ABSTRACTS

The Polemics Regarding the 'Crisis of Marxism' and the Formation of Jabotinsky's Early Ideological Perceptions: 1898-1903

Svetlana Natkovich

One of the important events in the intellectual life of Europe during the later years of the nineteenth century was the polemics regarding the 'Crisis of Marxism'. Marxist scholars and politicians had to contend with critics who held Neo-Kantian views. The Neo-Kantians aspired to revive the moral-transcendental conflicts of the free individual at the center of the political discourse, and to renounce the positivistic ethics that in their opinion was based on social utilitarianism. A third force entered the public arena at the time of the polemics. The non-conformists George Sorel and Benedetto Croce accepted the Neo-Kantian criticism of the Marxist system and offered a revision of their own. However, instead of the categories of reason, social contract, and natural rights applied by Neo-Kantian intellectuals, they turned to concepts such as impulse, instinct, and unconscious.

Jabotinsky's formative years as a young man were spent in one of the centers of the ongoing polemics, as a student at the University of Rome from 1898 to 1901. As I claim in the article, Jabotinsky's early views were influenced by Croce and Sorel, and their circles were responsible, to some extent, for Jabotinsky's adherence to a nationalist view. In order to characterize the formation of Jabotinsky's political and aesthetic thinking, I focus on an analysis of the political and ideological milieu, the source for his basic assumptions on social issues, during his formative years as a student, journalist, and novice writer.

HaKibbutz HaMeuchad's 'State of Shock' 1948-1954:
Textual Expressions

Lior Libman

With the foundation of the State of Israel, the Kibbutz faced a severe crisis, as State sovereignty brought major structural, political and social changes that altered the Kibbutz's positioning and status within Jewish society in Israel. Most of the existing historical research on the Kibbutz's difficulties in the period focuses on the political and sociological aspects. This article, however, examines the cultural roots of the crisis, and locates them within the pioneers' theo-political understanding of their historical action, which, so the argument goes, emanated from secularized and nationalized Hasidic theology, and viewed itself in terms of the meta-historical Zionist-Socialist narrative. This self- perception was no longer conceivable during the 1948 war and thereafter. The Kibbutz's absorption into, and adjustment to, the new State caused a series of fatal fractures, painful rifts, in the collective mind of the Kibbutz, which saw itself as the avant-garde, fulfilling the building of the Zionist-nation true to the Socialist, universal humanistic model. *HaKibbutz Hameuchad*, the largest movement at the eve of the State, is presented as a case of study, through its literature, of the shock that characterized the response of its leaders and members. Overwhelmed by bitter contradictions, inner conflicts and clashes of moral commitments, it experienced a 'cultural trauma': a conceptual disorientation, 'break of faith', a radical – even metaphysical – undermining and rupture in its system-of-meaning. The trauma was acted-out by its complete denial and fetishism of the pre-traumatic past. The acting-out strove for a 'closure' of the traumatic gap, and tended to blur the 'absence' (of utopia) and the 'loss' (of living the faith). This 'cultural trauma' can be witnessed, I argue, in the common, frozen, un-disrupted image of the Kibbutz in the realism of Kibbutz-literature of the time, which, in front of a dynamic and troublesome reality, kept creating static, iconic pastoral-utopian, heroic-pioneering images.

HaKibbutz Ha'Artzi and the Soviet Union during the First Decade of Israeli Independence

Alon Pauker

With the establishment of the State of Israel, the kibbutz lost the uniqueness and prestige that it had enjoyed during the previous period. Among other issues, it was expressed in social difficulties in kibbutz life and its political activities. In the *HaKibbutz Ha'Artzi* Movement, whose vision was broad-minded, left-wing, and revolutionary from the time of its establishment, the leadership decided to deal with the new situation by deepening its pro-Soviet orientation. They hoped that the connection with the growing communist camp would provide a smokescreen for the difficulties they were experiencing.

Reviewing the results of this policy points to restlessness in the sphere of ideology, politics, and social life of *HaKibbutz Ha'Artzi* during Israel's first decade. Moreover, instead of assisting the movement to deal with its concrete problems, its pro-Soviet orientation worsened the situation.

The turning of *HaKibbutz Ha'Artzi* towards the Soviet Union was a decision fraught with problematic outcomes, not only in the short term, but also up to the crisis of the 1980s. It also influenced the whole kibbutz movement and had international contexts, which the article discusses.

