

## The Woman and the Family in the Philosophy of A. D. Gordon

Gad Ufaz

This article deals with the place of the family in the humanistic-societal framework outlined by A. D. Gordon in his philosophy. In the family framework the intergenerational relationships evolve and within it the tradition is bequeathed from generation to generation. The family is the foundation stone for the construction of the 'Great Family' - the Folk, within which the culture is fabricated in all its forms.

Unlike the families of the animal world, the human family is not only a framework for sexual relations, begetting progeny and rearing them, rather it is a permanent tie to a way of life. Within it are developed a life shared among different and varied entities - man, woman, children, while simultaneously the individual separate identities of each person belonging to it are safeguarded. This is a combination between human contrasts joined to create an intimate tie and substantiating it by virtue of 'pure love'. In familial creativity Gordon dedicated a central place to the woman because nature endowed her with the power to create new life. Motherhood was in his opinion the absolute advantage of the woman compared to the man. Gordon strove to accent this advantage despite the backdrop of the pioneer culture in which an egalitarian ethos ostensibly existed between men and women. In fact, it was a culture that provided an advantage to men. The women were expected to compete, not on the basis of accepted differences, but on condition that they bear as men the hard burdens which life's realities demanded.

Gordon who was much older than his comrades, the people of the Second *Aliyah*, and was from a traditional strict religious background, revealed in his works on the subject of the family and the status of the woman an open minded and innovative position, in contrast to his colleagues.

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beginnings of Jewish nationalism with the disappointment of the Emancipation following the rise of modern anti-Semitism and the pogroms in Russia and Poland in the early 1880s.

This paper is an attempt to support the approach taken by Katz and to intensify it with further considerations and evidences. The paper also attempts to reject the critics' claims as well as it puts forth further insights to the position taken by Katz.

### The Polemic Concerning *Hashmitta* and *Harav Kook's* First Essay 'About Zionism'

Shalom Ratzabi

This paper deals with the essay 'About Zionism' which was written by *Harav* A.Y. Hacoheh Kook in 1898, but published only in 1920, more than twenty years after *Harav* Kook had finished it. The author of this paper suggests that *Harav* Kook had been urged to write his essay in response to the tension between the religious Zionists and the secular Zionists. The tension was not new. The paper traces the origins of this tension and points to its implications. The author contends that the tension had already been renewed prior to 1888, but after 1897 since the Zionist Movement had already been established, the polemic became more threatening because it could damage the enterprise of Zion's Lovers. As the author points out, it is clear that *Harav* Kook was aware of this polemic and he wrote the essay 'About Zionism' as a response to its implications. He contends that *Harav* Kook, in his arguments on behalf of Zionism, did not refer to the Zionist ideology as it had been defined in the formative years of the Zionist Movement. *Harav* Kook regarded the settlement of Eretz-Israel as the principal activity leading to redemption. In his thought the re-establishment of the *Sanhedrin* carries the same significance as the sovereign Jewish State had received in Herzlian Zionism.

fledglings. This is an expression of the author's moral stance toward insanity, having its roots in his tragic biographical background. In his first novel 'My Michael', where the heroine-narrator Hanna gradually loses her sanity, the reader's sympathy is directed no less to her husband, Michael, whose squareness covers high psychological tensions and a great need of love. Hanna's behavior is indirectly criticized by the implied author, who identified with the neglected child. In his recent novel, *Do Not Say Night*, both husband and wife are paradoxically characterized as being both square and insane. Theo's sanity goes hand in hand with his mature, manly character, with his responsibility and capacity for mercy.

## The Beginning of Jewish Nationalism from the Perspective of Historical Research

Yosef Salmon

The beginnings of the Jewish National Movement is a subject which has been dealt with extensively within the historiographical debate of modern Jewish history in general, and in the history of the national movement in particular. The subject was first discussed under the term Zionism and only in time was it referred to under the more neutral term of nationalism. Apparently, the debate whether the Zionist movement is in fact a national movement is a thing of the past. Today, no serious scholar of nationalism would consider not including Zionism within the framework of nationalism.

During the early 1950s, Prof. Yaacov Katz published three essays in which he attempted to base his understanding that the beginnings of Jewish nationalism are to be found at the end of the 1850s and early 1860s. His premise was that the beginning of a movement is set not from the time when its ideologies are first expressed, but from the time that these ideas become a basis for social realization. According to this social definition Katz pointed to the enterprise of *Hehevera Leyishuv Eretz-Israel* (The Company for the Settlement of Eretz-Israel), which was established by Dr. Chaim Luria in Frankfurt on the Oder (1860), as the starting point of the movement. The public supporters of this movement, Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai and Moshe Hess, he identified as 'heralds of a national movement'.

These claims by Katz were opposed to by historians who identified the

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facts were unknown to the general public, including the poets. An additional chapter is dedicated to comparing the acceptance process of both poems which were published fifteen years apart. Alterman's poem was widely publicized while Anda Amir's poem was forgotten.

