IYUNIM BITKUMAT ISRAEL Studies in Israeli and Modern Jewish Societyl



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The Golda Meir Government Prior to the Yom Kippur War – Reply to Yigal Kipnis

#### Hagai Tsoref

This article looks at the Golda Meir government's diplomatic negotiations with Egypt between 1969 and 1974, especially in the months preceding the Yom Kippur War.

The author analyzes the political deadlock in the years leading up to the war and challenges the claim that the bulk of the blame lies with the Israeli government. He describes how Israeli policy went from a harsh and intransigent stance (until 1971) to a two-track stratagem that promoted gradual progress towards an interim agreement on the Suez Canal, while it rejected any threat to Israel's basic interests. Throughout this period Meir tried to persuade Egypt to open secret negotiations, but to no avail.

In the Conclusion, the author deals with two controversial military issues related to Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan in the days leading up to the war.

## The First Yitzhak Rabin Government and the Advancement of the Interim Peace Agreement with Egypt

#### Zaki Shalom

The 1973 Yom Kippur War was a major traumatic event in the history of Israel and Egypt as it forced both states to recognize the limits of their power. Egypt finally understood that its long held goal to annihilate the State of Israel was unrealistic. Israel realized that the Arab World would never accept the status quo created after the 1967 Six-Day War and that Israel would have to make painful compromises on the road to peace.

These understandings created a dramatic change in Egyptian-Israeli relations. The heightened involvement of the United States and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger brought the leaders of Egypt and Israel, Anwar Sadat and Yitzhak Rabin, closer than ever before to a comprehensive peace agreement. The interim agreement of September 1975 is the subject of this article. In historical perspective, it was a momentous milestone on the road to the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty that was signed in March 1979.

### Formulating a Land Ownership Compromise with the Negev Bedouin in the 1970s

#### Havatzelet Yahel

This article looks at the Albeck Commission Report, a milestone in the unresolved land dispute between the State of Israel and thousands of Bedouin citizens in the Negev. The author focuses on the government initiative of the 1970s forsettling the dispute by means of an ingenious, voluntary compromise. Essentially, Israel was willing to offer the Bedouin financial and land compensation but would not formally recognize Bedouin possession, and the Bedouin claimants would not be required to prove their ownership in the courts. The article describes the Albeck Report's background, principles, implementation and implications. The author refutes the charge that Israeli policy was motivated by the desire to deprive the Bedouin of their land rights. Instead, she explains the nature of Bedouin society and the shortcomings in Israeli law when up against Bedouin tradition.

## 'The Israeli Victorians': Anxieties and Distresses among the Middle Class during the 1960s

#### Oded Heilbronner

To be modern means many things. For 1960s Israel, modernity conjured up a new way of life in which bourgeois and middle-class activity, mentality, and values played key roles. This article presents an alternative account of the 'good old days' when many Israelis felt that the momentum toward a just, free, and peaceful future lay just ahead.

The article casts new light on Israeli bourgeois culture in a period of remarkable transformation. Basing his analysis on Peter Gay's multi-volume *The Bourgeois Experience* works on nineteenth century European mentality, and recent historiographical approaches to the West of the 1960s, the author contends that middle class groups can best be understood in terms of their fear and anxiety rather than in terms of their political and economic activity. The ghosts and traumas in Israeli life are shown to have originated mainly from rapid modernization, the shock waves of the massive immigration from Middle East countries, and the long-term effect of two world war sand three local wars.

### A Turnaround in Arab-Jewish Relations in Jaffa and Tel Aviv during WWII

#### Tamir Goren

One of the gravest outcomes of the 1936-1939 Arab Revolt was the heavy economic damage that it caused the Arab community. After this turbulent period Jaffa tried to rebuild itself and regain its status as a leading mercantile center in Palestine. This need intensified with the outbreak of WWII, hence it was in Jaffa's interest to improve its relations with Tel Aviv and with the Jews in general. Since the Jewish community too was concerned about the proper management of economic life in wartime, Arab-Jewish cooperation grew steadily in this period. The article evaluates the degree cooperation and the mutual dependency that consolidated the two communities. In this light Jaffa and Tel Aviv serve as a test case that exemplifies the subsequent change in Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine.