Zionist Epistemology: The Case of David Ben-Gurion's Politics of Numbers

Ari Barell

This paper deals with Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, and his epistemic and political styles of reasoning. By analyzing his famous diary and his intense statistical activity as secretary of the *Histadrut*, I show that alongside his utopian-revolutionary-transformative political style, an empirical approach can be detected. This approach attributes great importance to data and information (especially numerical) in the process of policy formation. Data and information played a dual role for Ben-Gurion: on the one hand, he regarded them as an important and even crucial resource for understanding and assessing reality (and

consequently as a basis for altering that reality); while on the other hand, they were used by the Zionist leader as a *technology of trust*: that is, as an instrument of persuasion and a tool for establishing legitimacy.

Ben-Gurion's case is an interesting example of the way in which quantitative reasoning and the 'discourse of facts' played a role in Zionist culture and politics. I further claim that Ben-Gurion's case is part of a wider cultural pattern, and following that I argue that Zionism should be regarded not just as a new kind of Jewish politics, or a new kind of Jewish social policy, but also as a new kind of Jewish epistemology.

The Failure of U.S. Intelligence in the lead-up to the Yom Kippur War

Boaz Vanetik & Zaki Shalom

The term 'conception' has so far been associated with the Agranat Committee of Inquiry, which studied Israel's lack of preparedness for the Yom Kippur War. However, it would seem that Agranat was not the first to use it. The term 'conception' was first used by Deputy CIA Director General Daniel Graham, who led a team that conducted a post-mortem analysis on the failure of the U.S. intelligence services to foresee the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War, at the behest of William Colby, then head of the CIA.

The conclusions of the inquiry, which were classified 'top-secret', were distributed amongst the heads of the U.S. intelligence services in December 1973, some four months before the interim report of the Agranat Committee. They only became available to the general public in June 2010, through the National Security Archive in Washington, DC. This report, together with other documents, shows clearly that the U.S. intelligence community, throughout all its branches, not just the Israeli Intelligence Directorate (Aman), failed in its assessments on the eve of the war – despite the voluminous collected material showing plainly that Egypt and Syria were preparing for an attack.

Between the Jordanian and the Palestinian Homelands: Jordan Textbooks as a Tool for Creating a National Identity

Iris Fruchter-Ronen

One of the important aspects in the research of modern nation-building nowadays is the study of the educational system and school textbooks.

This article discusses the school textbooks in history and civics courses in the elementary and secondary schools of Jordan during 1964-1994, and shows that the changes in the narratives manifested in the school textbooks were influenced by the political, ideological, and national needs of the Jordanian regime in the mentioned period. This was especially true in light of the Palestinian component in the Jordanian society that presented not only a national-ideological, but also a physical and existential, challenge to the integrity of the kingdom. The article shows how, in light of the developments in the Palestinian arena, the school textbooks reflect an attempt on the part of the Jordanian regime to forge a national Arab and Jordanian-Palestinian identity up to the end of the 1960s. Since the beginning of the 1970s, emphasis has been placed on a separate Jordanian territorial identity. The basic premise of the article is that school textbooks make it possible to create an imaginary national heritage, since Jordan itself is a young and somewhat artificial entity established after World War I by a decree of the British government. This heritage is not unified and permanent, but rather responds to changes in the historical and political circumstances in the Jordanian, Jordanian-Palestinian, and Arab arenas.

The Discourse of Suicide among Ethiopian Immigrants in Israel

Rafi Youngmann & Moshe Shokeid

The goals of this article were (a) to assess suicide rates among Ethiopian immigrants and compare these rates to other groups – Former Soviet Union immigrants, Israeli-born Jews, and others; (b) report on the current suicide medical research; (c) report on the literature dealing with the occurrence of suicides in Ethiopia and other immigrant societies; and (d) suggest explanations for the phenomenon of high rates of suicide among Ethiopian men in particular. Data from the Ministry

of Health were analyzed in order to document the prevalence of suicide among the three study groups. Key informants from among the Ethiopian community and the providers of health services offered observations and interpretations for the occurrence of suicide and recommended prevention strategies. Key informants attributed the prevalence of suicides to the deterioration in men's status versus the growing support of government (and public agencies) for women's independence, loss of parental authority, declining clout of traditional mediators, Ethiopian 'culture of silence', and difficulties using Israeli mental health services. Socio-cultural-economic disadvantages, as well as family and communal disorganization, seem to be the most inducing factors for suicide among Ethiopian newcomers. Prevention strategies among Ethiopians should be culturally sensitive, taking into consideration the rapid social changes that have occurred following immigration.