The second part of the paper, the inter-literary one, emphasizes elements of the ballad and the lament which are found in both poems. It compares the characteristics of the Alterman poem which is a *Poem of Rebuke* to Anda Amir's poem which is a *Poem of Anxiety*. Special attention is drawn to the *Poetic Artistry*, to the combination of tonality, rhythm and the shaping of the significance in both poems. Specific chapters stress the sense of mission felt by the two poets who mobilized themselves and the deep emotional and social needs which they fulfilled.

Both poems are clear examples of the way in which reality becomes a myth by means of a literary work. The paper emphasizes the criticism against the scenic descriptions of the Negev, particularly in Alterman's poem, and the indispensability of the stereotype in the service of the myth. The paper ends leaving unresolved the current debate regarding the endurance of old existing national myths in contrast to the need and demand to substitute them in the changing reality of the present.

## The Moral Value of Sanity in the Works of Amos Oz

Hamutal Bar-Yosef

Post-modernist Israeli literary criticism uses the word 'subversive' as a major criterion of literary value, finding it in literature which expresses the 'peripheral' point of view: The feminine, the ethnic, the homosexual, the insane. In fact, sympathy with insanity is now a popular theme in Israeli literature and cinema. Amos Oz's literary work deserves the title 'In Praise of Sanity'. It continues a rich tradition of literary descriptions of the Jewish mental pathology in modern Hebrew literature of the Nineteenth and the first half of the Twentieth century since Mendele Moicher Sfarim's 'The Nag' (1873).

A negative moral attitude to 'the Jewish pathology' was part of Amos Oz's education and of his basic ideology about the dangers of the Israeli 'insane' situation. In Amos Oz's story 'Vagabonds and a Snake' the narrator justifies the killing of the best dog on the *kibbutz* after he got mad and devoured chicken-

Outwardly, in style, behavior and look, many of the newcomers, heroes of the book, are reminiscent of the heroes of Mendele Moicher Sfarim and Scholem Aleichem. These two authors were accepted in Hebrew culture as the authorized witnesses of life in the Jewish *Shtetl* in Europe and served as a source of Jewish Diaspora features for Bartov's heroes and their characteristics. But these features are generally external and they are enslaved to the models that were formed in Israel and describe how it was settled and defended: The literature about the *Kibbutz* and the *Palmach* by writers of *Dor Tashach* (1948 Generation) establishes the central plot in Bartov's novel and popular texts such as tractates, rhymes and cinema movies which were created during the days of the *Yishuv* and the first years of the state are entwined into the central plot or lead the deeds of the minor heroes.

Therefore, the novel reconstructs the history of Israeli pioneering based on well-known examples from literature, the cinema, and other cultural texts, instead of veritably describing the story of the new immigrants. Despite that, the story is not entirely hidden, even if it makes up only one layer of the Zionist tale. This layer will serve in decades to come as the cornerstone for a new story. In that story the pioneering texts, those of Eretz-Israel will make up only bits and pieces, at times only clichés lacking a reasonable and logical sequence, remnants that will be absorbed into the story of the painful acclimatization of the World War refugees in Eretz-Israel.

## She Died in the Fields

### Two Poems in Memory of Barbara Proper from Sde-Boker

Nurit Govrin

This paper discusses two poems which were written about one event - Barbara Proper's murder by Bedouins while she was watching the flock of goats of *Kibbutz* Sde-Boker (September-October 1953). One poem is by Nathan Alterman and the other is by Anda Amir (Pinkerfeld).

The first part of the paper is ex-literary. It describes the historical background of the young State of Israel in the early 1950s in the Negev, particularly in *Kibbutz* Sde-Boker during its first years as well as biographical details about Barbara Proper which were collected from various sources and which were at times discrepant. From the perspective of many years it turns out that the true

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*Plagues of Egypt* as a national allegory, as expressing a stance of weakness and disintegration, was ruled out throughout the generations as it did not conform to the Zionist reading, which presupposed that the national poem was part of the collective effort of advancement towards national redemption. But a post-national reading, as proposed in this paper, enables the settling of the confusion aroused by *The Ten Plagues of Egypt*. This is so, since the conflict raised within the perspective of national reading, a conflict created by the national analogy between the distress of the collectivity and the sensitivity to individuals within the Egyptian whole (i.e. the Germans) - this conflict is changed, or rather, erased, when the point of view becomes that of whosoever watches the destruction and annihilation of Diaspora Jews while realizing their inability to save a member of the same nationality, or to tell their story as part of the hegemonic Zionist narrative.

Thus this paper offers a detailed reading of the poem as a representation of the Holocaust from the perspective of a weak, non-sovereign national collectivity. Especially revealing is the reading of the last chapter as a limited, heterogeneous messianic model. This reading of the poem also places in the foreground the continuity between Alterman's poetic reaction to the Holocaust and the almost unaccepted stance taken by him - even after the founding of the State of Israel - against the nationalization of the Holocaust and the appropriation of its victims to the norms serving the Zionist perspective.

