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Zionist Considerations for Determining the Borders of Eretz-Israel at the Beginning of the British Mandate

Gideon Biger

During negotiations which are held from time to time about the determination of political borders, considerations for different demands are raised by the various participants. At times, these are grounded in the history of the area of the claimant. On other occasions, these arguments are based on the geographical-colonized situation of the area under discussion. It is only seldom that the debaters will raise arguments which relate to the future of the area - reasons which have to do with the security or economic needs of the population. Depending on the opinions and publications of different authorities who have dealt with the phrasing of the first official Zionist claims regarding the borders of Eretz-Israel, it can be determined that the position of the Zionist Movement was mainly based on the intended future economic needs of the Jews who were to come on *Aliya* and that historical, settlement and security requirements were not taken into account in these claims.

Who Curbed the Egyptian Army in the 1948 War?

David Tal

Israeli historiography has created the impression that it was the IDF that curbed the advance of the Egyptian Expedition in its northward journey into the center of Israel. This impression though is misleading, as when they stopped just near Isdud, before entering into the state of Israel's territory, the Egyptian Expedition's commander acted in accordance with the plans stipulated by the Arab League's

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Military Committee. The Egyptian commander's anxiety, due to what he considered to be the strong Jewish presence along his one and only line of supply, was another reason for him not to enter the heavily populated Jewish area. On the other hand, no Israeli military forces were deployed to block the advancing Egyptian forces. At the time, when the Egyptian Expedition force was moving northward, the Israeli forces were engaged in various missions, none of which included the curbing of the advancing Egyptian forces. Thus, when the Egyptian commander ordered his men to base themselves in the Isdud area, he did not do so under the pressure of the Israeli forces that were not present at the site at that time. The reason for this way of presenting the Israeli and the Egyptian actions by Israeli historians is their assumption that the war moves were dependent to a great extent on the schemes and actions of the Israeli commanders, and far less on the other's side. However, a true and meaningful study of the 1948 War should assume that the Egyptian commander had carefully calculated his actions, and he made his decisions not only in reaction to the Israeli actions but also due to his own expectations and analysis of what would be the best thing to do at any given moment.

The Palestinian National Awakening and the Turning-Point in King Husayn's Attitude towards Israel and the West Bank

Moshe Shemesh

The IDF raid on the Palestinian village of Samo'a on the West Bank, on 13 November 1966, was carried out in retaliation to acts of sabotage which emanated from Jordanian territory and were perpetrated by the Syrian supported Fidayun branch of the Fatah organization. The Israeli raid on Samo'a left fifteen Jordanian soldiers dead and thirty-four wounded; five civilians dead and six injured; ninety-three houses were destroyed including a school and the police station. The raid incited unprecedented unrest among the West Bank Palestinians and led to violent demonstrations and riots throughout the main cities of Jerusalem (East), Hebron, Nablus, Tulkarem and Jenin. The riots, which lasted two weeks, jeopardized the stability of Jordan's regime and awakened its rulers to the fact that the outcome of this confrontation would determine the future of the Hashemite Kingdom. Eventually, the regime succeeded in overcoming the crisis by employing the army in suppressing the rioters and calming the situation.

The aim of this article is to outline the repercussions of the IDF raid in two domains:

A. The Jordanian reassessment of Israel's strategy towards Jordan. King Husayn adopted a pessimistic approach towards Israel. He reached the unequivocal conclusion that the main objective of the Israeli strategy was the occupation of the West Bank. All components of the regime's analysis and assessment in the wake of the raid led to this conclusion. The Jordanian leadership perceived that Israel's aim was to drag the Arab states into an all-out war during which it would occupy the West Bank. They admitted that Israel would have no difficulty in capturing the West Bank. Thus the fear of Israel's occupation of the West Bank became 'traumatic' and even 'obsessive' within the Jordanian ruling elite, and determined the King's decision to participate in the Six-Day War. Husayn was convinced that in the course of an all-out Arab-Israeli war Israel would realize her aspiration of occupying the West Bank whether Jordan entered the war or not.

B. The regime's new concept of its relationship with the Palestinian sector of the Jordanian population, which officially categorized it as 'Jordanians of Palestinian origin'. The leadership was shocked by the outburst of nationalist feelings among the West Bank Palestinians demonstrated during the crisis and the signs of deep enmity they harbored towards the Hashemite regime. It was clear that the 'Jordanization' process, which the regime had tried to impose upon the Palestinians since the annexation in 1950, had failed. Instead, the Palestinians of the West Bank underwent an intensive 'Palestinization' process since the establishment of the PLO in June 1964. Thus the Palestinian national awakening in the West Bank forced the King, the Prime Minister and the military leadership to find ways to take control of this new situation. They raised the notion of granting the West Bank some measure of autonomy in order to meet the demands of the Palestinians and thus avert extreme unilateral action by the local Palestinian national leadership. But the idea did not work out owing to opposition by the East Jordanians and the outbreak of the Six-Day War. The King raised notion of granting autonomy to the West Bank in late 1968, but the plan gained an official announcement only in March 1972 in the form of 'The United Hashemite Kingdom'. By then, however, it was too late to be accepted by the West Bank Palestinians who had already come under Israeli occupation.