Meat Lottery: A Spectacle Moving from Ethiopia to Israel

Hagar Salamon

Meat is a key idiom in the lives of the Ethiopian Jews, both collective and private. The present paper focuses on meat lottery as a unique praxis of the community, both while in Ethiopia and following their immigration to Israel.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork, the egalitarian division of meat to be consumed by all partners and its accompanying lottery ritual, is described and analyzed, directing attention to its socio-cultural and symbolic meanings. Beyond the mitigating aspects of the lottery from a social perspective, i.e., circumventing potential rivalries in the distribution of the meat of a single animal among several partners, it is connected at heart with the notion of sacrifice and transformation.

Between Approval and Negation of the Diaspora in 'Abshalom's Journey' by Yaakov Steinberg

Hannan Hever

'Abshalom's Journey' is a national modernist Hebrew epic written by Yaakov Steinberg after he immigrated to *Eretz Israel* from the Ukraine in 1914. It reveals an ambivalent national stance towards both *Eretz Israel* and the Ukraine. The main reason for Abshalom's departure from the Ukraine is theological, and his main outlook on *Eretz Israel* is Orientalist. Tracing Steinberg's shift from Romanticist poetics to Symbolism, the paper follows Steinberg's transformation from nationalism to colonialist Orientalism, thus exposing the theological basis of Zionism, and Steinberg's use of the colonialist perspective as a cover up of the violence involved in Jewish immigration to *Eretz Israel*.

Literature, Identity, and Identification in the Work of S. Yizhar and its Reception

Amit Assis

S. Yizhar is considered the first 'Sabra' author of prose. This essay deals with his public persona, the ways in which it derives from his literary work, and the ways in which it is used as a model of identity for the New Jew. This model was based on the form of opposition typical of Yizhar's work, between two characters and their representation of reality: the lyric quasi-religious narrator who represents everyday objects as enigmatic and inaccessible, while the collective character of the people around him, whose discourse is represented sarcastically, conceive everyday objects (as well as other human beings and animals) as subjects of human manipulation.

This model is exemplified in a close reading of 'The Runaway', a short story told from a child's point of view (translation included in *Midnight Convoy and Other Stories*, Toby Press 2007). The child sees an escaping horse and identifies with it while other characters see the loss of a working animal. The narrator's and the child's intimate relation to natural objects and everyday objects reflect him, unlike the grown-ups around him, as a native Israeli and as a sensitive artist who can see objects running out of perception.

This opposition model also appears in the critical reception of Yizhar's work. His esoteric use of Hebrew could only be read by native Hebrew speakers and used to differentiate them, and their literary taste, from new immigrants who were the majority of Israel's Jewish population. In a society that had no social class distinctions and was ideologically opposed to such a distinction, literary taste was used as a powerful means to differentiate the Sabra and to form a cultural subject whose relation to reality is based on the quasi-religious standpoint of facing an inaccessible, un-representable, object.

The Politics of the Manufacturers' Association in the 1930s: The Efforts to Block the Income Tax Initiative and to Promote Local Products

Omri Metzer

The political historiography of the *yishuv* has commonly pointed to the failure of the Jewish 'civil circles' to turn their economic resources into political power. This article examines this conventional wisdom as it refers to the Jewish Manufacturers Association. It primarily documents and analyzes political efforts by the Association, directed mainly towards the Mandatory-State arena, to block the income tax initiative of the government during the 1930s and to affect the tax structure after it was finally implemented in 1941. This account uncovers an important, but hitherto understudied, chapter in the political economy of Mandatory Palestine. For comparative purposes, the article also relates to the campaign to promote the sale of locally (i.e., Jewish) produced goods. It is shown that despite the short-term political success of the Association on the income tax front during the first half of the 1930s and in leading the struggle for local production, it did not translate into long-term political empowerment. The article identifies the underlying factors responsible for this outcome, including the self-proclaimed identification of the Association's interests with Zionist objectives, which may have inhibited the effectiveness of its collective action.

Army Uniform as a Religious Commandment:
The Zionist-Religious Public and the Army

Boaz Cohen

The Religious Zionist public has very strong visibility in the IDF today, but this was not always so. This article traces the process of change in Israeli society and especially in its national-religious sector that brought about the enhanced presence of this public in the IDF. The article shows that this was a process coming from below, whereby at each stage the changes were brought about by the younger generations, which in turn galvanized the political and religious establishment.

The paper also shows how this public navigated the tension between religious life and values on one hand and military life on the other. It shows the birth of unique institutions combining Jewish studies and military service such as the *Hesder Yeshiva* and the *Mechinot* – pre-army study programs. The birth of religious literature on army, ethics, and Jewish law is also described, as is that of a religious language for describing the army and war experience. The article shows that the government's understanding of this ethos underlay its decision to use the army to expel the *Gush Katif* settlers from their homes, knowing that a confrontation the army would be incompatible with the national religious public's values.