### Zionism, the *Kibbutz* and the *Shtetl*: The Struggle for the New Immigrants' Souls in Hanoch Bartov's *Six Wings Each*

Nurit Gertz

Hanoch Bartov's book *Six Wings Each* is the first Israeli novel which seemingly placed in its center the new immigrants, Holocaust survivors, and described the hardships of their acclimatization in the new land. However, the portrayal of the new immigrants, in this novel, is in fact constructed according to the image of the pioneers and fighters as they are portrayed in Hebrew culture and is recounted from the viewpoint of the old timers and not through the eyes of those recently arrived.

*Mitsraim* (The Ten Plagues of Egypt). Alterman's position as it was expressed in these poems was extremely surprising. On the one hand, the main issue is revenge against the enemy. But on the other hand, using the Biblical narrative of the Ten Plagues of Egypt, Alterman tells the story of two innocent Egyptians, a father and his son, both of whom had never sinned against the People of Israel. Countering the obvious expectation to read in such a poem hope and a vow to revenge aimed at the Germans, Alterman focused instead on the problematics and immorality of collective revenge which also harms innocent individuals. Such a stance, expressed by a major poet like Alterman, who already held the position of a national speaker and who had gained prominence through his nationalistic reaction to the Holocaust, meant creating perplexity and confusion among both readers and critics.

For the past fifty years, since its publication, generations of critics have tried to settle the conflict raised by the historical analogy of the poem. Analyzing the reaction of Hebrew critics to the poem, this essay claims that until now the poem has been read within the boundaries drawn by the legitimate, hegemonic national reading. Such a reading, viewing Alterman's poetic text as an expression of a national action fulfilling aspirations for sovereignty, could not contain the option that Alterman's poetry of 1944 was the result of a tremendous calamity.

Alterman's pre-Holocaust poetry was an active participant in Hebrew culture as a national poetry which constructed national symbols of this aspiration for sovereignty. The most outstanding work of such a construction of a national symbol is *Simhat Any'ym* (The Joy of the Poor) published in 1941. But in early 1944, following the realization of the immense size of the Genocide, Alterman's poetry underwent a dramatic change: From a national poetry, bound to the sovereignty project, it became a poetry written from the point of view of the weak and the defeated, from national representation of Jewish suffering, perceived as a stage towards overcoming the obstacles on the road to sovereignty, it became a representation of annihilation and destruction with no hope for revival and no promise of recovery.

The major poetic expression to this change in the power relations according to which this poetry had been written was the transfer from the prominence of the symbol to that of the allegory in *The Ten Plagues of Egypt*. Contrary to the symbol, which is perceived as organic and integrative, and thus also as representing elements even as it gathers them into one, national, authoritative central point, allegory is perceived as superficial and arbitrary. It represents the national situation as lacking a center and authority and therefore viewed as expressing weakness and helplessness. This possibility, of reading *The Ten*

## Events leading to the Founding of the '*Tkhelet Lavan*' Faction within the *Heirut* Movement

Ya'akov Roth

This article is the first chapter of a research project addressing the admission of *Heirut* into the *Histadruth* and the ensuing response of the labor parties. The chapter reviews the events and struggles within *Heirut* between 1961 and 1963 that preceded the decision to establish '*Tkhelet Lavan*'.

The initiative to establish the faction came from the leadership of the movement, which viewed joining the *Histadruth* as a political step that would allow *Heirut* to better compete with the labor parties, headed by *Mapai*. It would also grant it legitimacy among the public, thereby bringing it out of the political wilderness. The initiative was supported, and even promoted, by grass roots *Heirut* voters who needed the professional, social and medical services provided by the *Histadruth*.

Opposition to forming the faction was headed by the *Histadruth Haovdim Haleumit* (Nationalist Workers' Union), which viewed the forming of a *Histadruth* faction as a threat to *Haleumit's* existence. The opposition was also fueled by ideological reasons spawned by the traditions of the Revisionist movement.

The conclusion of this paper is that the establishment of the faction, in spite of the significant opposition within the movement, was made possible because of the successful integration of political interests on the part of the leadership of the movement and the authentic need of the movement's members for the services of the *Histadruth*.

## Critique of National Reading

Historical Analogy and National Allegory in the Holocaust Poetry of  
Nathan Alterman

Hannan Hever

At the end of February 1944, at the height of the catastrophe which destroyed European Jewry, and at the time when the *Yishuv* was already fully aware of the Holocaust, Nathan Alterman published his book of poetry *Shirey Makot*

# The Introduction of Supplementary Means-Tested Benefits

## A Breach in the Universality of the National Insurance Old-Age Pension System

Abraham Doron

The topic of the paper is the introduction of means-tested supplementary benefits in the mid 1960s for the needy recipients of national insurance old age pensions. This policy marked a major change in the evolution of the national insurance old age pension program. The change was from the mainly universalistic tenets of the program and the injection of elements of selectivity into it.

