equipment.

The article describes the policy of Chaim Ramon, who was elected Secretary of the *Histadrut* in May 1994, and his decision to liquidate the *H.H.* Finally, it describes the general sale of the industrial holdings of the *H.H.* for more than NIS one billion (approximately \$350 million).

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### The Founding of the 'Medical Office' and the Main Organization of Medical Examination of Immigrants to Eretz-Israel (1934-1939)

Eyal Katvan

When immigration to Eretz-Israel resumed in 1919, Zionist organizations required prospective immigrants to undergo medical and mental examinations in their country of origin, as a prerequisite to immigration. Further examinations were held soon after they reached Eretz-Israel. The links between both sets of medical examinations were loose and relied on different and inconsistent instructions. It was only in 1934 that the Medical Office was founded alongside the Zionist Immigration Department, and the administration of immigrants to Eretz-Israel was placed in the hands of a central authority. This was also a significant step towards the foundation of a wide-ranging system based on a holistic view of its authority in relation to the medical treatment (including physical examination) of immigrants.

This article centers on the foundation and operation of the Medical Office, focusing on the hygiene-related program, in general, and the medical examination of immigrants and prospective immigrants, in particular. Looking into the scientific and bureaucratic foundations of the establishment of the Medical Office provides a chapter in the history of medicine and the foundation of medical organizations in pre-State Israel. Furthermore, the discussion throws light on the history of Zionism and immigration policies at the time. The article proposes that during the period in question, the aims of the medical examination of immigrants changed from a medical tool whose main goal was to select prospective immigrants, to a medical tool within a complex mechanism of education, assimilation and 'normalization' of immigrants to Eretz-Israel. The reasons for this shift stem from a change in the nature and composition of immigration, as well as from personal and individual interests of those associated with establishing this mechanism.

### Economic Nationalism in a Comparative Perspective: Jewish Port Workers between Salonika and Haifa, 1923-1936

Orly C. Meron

The article presents a comparative analysis of the patterns of economic nationalism as observed in two port cities – Salonika, Greece, and Haifa, Eretz-Israel - during

different phases of the development of the respective nation-states. The article positions Salonica's Jewish port workers in the role of 'control population' within the context of the ports of Salonica and Haifa. This enables a comparison of revelations of economic nationalism associated with the forms of initial formation of the national labor forces in industrial sectors linked to the port – the public infrastructure; it is therefore sensitive to discrimination based on national criteria.

The article examines signs of Greek economic nationalism directed against the Jewish minority labor force, which was eventually driven out of its traditional positions in the port of Salonica, for the benefit of Greek orthodox refugees from Anatolia (1923) during the final demographic and geo-political consolidation of the Greek nation-state (the 'post-colonial phase'). The preference for Athens and the port of Piraeus, as opposed to Salonica and its port; the drop in job opportunities in the port as a result of newly-introduced efficiency measures; and the tendency among Greek shippers from the already-established Greek-owned shipping industry to employ co-nationals – i.e. Greek (and not Ladino) speakers – for onshore work; all of the above contributed not only to intensifying the competition between Jewish and Greek port workers in Salonica, but also to negatively divert the scope of Jewish labor employed in the port.

The article shows that expressions of economic nationalism by Jewish leaders in pre-State Israel – who hoped to absorb Salonica's Jewish port workers in order to establish a Jewish manual working class – and the 'Judaization' of the work force, which took place simultaneously in the new port of Haifa during the long processes, both stemmed from the processes of de-colonization from alien rule (British) and of the formation of the Jewish nation-state.

## Sino-Israeli Relations in Retrospect

Yoram Evron

Prior to the establishment of their secret relations in the late 1970s, and in the ensuing decades, Israel and the People's Republic of China have striven to define their interests and policies vis-à-vis each other. These attempts have been influenced by their respective attitudes towards these relations and by mutual misperceptions. Over the years the relations have shifted radically from deep hostility to exceptional amity until, in 2005, the disillusionment regarding the arms transfer led to a crisis whose consequences for Israel remain to be fully understood.

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The article outlines the major developments in Sino-Israeli relations since Israel officially recognized China, in an attempt to outline their typical patterns and motives. To this end, it refers to previous analyses and relies on a variety of Israeli and Chinese sources. The main conclusions are that in light of their relations, China takes into account their consequences on its international position to a much wider extent than does Israel; that Israel does not have – and has never had – leverage over China’s political decision-making; and that Israel should learn how to better handle its relations with both China and the U.S.