# Bourgeoisie and Zionism in the Domestic Habitus of Central European Women in the *Yishuv*

#### Dorit Yosef and Guy Miron

This article explores the domestic habitus of Jewish women immigrants from Central Europe (Germany, Austria Czechoslovakia) in Mandatory Palestine on the basis two types of source material: the Jewish and Zionist press that was published in Germany and Palestine, and egodocuments (autobiographies, memoirs, diaries, and

so forth) that were written by the women. The authors describe the transformation of the women's domestic world and its cultural aspects, such as the continuity between the German domestic habitus and the new reality in Palestine.

Domestic Zionism is presented as a case study for the larger issue of continuity between the Central European Jewish habitus, as it developed under the impact of emancipation and assimilation, and the burgeoning society in the Yishuv that strove to fulfill the Zionist vision. The article illuminates various facets of the Yishuv and the social history of the immigrants' countries of origin.

## Jerusalem Modernism: The Architectural Work of David Anatol Brutzkus

#### Reut Yarnitsky and Alona Nitzan-Shiftan

The Israeli architectural discourse considers the work of David A. Brutzkus, who immigrated to Jerusalem from Berlin in 1935, as individualistic compared to the prevailing styles in the *Yishuv* and the recently emerged state. The authors explore the broad context of Brutzkus' work and show how it reflects a unique modernist approach. To trace the formation of his idiom, Brutzkus' work is seen against the background of his professional training with leading figures in the German cultural discourse and his immigrant experience. Brutzkus' cultural translations of the discourse evolved into Jerusalem's site-specific, open, apolitical and modernist architecture. From this perspective, his work serves as a theoretical context for challenging the architectural historiography of Israeli modernism.

#### Menachem Begin's Leadership at the Start of the Holocaust

#### Amir Peleg-Uziyahu

This article discusses Menachem Begin between 1939 and 1941. At the outbreak of WWII, Begin the leader of the Zionist Betar Movement in Poland, joined the large wave of refugees fleeing the advancing German Army. His escape came under scathing criticism in the Revisionist Movement where he was vilified as 'a captain who abandoned the sinking ship' and a leader who deserted his troops on the battlefield.

Historians have questioned how Begin eventually managed to erase the blemish of his flight from Warsaw. In this article the author casts new light on the 'abandoning ship' episode, claiming that Begin's image was redeemed because he remained with his people in Vilnius rather than immigrating to Palestine. His arrest by the Soviets and his subsequent expulsion to a gulag added an aura of heroism to his image. The leadership vacuum in the Revisionist Movement in the early 1940s following the deaths of Jabotinsky, David Raziel and Avraham Stern also helped to restore his leadership persona.

## 'The Paper Wars' of the Israeli Press in the Early Years of the State

#### Yehiel Limor and Amos Blobstein-Nevo

One of the Hebrew press's most fascinating struggles in the early days of the state was the war on paper. The fledgling government reduced the amount of paper for the dailies due to budgetary constraints and a dire lack of foreign currency. 'Battles' erupted between the government and the press and among the newspapers themselves that were fueled by political, economic, professional and interests, as well as suspicion and mutual accusation.

Based on archival documentation, the article breaks new ground in revealing how the government issued directives that were designed to cut back the size and of number of newspapers, and block any attempt by the press to circumvent the regulations Government ministers and parliamentarians spent a disproportionate amount of time wrangling over the issue, as though it were the most important problem facing the young state. So absorbed were they with the 'paper war' that the government's stability was compromised. The authors call into question the severity of the paper crisis and claim that the situation was often less critical than its depiction in the press.

#### Kishon, the Arabs and the Political Left

#### Gidi Nevo

Ephraim Kishon, one of the major satirists in the history of Israeli letters, aimed most of his creative genius and satirical barbs at targets in the social-economic sphere. Although his popularity and fame were built on this sturdy foundation, a significant portion of his extensive writing dealt with Israel's relationship with its Arab neighbors and the world. Here his vehement nationalistic viewpoint comes to the fore.

The article analyzes Kishon's nationalistic perspective of two entities: the Arabs and the Israeli political Left. These entities – the main external one and main internal one – are the central nodes against which Kishon's nationalism is cognitively and emotionally comprised of. The author shows that Kishon's nationalism serves as a precursor and prototypical template of the current surge in Israeli nationalism that appears to be sweeping the public sphere.