The national insurance old age pension program was initially designed to provide an income sufficient for a minimum level of living. In the early 1960s it became apparent that the paid pensions were not adequate to provide the promised basic minimum. Instead of raising the pension levels to all recipients, the solution that evolved was to increase the pensions only for needy pensioners. The implication of this solution was to differentiate between old age pensioners on the basis of need and the use of means testing.

The paper describes the struggle within the policy making establishment that eventually led to the adoption of the selective policy solution. The primary focus of the analysis is upon the attitudes and positions taken by the various participants in the process, including officials of the National Insurance Institute, the Ministry of Finance, the *Histadrut* (Israel Federation of Labor), and other players in the political arena. The case study described in the paper is an example of the continuing struggle for the maintenance of universality within the Israeli national insurance system.

It seems that the main causes that led to the failure of the attempts to prevent the breach in the universality of the old age pensions in the 1960s were: The lack of sufficient public awareness about the issues under debate and the repercussions of the selective solution which was adopted, the overrated belief, at the time, in the generosity of the government in power, and the almost total lack of power that the elderly population could exert on the policy makers to act in their interest.

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state. However, in the minutes of the meetings there is no record whatsoever of such a vote. The first part of the article attempts to explain the discrepancy between the contents of the minutes and the interpretations given to them by historians.

The second issue examines how the final draft of Israel's Declaration of Independence was composed and by whom. The author of the article compares the three versions of the Declaration with the purpose of establishing that certain sections were in fact edited and revised by David Ben-Gurion.

### The Military Labor Brigade: Militarizing the Civilian Labor Force during Israel's War of Independence

Yitzhak Greenberg

The attempt to militarize the civilian labor force was initiated during the first months of 1948. In view of the severe shortage of Jewish manpower, the need to continue industrial production and vital services under military discipline was considered a must. While it was discussed and implemented, the idea of militarizing the labor force went through three stages. At first, it was intended to recruit workers in military fashion and under military regime so as to ensure the operation of vital work places. During the second stage, the military labor brigade was to operate vital industries and services while at the same time they were to perform military functions. In the third and last stage, civilian and military leaders renounced the initial purpose of directing workers to vital industries and services and decided to turn the military labor brigade into selection and transit camps with the view to draft the workers into the actual military service. These changes were affected by the persistent need to increase the number of conscripted citizens in the army as Israel's war for independence went on.

The military labor brigade raised disagreements on two major issues. One was whether the army should be responsible for operating vital services and industries in times of national emergency, or indeed whether the army should be involved in any mission which is not essentially military. The second issue was the rights of the labor force members in vital industries and services at times of national emergency, and the status of their representative, Israel's General Labor Federation (the *Histadrut*).

the subject, and possibly because it is currently being used in different political contexts. Nonetheless, scholarly research of the subject has yet to be exhausted.

Apparently, a systematic pursuit of principled positions taken by different people on the transfer issue is of importance when attempting to draw a complete picture of the entire problem. This paper examines the position of Yoseph Weitz who was one of the directors of the Jewish National Fund as well as the Zionist settlement enterprise. From as far back as the 1930s he was connected to the Jewish Agency, and later, government committees which from time to time discussed the transfer problem and which he tried to promote.

Yoseph Weitz was opposed to coercive transfer of Arab population, but for many years he was firm in his belief in favor of volitional transfer. Its importance he regarded not only because of political and security reasons but also due to settlement considerations. Ever since a realistic possibility of the idea was raised in the late '30s he did not change his essential stand. He continued to hold on to the idea even after 1948 when the Jewish state had already been released from a major part of the Arab minority. One should not attach too much importance to the position taken by Weitz for he was not one of the decision making leaders and there is no proof to show that any leader was influenced by his stand or that it was turned into a policy. An in-depth examination into the positions of the leaders themselves in the question of the transfer is still awaiting serious research.

## Three Days in May 1948 - A Fresh Look at the Historical Documents

Ariel Feldestein

In 1998 the State of Israel is celebrating the 50th anniversary of its establishment. This seems to be the appropriate occasion to take a fresh look at the minutes of the meetings of *Minhelet Haam* (the Provisional Government) held on the eve of the declaration of the state. This article deals with two issues related to these meetings.

The first issue examines the debates and the voting as they are recorded in the documents and the historiography. Historiographers have provided the names of those who voted for and against the notion to declare the establishment of the

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Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for thirteen years, 1935-1948. While this reason played a central role in his decision, it was not the only one. Ben-Gurion also felt that at that specific point in time it was his last chance to personally fulfill the pioneering way of life, not as a national leader. This motive also had a public dimension. Ben-Gurion realized that Israeli society was in the process of becoming bourgeois and forgoing pioneering and socialist values. By taking this dramatic step he also tried to change this trend which Israeli society was following.

### Who will Take Care of the People in Eretz-Israel?

The Activities of the American Zionist Medical Unit to Establish Public Health Services during the Early Years of the British Mandate, 1918-1921

Shifra Shvarts

In Israel, the health care services took shape when the region was under Turkish and later British rule, many years before the founding of the State of Israel. The organization of the health services was greatly improved by the American Zionist Medical Unit under the direction of Dr. Isaac Max Rubinow, a socialist Jewish physician of Russian origin. This medical unit was active in Eretz-Israel between 1918 and 1921. Although its actions caused intense disputes at the time, the principles that were fashioned by the Unit continue to be part of the Israeli health care system to this day.