### ‘A Ship without a Steering Wheel Sailing Towards the Unknown’: The Warsaw Ghetto, 22 September 1942-17 January 1943

Havi Dreifuss (Ben-Sasson)

This article deals with one of the less known aspects of the Warsaw Ghetto daily life between the Great Deportation (22.7-21.9.1942) and the January *Aktion* (18.1.1943). A few months prior to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, it numbered approximately 50,000 shattered Jews. These were the survivors of the largest Ghetto the Germans had set up and who, despite the inhuman conditions that prevailed, managed to create a vital life until most of its inhabitants were sent to Treblinka and murdered. In the months between the summer of 1942 and the spring of 1943, the remaining members of the Jewish community underwent many changes – from deep sorrow and depression, through moral and social disintegration, until the establishment of a basis for a communal organization that led to the renewal of various aspects of Jewish public life.

On the basis of rich archival documentation, life in the Warsaw Ghetto following the Great Deportation is described, as well as the important role played by the labor force in the diminished Ghetto. Diaries, testimonies and later accounts expose the social life which emerged in the Ghetto, and the role played by the young Underground activists in the new structure. The activities carried out by the Jewish Underground at the different stages of the Ghetto are presented in a broad context, in order to place them in the framework they revolved, particularly as part of the social processes and public and private life which developed in the Ghetto. Thus, the Underground grew out of the despair which they shared by all Ghetto Jews and were part of a wider Jewish structure that managed to develop in spite of the horror – albeit facing many difficulties.

## Not United in a Common Struggle

Moshe Arens

In April 1943, outnumbered and outmatched Jewish fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto rose up against German troops, who were assisted by Ukrainian military companies. This battle is considered the first uprising against German troops in occupied territory in WWII. The Jewish fighters received no assistance from the Allied Forces, throughout the battle, which lasted a few days.

Two Jewish organizations took part in this struggle: the ETZI [Hebrew acronym for Jewish Military Organization] (in Polish, *Żydowski Żwiasek Wojskowy*), a group mostly associated with the Revisionists and Betar, followers of Jabotinsky; and the ŻOB (*Żydowsky Organizacja Bojowa*), the Jewish Fighters' Organization, which included members of all the other Zionist organizations, as well as the anti-Zionist Bund, and communists. Although these organizations fought to achieve the same goal, they did not cooperate. Even in the Ghetto, the same antagonism, which had caused a rift between these political camps apart prior to the eruption of WWII, subsided. In Vilna, however, the organizers of the Jewish underground movement, the FPO [Yiddish acronym for *Fareinigte Partizaner Organizacje*] managed to overcome these obstacles. They formed one organization comprising quasi all the groups found in the Vilna Ghetto.

The article deals with the question as to why this did not happen in the Warsaw Ghetto, and why these organizations, all of them fighting to achieve the same goal, did not unite.

## A 'Useful Past' and the Crisis of the European Jews: Popular Jewish Historiography in Germany, France and Hungary in the 1930s

Guy Miron

The article presents various types of historical writings and the use of memory on the part of European Jewish public spokesmen in the 1930s, in order to cope with the rising threat of Fascism and Nazism. It focuses on the level of popular writing and is based first and foremost on publications in liberal and communal Jewish

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journals. The developing forms of the useful past are examined comparatively in three communities: Germany, France and Hungary.

Modern German, French and Hungarian Jewries were formed under the impact of emancipation. As a part of this process, mainstream spokesmen in these communities developed a new form of historiography, by presenting a useful past that supported their aspiration to integrate into the local societies as equal citizens. Their views on the past were therefore based both on Jewish and on local national historical narratives, attempting to harmonize between them.

Examining the discourse of the 1930s on Jewish history, the article seeks to point to continuity and change in the presentation of the Jewish past. Thus, for example, it presents the ongoing intensive use of the recalling of key historical heroes (such as Moses Mendelssohn, in Germany, and Adolf Crémieux, in France), as well the change in the emphasis of their public representation. A key issue that is dealt with in the article is the changing attitude of certain liberal Jewish spokesmen to the idea of progress.

### The Languages of the ‘Disengagement’

Pnina Shukrun-Nagar

The article examines a text written by Moshe Arens, published by Ari Shavit in his book *‘Halukat Ha’aretz’* (the Division of the Land). This text, as all those comprised in the book, contemplates possible outcomes of the ‘Disengagement’ (August 2005).

Naturally, the multiple ideological and emotional standpoints towards the process are reflected in the language: the process, officially entitled ‘Disengagement’, was also labeled ‘withdrawal’, ‘deportation’, ‘evacuation’, and more. The region in which the process took place was called ‘the Gaza Strip’, ‘Gush Katif’ (the name of the actual location), ‘the Occupied Territories’, etc. and the people involved were named ‘settlers’, ‘extracted’, ‘displaced persons’ etc. In Bakhtin’s terms, this diversity is an expression of the presence of polyglots, of the multiplicity of languages. The article concentrates on polyphony, on the multiplicity of languages within a single person’s language.