The Terror Victims' Families and the Political Psychology
of Rehabilitation

Udi Lebel

The article illustrates the dependence of loss, recovery, and rehabilitation processes in the field of symbolic politics and political culture. This argument is demonstrated while examining the relation between the entitlement to belong to the collective memory and national commemoration (clear social-political aspects), and the recovery from loss (an apparently private and apolitical issue). The argument is examined within the Israeli context with regard to the differences between the families of fallen IDF soldiers and the families of terror murder victims. While the former are rehabilitated by the Ministry of Defense, the latter receive assistance from social security. The article informs us that the identity of

the rehabilitating institution affects the effectiveness of the rehabilitative process, and that in Israel proximity to the 'defense area' is a rehabilitative resource. It explains the demand of the families of terror victims to be included in the national pantheon as a demand that has a logical therapeutic-rehabilitative background. As such, the article contributes to the understanding of the effect of the political culture at the individual-psychological level.

A City in Distress: Nazareth under Israeli Military Rule 1948-1949

Mustafa Abbasi

During the period of the British Mandate (1918-1948) Nazareth went through many changes. From being the center of a village district it became the main administrative center and place of residence of the Galilee district governor. In addition, the city turned into an important commercial and economic center for the Lower Galilee and valley region. Its rapid economic growth was reflected in an increasing range of commercial activity and expanding markets.

However, the situation changed with the outbreak of the 1948 war. The conquest of the city by the IDF on July 16, 1948 during the Dekel Campaign was carried out swiftly, without a battle and hardly any loss of life. The mayor and leading members of the city surrendered unconditionally to the commanders of the IDF forces. Since then, the growth and prosperity that had characterized it turned into immobility and hardship that continued for more than a decade.

Like the other Arab settlements and concentrated population areas that remained within Israeli borders, Nazareth was also subjected in 1948 to 'Military Government in the Occupied Territories'. This government continued until 1966.

The article deals with the policy of the Israeli military authorities concerning the town, and how the town coped with the new situation during the first year—1948-1949.

Fruitless Fighting: Women's Struggle to Enlist the 'Jewish Legion' in 1918

Meir Chazan

The article deals with the Jewish women's struggle to volunteer for the British army at the end of World War I in 1918. The leader of the women volunteers' attempt was Rachel Yanait, *'Ha-Shomer'* committee member and central political activist in the *'Poalei Zion'* party. Two main political figures within the Zionist arena, Chaim Weizmann and Zeev Jabotinsky, tried in different ways to assist the fulfillment of the women's goal to join Jewish men volunteers who were allowed to actively contribute to conquering the Ottoman Empire and liberating Palestine. Beyond the gender aspects of the women's struggle at the time, the women's wish to actively join the British army was mixed with several other topics within the Zionist agenda in 1918: the necessity of using power in achieving the Zionist targets and using the period of regime change in order to elaborate the Jewish control over lands throughout the country. The British did not permit the women to fulfill their wish, and enabled only a few of them to participate in medical tasks within their armed forces. Even though the women failed in their struggle, it was a milestone in women's attempts from the *'Ha-Shomer'* days through the Mandatory period to join defense activities and assist the Zionist efforts to gain sovereignty over Palestine.

Modernization, Assimilation, Cultural Renewal, and the Public Sphere: New Perspectives in the History of Eastern and Central European Jewry

Guy Miron

The article presents and analyses a variety of new monographs dealing with different perspectives of Modern Jewish history in Eastern and Central Europe. It begins by presenting local urban histories of the Jews of St. Petersburg and Moscow, Kiev and Bialystok – each of which also contributes to the wider picture of Eastern European Jewish history. It then turns to works that are devoted to processes of cultural modernization and secularization in Jewish Eastern Europe.

The new portrait of Eastern European Jewry, as it is reflected in these works, which originated mostly from North American scholars, is much more modern, integrated in the Russian environment, and secular than it looked in the past. The emergence of modern Jewish culture and public spaces is presented as a complicated process with a variety of alternative trends. Key questions which were raised in this context continue to be debated in the Jewish world until today.

The last parts of the article present new works in the field of German Jewish history that challenge the old paradigm of Jewish assimilation and present a more complicated relationship between the Jewish and non-Jewish population in Germany. Local histories and new case studies demonstrate a much less dichotomous picture of German Jewish identity.

All in all, the new North American scholarship challenges rigid and essentialist identity forms and suggests, instead, to concentrate on the development of more daily practices. It is also based on growing sensitivity to linguistic nuances in the sources.