### Yoseph Weitz and the Transfer of Arab Population

Yossi Katz

The issue of transferring the Arab population from Palestine and later Israel has been quite prominent, in the last decade, in the historical research and debate dealing with the history of the *Yishuv* and the establishment of the State of Israel. Undoubtedly, the interest in this issue arises not only from in-depth research of the history of the *Yishuv* and the establishment of the State of Israel by researchers of various disciplines, but a great deal due to the sensitivity of

interested in assisting the immigrants in agricultural matters. It was their wish to encourage the immigrants to embrace the ideology of socialist Zionism and eventually adopt the way of life of the collective *Moshav*. It did not seem to matter whether the immigrants had other values or skills that could be better used in other ways. The immigrants' individual ambitions were also not considered to be important. For the volunteers, the absorption of the immigrants meant assimilation into the dominant culture. The volunteers saw nothing wrong with forcing change on the newcomers. Rather, they were aggressive in their attempt to subject the immigrants to their own social and cultural values.

This article describes the intense clash between the immigrants and those who had volunteered to assist them. The immigrants had come from a multitude of different communities, from a variety of social and cultural backgrounds. Most of them were unacquainted with socialist ideology - its values were strange to them and communal life did not conform to their way of thinking. The volunteers were not deterred. They made a supreme effort to direct the immigrants along the way that they had paved for them. They had influence in the corridors of power and received governmental assistance for their work. Those volunteers who lived together with their own families in the immigrant villages managed to bring resources into those villages in order to improve their economic situation. The immigrants responded in various ways to the volunteers' agenda - some even left the *Moshavim*. Of those who stayed in the settlements, some rejected what the volunteers tried to instill in them, developing methods of dealing with the inculcation. It is the intention of this article to draw attention to the problems of the confrontation between immigrants and veterans in the first years of the State - a confrontation that had many implications on the development of Israeli culture.

## David Ben-Gurion's First Resignation, 1953

Yechiam Weitz

This article deals with Ben-Gurion's motives for his resignation as Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and his decision to settle in Sde-Boker, a small kibbutz in the Negev. The reason Ben-Gurion himself gave was his deep weariness having stood for so many years at the top of the political hierarchy. In 1953 he was sixty-seven years old. He had served for five years both as Prime Minister and Minister of Defense. Prior to this, he had fulfilled the task of

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in the Crimean War. Jewish organizing was dictated by the economic power which was amassed in the hands of the Jewish public as a result of the modernization processes, and not only those accumulated by the Jewish financial elite. It was brought about by the demographic outburst and the objective public stamina gained and demonstrated by the Jewish population, including the frustrating distance between this feeling and the inferior legal and political position in which it existed, despite everything. Namely, the phenomenon must be weighed within the wider political socio-economic context. The Jews must be considered as part of the tsarist empire and not within the limited particular context of how the tsarist regime regarded its Jewish citizens. This attitude received its strongest and adverse expression in the pogroms of the early 1880s.

He who wishes to study the subject must necessarily discern in it the unfolding evolution spread out over many years, accelerating and restraining itself alternately.

### 'The Battle Over the Jewish People': Volunteer *Kibbutz* and *Moshav* Members and the Absorption of Immigrants in the First Decade of the State

Dvora Hacohen

The influx into Israel of hundreds of thousands of immigrants doubled the population of the State during the first three years of its existence (1948-1951). This resulted in the construction of several hundred agricultural *Moshavim* during the first decade, mostly for the settlement of new immigrants. The immigrants who were housed on these *Moshavim* were either Holocaust survivors or refugees from Islamic countries who in most cases had no prior experience in farming.

Ben-Gurion had called for volunteers to assist the immigrants in these *Moshavim* in agricultural work. Hundreds of veteran *Moshav* members answered this call. The first groups of volunteers were comprised of members of the founding generation of the *Moshavim*. But in the mid 1950s a group of second generation *Moshav* members, youths who had been active in the *Palmach* and had fought in the War of Independence, went to assist in the immigrant *Moshavim*. This young generation of volunteers was not only

inevitable, if also involuntary, result of Syria's policy in the years 1963-1966.

Syria found itself unwillingly engaged in battles in which it suffered difficult and humiliating defeats. However, its *Ba'ath* regime remained intact, in no small measure thanks to the fact that the struggle against Israel had been an issue on the Syrian public agenda, but not necessarily the major one.

After the initial shock that the Six-Days War caused in Syria subsided, its belated but deep effect on most spheres of life in that country became apparent. On the one hand, the war marked the end of the ideological era in Syria's history and the beginning of a period marked by moderation, or more precisely, by pragmatism. This also became manifest with regard to Israel once Asad assumed power. On the other hand, the war led to the formation, or perhaps the bolstering of a hostile, not to say pessimistic, outlook with regard to Israel. An outlook according to which Israel is Syria's eternal enemy and the struggle against it is a struggle unto death, ultimately to be determined by force.