Arens’s stance towards the process, as expressed in the text, is complex and consists of several points, differing ideologically, emotionally and linguistically,

each seen as a separate and unique ‘voice’. Some of the voices act as external voices, opposed to Arens’s own voice, such as, for example, the Palestinian voice, which is extremely foreign to the text and, to some extent, the voice of ‘*Eretz Israel Hashlema*’ (The Greater Israel, literally, the Complete Land of Israel). In contrast, some of the voices blend with what Arens presents as his own voice, and therefore may be considered as additional internal levels of consciousness. These are the voices of the region’s residents and of the history of the Jewish nation.

### ***Ha’olam Haze***h between the Kastner Trial and the Eichmann Trial

Yechiam Weitz

In the early years of the State of Israel, two main trials dealing with the Holocaust were held – the first one was the Kastner Trial and the second one was the Eichmann Trial.

The research literature has dealt in depth with the attitude of *Ha’olam Haze*h and its editor Uri Avneri towards the first trial, but has neglected the second trial. The purpose of this article is to deal with the attitude of this weekly towards the second trial, which can be summed up as follows:

1. The Israeli government made serious errors in its treatment of the ‘Eichmann Affair’; from a huge success, it therefore turned into a clear failure.
2. It supported unpopular suggestions connected with the trial. An example was Dr. Nachum Goldman’s suggestion to create a special International Court for judging Eichmann. A large majority of Israelis were against it, but the weekly supported it.
3. It repeatedly tried to raise issues connected to the ‘Kastner Trial’.
4. Avneri insisted that Nazism was a universal phenomenon rather than a German one, and that it could appear anywhere in the world – including Israel. In the course of the Eichmann Trial, this claim was rarely made.

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### Anglo-Jewish Exhibitions at the Turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Integration and Separatism

Irit Miller

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, two Anglo-Jewish exhibitions took place in London: *The Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition* in 1887 at the Royal Albert Hall, which was the first major Jewish exhibition, and the exhibition entitled *Jewish Art and Antiquities* in 1906, at the Whitechapel Art Gallery. This article examines both exhibitions, their historical conditions and background, and their aims and target audience.

*The Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition* spotlighted Jewish ceremonial artifacts and displayed records of Anglo-Jewish history. The uniqueness of *The Jewish Art and Antiquities* exhibition was in presenting works by Jewish artists active in England and on the continent. The goal of the exhibitions was to impart the roots of the Jewish community in England, its cultural heritage, achievements and contributions. The exhibitions aimed at showing integration and acculturation, and to strengthen the community's standing within English society. At the same time, the exhibitions promoted communal alliances, raised issues of identity and self-image, and questions about Jewish culture and art.

### Art, Nationalism and Public Relations: The Myth of Betzalel

Dalia Manor

According to a commonly perceived notion, Israeli art was born at a specific moment in history: the founding of the Betzalel School of Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem in 1906, by Boris Schatz. Paradoxically, this notion was accompanied for a long time by the view that Betzalel was in effect a failure, particularly with regards to later artistic developments in Jewish Palestine. The newly arrived artists in the 1920s – known as the Modernists – were then thought of as representing the 'true' beginning of Israeli art. The historical campaign to crown Betzalel as the origin of Israeli art emerged in the 1980s, in the context of a new and relatively short-lived attention allocated to the history of Israeli art, and of a wider concern with issues of identity in Israeli society and culture. This interest was exhibited across several studies,

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books and historical exhibitions, all of which aiming through different arguments and by focusing on various artists, to point at the 'real father' of Israeli art.

Despite being credited as representing the origin of Israel's modern art, Betzalel and its set of workshops, which produced decorative objects and Holy Land souvenirs, was well rooted in 19<sup>th</sup> century ideas about Jewish national art and the need to cultivate it, and in the concept of productivization of the Jews and of the need to supply trade education and jobs to the poor Jewish community of Jerusalem in order to relieve them from charity. An important concept behind the financial management of Betzalel was the low wages paid to the artisans, especially the Oriental Jews, who were considered cheap labor. The clash between these ideas in their realization caused constant problems that finally brought Betzalel to its closure in 1929. In 2006 the centenary of Betzalel was grandly celebrated by the two institutions, which declare themselves its descendents, the Israel Museum and the Betzalel Academy of Art and Design. Once again the focus was on Boris Schatz as the legendary 'father of Israeli art', overlooking the 'New Betzalel' and many decades of creative developments in Israeli art and design that have fallen into oblivion.