Thus, it is possible to assume that only the departure of the 1967 generation (in particular Asad himself, but not only him) from positions of leadership in Syrian politics and society will bring about a deviation from the legacy of 1967, to which Syria is still committed, and thus a true change in its attitude towards Israel will occur.

## The Place of the Jewish Workers' Movement in the Politicization of the Jewish People

Matityahu Mintz

The accelerated process of politicization of the Jewish public in tsarist Russia, as expressed by its various organizations, started already in the 1880s. Though there has never been any dispute as to the timing, the phenomenon itself was generally regarded as the Jewish reaction to the imprecation of the pogroms. It was claimed that this was the sole context, the context which intensified and exacerbated the existential distress of the Jews. However, this evaluation distracted one's mind from the in-depth trends prevalent in Russian society in general, from the dominant changes, thereby from dealing with the problematics which were involved in them. It therefore focused attention on a secondary phenomenon.

The process of politicization was mainly the outcome of the dynamics of modernization and industrialization that swept over Russia following its defeat

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have come into being today'. There was no follow up to these statements and it is not clear what Qasim had in mind regarding these institutions.

C. **Military:** Qasim pointed to the establishment, by Iraq, of the Palestinian Liberation Regiment as the core for the Palestinian army. On 26 March 1960, the Iraqi government decided on 'The preparation of armed forces for the Palestinian Republic'. The Palestinian Regiment which was established during Qasim's regime was not a significant force, its achievement being limited mostly to parades.

D. **The Illegitimacy of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan:** Qasim denied the legitimacy of the Hashemite Kingdom on the assumption that the 'Lausanne Agreement recognized the independence of Palestine which had been torn away from the Ottoman Empire'. He added that 'The Palestinians who inhabited Jordan had not been asked for their opinion concerning this union'.

Characteristic of Qasim's plan was the wide gap between his claim that soon 'The Palestinian flag will be hoisted over the land of Filastin' and the practical steps he envisaged which were highly unrealistic at that point. It took another fifteen years and two wars before the PLO and the Arab Summit adopted Qasim's phased conception for the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as a step towards solving the Palestinian problem.

## Between Syria and Israel: The Six-Days War and its Aftermath

Eyal Zisser

This article is concerned with Syria's path towards the Six-Days War and its aftermath. Unlike what is commonly assumed in Israel, the conflict with Israel was neither an exclusive nor even a leading item on the public agenda in Syria from 1963 to 1966, and even after 1966. While the Syrian regime did indeed pay lip-service to the struggle with Israel, its attention was mostly drawn to Syria's domestic affairs, and especially to the power-struggles within its own ranks.

Syria did not seek a full-scale war with Israel and indeed it tried to avoid such a war. However, it managed its policy in a way that was hasty, amateurish, inexperienced and immature, and, what is worse, in a way that was radical and adventurous. It is thus possible to say that the Six-Days War was a direct and

intelligence, political and economic fruits for Jerusalem and naturally has benefited Tehran. However, its historiography has been greatly effected by its secretive nature and by the absence of documentary evidence. The recent declassification of diplomatic documents in Israel, Great Britain and the USA now provides researchers with a new perspective on the subject.

This article, published in two parts, illuminates the crucial role played by the considerations of oil supply and Israel's quest for connections with Iran during the late 1950s and early 1960s to which all others had been subordinated. In doing so, the author of this paper highlights the important role of Israel's first emissary to Tehran, Zvi Doriel, in laying down the foundations for the 'Oil connection' between the two states and in filling in Jerusalem about the Tehran scene for a period of over ten years.

The article, therefore, bears upon two neglected issues in the historiography of Israel's foreign policy: its secret diplomacy and the invaluable contribution of individuals to its successes.

## General Qasim's Vision for an Immortal Palestinian State, 1959-1963

Moshe Shemesh

In mid-December 1959, General Qasim, head of the July 1958 revolution in Iraq, pronounced the idea of an 'Immortal Palestinian Republic' after the 'Immortal Iraqi Republic'. Qasim's plan was a belated reaction to Nasir's initiative of March 1959 pertaining to the revival of the Palestinian Entity. Qasim's call for the establishment of a Palestinian republic was the first to be heard from the head of an Arab state. Qasim based his proposal for such a state on four elements:

A. Territory: The Palestinian republic was to be established on 'All of the Palestinian lands' in two stages; first on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and secondly 'On all the territory of Filastin following its liberation'.

B. Representation-Institutional: Qasim made two vague statements regarding this element. On 11 August 1960, he announced the approaching establishment of the 'National Arab Committees consisting of the Palestinians in the Arab countries'. On 16 August 1960, he announced that the 'High Arab National Organization for the liberation of Filastin, as well as the national branches and local committees, representing every town and village in Filastin,

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This essay explores the history of this intricate relationship from the first meeting of Herzl with the papal nuncio in Vienna in 1896, to the 1998 statement by the Vatican on the *Shoah*. It aims to show how the Vatican's relation first with Zionism and then with the Jewish State was shaped by broader political forces as well as the Catholic Church's theological concerns and desire to foster the Church's mission worldwide on the Catholic side, and by the wider Jewish world's changing relationship with Catholicism on the Israeli side.

### Positions of Israeli Leaders Regarding the Territorial Status-quo - A New Perspective

Zaki Shalom

Since the end of the 1948 War, Israel has formally adhered to a status-quo doctrine. The official Israeli position stressed that Israel was ready to sign peace agreements with all Arab states based on the Armistice lines which had been agreed upon in the aftermath of the 1948 War. However, parallel to that official position, there seemed to be widespread dissatisfaction within the Israeli leadership, as well as the public, regarding the territorial status-quo, in particular regarding its eastern front, that with Jordan.

Ben-Gurion, in particular, repeatedly expressed his regret that Israel had not taken control over parts of the West Bank during the final stages of the 1948 War. He was certain that from a military point of view this target could have been achieved. Thus, he, as well as other Israeli leaders and officials, contributed a great deal to the creation of a political, as well as psychological, atmosphere of discontent regarding the 'loss' of the West Bank (Judea and Samaria, in the Biblical version). The impact of that atmosphere on concrete Israeli policies in the mid-60s is yet to be researched.

### Oil from Iran: Zvi Doriel's Mission in Tehran 1956-1963 Part 1: Laying of the Foundations

Uri Bialer

The establishment of strategic contacts with Iran has been one of the greatest achievements of Israel's foreign policy. It has borne invaluable military,

the attacks. They saw themselves vindicated by the relief of the City by the 'Burma Road'. The second myth - that of veterans of the *Haganah* - blamed Ben-Gurion for meddling in operations. They criticized the failures and the heavy casualties suffered, especially by hurriedly trained and hastily committed newcomers. The third myth takes up the unsung story of the draftees from abroad (*Gahal*).

Research is always late in catching up with myths, sifting through facts to form a coherent narrative. The central facts, obscured by the myths, are:

- All three attacks in May-June were prompted less by the plight of Jerusalem than by the unacceptable prospect of a truce imposed by the UN, with the City unrelieved.

- *Gahal* troops took a secondary role and incurred relatively low casualties.

- In later stages of the war, especially the decisive operations from October, the *Gahal* draftees and *Mahal* (volunteers from abroad) took an ever-growing part in the war.

Research, although late, finally lays the myths to rest, and 'Truth will spring up from the Earth' (Psalms, 85:12)

## Toward 'A Sound and Lasting Basis': Relations between the Holy See, the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel, 1896-1998

F. Michael Perko, S.J.

The relationship between the Zionist movement and later, the State of Israel, and the Vatican, has been characterized by its complexity. Much of this has to do with the multiple roles that each entity takes on in the normal course of its operations. On the one hand, both the Holy See (the official name of the Vatican state) and the State of Israel are sovereign states. On the other hand, however, both have roles that extend beyond the normal activities of nation-states. The Holy See functions as the public policy arm of the Roman Catholic Church, and uses its position in the international community to further its specific religious interests. The State of Israel also expresses particular religious viewpoints in its policy, and also functions as a focal point and symbol for the Jewish People. This complexity of roles in each state helps to explain why relations have been so tortuous over the years.

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point of view of their present influence on the political and ideological life in Israel, there have been surprising alterations with regard to the relative weight of each one of these components. The conclusion that the essay arrives at is that also in present-day Israeli life the Zionist idea, in its transformed form, remains the most important ideological backbone of Jewish society in Israel.

### The Role of Canadian Justice Rand in UNSCOP

Eliezer Tauber

Following a resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly in its special session convened in April-May 1947, a UN Special Committee was sent to Palestine to investigate the situation there and recommend a solution. One of the eleven members of UNSCOP was Justice Ivan Rand of the Supreme Court of Canada. Rand, who from the outset favored the Jewish side in the Arab-Jewish conflict over Palestine, became the key figure in the committee's deliberations and eventually recommendations. He arrived at the conclusion that the British mandate over Palestine had reached the end of its path and had to be replaced by a partition plan composed of three independent states: A Jewish state, an Arab one and a state of Jerusalem. His idea to establish a central authority over these states in order to achieve uniformity in certain areas was not accepted by the partition supporters among the UNSCOP members. However, his sound judgment and the fact that he, a representative of a British dominion, had reached these conclusions, carried the necessary impact to sway the majority of the committee members to support partition. Most of the basics of his plan were eventually adopted by the United Nations on 29 November 1947.

### The Battles of Latrun in 1948 - Research Versus Myths

Elhannan Orren

A myth has a life of its own: It blows up fast only to be deflated and replaced by a rival myth. Taking the myths arising from the costly battles of Latrun, Anita Shapira finds three successive myths: The first was spread by supporters of Ben-Gurion whose obsession with the plight of besieged Jerusalem prompted

democratic influences, and especially American Jewry's orientation to a universal mission, are vitally needed for realizing Israel's enlightened-humanistic resources, after fifty years of statehood. At the same time, however, increasingly assimilated Western Jewry is desperately lacking Jewish vitality and Hebrew versatility, qualities Israel has an abundance of. Hence, Israel can indeed contribute crucially to the continuity and richness of Jewish life in the Diaspora.

Enhancing relations between Israel and American Jewry to the level where a meaningful cultural and spiritual interaction will take place and a well-balanced Jewish civilization will evolve, may help redeem both communities from their potentially self-defeating situations.

## Israeli Society and the Zionist Idea: Changes and Continuity

Evyatar Friesel

The opinion that Israeli society is undergoing an ideological crisis (generally referred to as 'The crisis of the Zionist idea') is not supported by the realities of Israeli life. Compared to other countries, life in Israel is intensely ideological. Themes such as the relationship between state and religion, the position of the diverse ethnic groups that compose Israeli society, the policies of Israel vis-a-vis the Palestinians and the place of the Jewish state in its Middle-Eastern environment are fiercely debated in Israeli society and represent important issues in the platforms of the diverse political parties.

Since the Zionist idea was of seminal importance in the ideological structures and political parties that brought about the creation of the Jewish state, it seems reasonable to examine the components of the Zionist idea and to ask what happened to them in the last fifty years. We shall discover then that many of these components remain significant also in our days, but that their relative weight has undergone changes. In other words, what has happened to classical Zionist ideology is not a crisis, but an evolution.

Ideologically seen, some of the components of Zionism were essential, others were of secondary importance. The components are examined in the essay. Considered in historical perspective, they appear today in a different light than they were seen in their time, fifty or a hundred years ago. Furthermore, from the

## Israel and American Jewry Relations: The Israeli Perspective

Allon Gal

The political success of Israel and Zionism in the last century has been largely due to the support of the Western world, and more particularly to the Anglo-American world and its Jewry. The pluralistic democracies of England and the United States that enabled the Zionist and pro-Israel appeal to flourish were a critical factor in that historic support. Still, as the *Yishuv's* and Israel's democracy evolved nationalistically, it did not fully absorb Anglo-American civic and pluralistic democratic qualities. Hardened by the violent and protracted conflict with the Arabs and by the experience of the Holocaust, Israel reflected in its compassionate Declaration of Independence collectivistic-particularistic factors - the Jewish people (*Am Israel*) and the Jewish homeland (*Eretz-Israel*) - as the highest virtues of the State's ethos. Thus, Israel's brand of particularistic Judaism and settlement-oriented Zionism were shaped quite differently from the characteristically liberal Judaism of America and the often universal-mission-oriented American Zionism. The ceaseless crises that Israel underwent and the prevalence of the 'Help besieged Israel!' pattern seemingly bridged the gap between the latter and the Diaspora. But, no meaningful spiritual or cultural rapport has developed between the two communities. In the course of the rather superficial relationship that did emerge, American Jewry has been expected to contribute only material and political support while Israel has been revered as the Jewish sacred survival epitomized.

Since the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, following the Six-Days War, chauvinist and fundamentalist trends have gradually grown stronger in Israeli society. The assassination of Yitzhak Rabin by an Israeli-born Orthodox law student clearly illustrated these home-made fanatic currents. In variance, in the post-June 1967 period, general American and American Jewish liberal influences have affected Israel into becoming an increasingly Westernized country, more refined and open. Still, the weakness of Israel's political-democratic culture, the absence of a historically sanctified constitution, the obstinate fundamentalist attack on the Supreme Court, have all left doubts concerning the State's genuine capability to maintain the noble democratic impulse expressed in its Declaration of Independence. Hence, Western liberal-

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### On the Statesman

Upon Receiving the David Ben-Gurion Prize, 18.1.1998

Meir Shamgar

In this paper, former Chief Justice of the Israel Supreme Court, Mr. Meir Shamgar, discusses the characteristics and qualities of the statesman. He presents both Plato's and Machiaveli's theories. He continues by dealing with the issues which distinguish the statesman from the pure theoretician on the one hand, and from the politician, on the other hand. Amongst other distinctions, he notes the differences amongst the three, each of whom must relate to existing traditions within their given societies as well as to be attentive to the people's inclinations within that society. While the pure theoretician wishes to change customs and mores and may be inclined to attack them, and the politician is inclined to enslave himself to them, the statesman will be motivated to take advantage of them for the benefit of his society.

Statesmanship is both a science and an art. In order to fulfill his mission the statesman must excel in several capabilities, amongst them:

- a) The ability to look beyond the momentary crises.
- b) The ability not only to appraise a situation but also come up with solutions and remedies.
- c) To distinguish between feasible opportunities which can be materialized and those that cannot be achieved.
- d) To be responsible to the people for the proper execution of the policy.
- e) The ability to maintain power and control.

The lecturer regards Sir Winston Churchill as the greatest statesman of the Twentieth Century and views David Ben-Gurion as another outstanding example of a true statesman.