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Working Papers by Top Yevsektsiya Members Concerning a Jewish Political Entity

Matityahu Mintz

One of the important and controversial issues related to Jewish life in the Soviet Union, which has required reconsideration, is the role of the Jewish section of the Communist Party, the Yevsektsiya, in regard to the involvement of the Jewish public with the Soviet regime. The ideological viewpoint that prevailed in Israeli and other Western historiography, at least until the 1960s, tended to depict the Yevsektsiya as a group of collaborators of the Soviet security forces or, at least, as willing servants of the Soviet authorities.

Only with the opening of the Soviet archives in 1990 were researchers able to study in depth many problems of Jewish Life in the Soviet Union, including the ideological approach of the Yevsektsiya towards ethnic survival, as well as gain a more profound understanding of Soviet propaganda and its codes. The documents published here for the first time were drafted by key members of the Yevsektsiya, who were active in the KOMZET. They help us to understand both practical and ideological issues involved in the effort to train Jews for agriculture and concentrate them territorially.

A New Perspective on the 'Americanization' of Zionism

Ofer Shiff

This article interprets the 'Americanization' of Zionism as a dialectic process, whereby the 'Old World' particularistic basis of Zionism gives a 'positive' Jewish meaning to the quest for integration into the general American society. The article describes three different variations of this dialectic pattern, each representing the viewpoint of one group within the early 20th century American Jewish community: The East-European immigrants, their descendants - the 'second generation' immigrants, and the American Jews of German descent. Each of these three Zionist viewpoints defined the 'positive' Jewish meaning of the integration process in a different way, and accordingly their diverse and often conflicting versions of American Zionism can be compared and categorized. Thus, whereas the two groups

of the immigrant and the 'second generation' Zionists understood this positive Jewish meaning from an ethnic-cultural perspective, the American Zionist of German descent defined it in religious terms. At the same time, whereas the immigrant Zionists sought to achieve through this 'positive' meaning a defensive mechanism against their pessimistic feelings of alienation from the general American environment, both the 'second generation' and the 'German' Zionists wanted to give expression to a completely opposite optimistic feeling of being fully accepted into the American society.

In conclusion, the article points out two sets of criteria, ethnic vis-a-vis religious and pessimistic versus optimistic, which determined the specific path taken by each of the three discussed American Zionist patterns. After discussing the various possible combinations of these criteria, the article also concludes that they may be used in order to define the characteristics of a specific American-Zionist viewpoint, not only in the early 20th century, but in other periods, including ours, as well.

At the Center or on the Fringes of Public Life:

Esther Mintz-Aberson and the Status of Women in American Poale Zion
(1905-1935)

Rachel Rojanski

The Poale Zion party of America was founded in December 1905 on an ideological Zionist-Socialist platform imported into America from the Russian Pale of Settlement. Although Poale Zion in America formulated its own singular ideologies, it did maintain close ties with its sister parties elsewhere, and regarded itself as a revolutionary party. However, while in other revolutionary Jewish parties, Zionist and non-Zionist alike, either in America or elsewhere, women held prominent positions and gained some influence, a study of Poale Zion in America until the early Thirties shows that very few women participated in its activities, with only one exception: Esther Mintz-Aberson.

Esther Mintz-Aberson was an exceptional figure among the members of Poale Zion in its early days. She stood out from the moment she entered the political arena, thanks to the acuteness of her arguments, the style in which she fought her battles, and particularly her superb command of Hebrew, which singled her out from the others who knew only Yiddish. She also played an important role in the

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ongoing ideological debates during the formative years of the party in America and in the stormy political controversies that rocked it. Nonetheless, even before the end of World War I, she left the political scene. Although from the mid-Thirties until her death, she was a devoted and active member of the Pioneer Women's branch where she lived, she never returned to the broader public arena.

The fact is that despite all her many talents and achievements, Esther Mintz-Aberson disappeared not only from the active political life of the party, but also from its historiography. Moreover, even later, the fact that there was not a single woman in the top ranks of the Poale Zion in America (other than in affiliated women's organizations) strongly suggest that Esther Mintz-Aberson's political fate was not an outcome of her particular personal circumstances, but rather reflects the status of women in Poale Zion in America, and perhaps also in the society of Jewish immigrants from East Europe in general.

Poale Zion in America, both directly and indirectly, exhibited an egalitarian attitude towards women. One striking example of this is the section devoted to women in its newspaper *Di tsayt*, which expressed support for women's equality. Nonetheless, this article attempts to show, via Esther Mintz-Aberson's personal story, that in actual practice the party's attitude - of both its male and female members - towards women's status was far more complex.

This paper portrays Esther Mintz-Aberson's public-political image and the unique role she played in the Poale Zion party in America. Second, it argues - in light of these facts - that Esther left the political scene not for personal reasons, but rather owing to the party's attitude towards women's place in public life. Third, it supports this claim with a discussion of the ways in which the two women's organizations affiliated with Poale Zion - the Farband women and Pioneer Women - were organized and took shape, and in particular how they were received by the party.

The paper asserts that the Pioneer Women was the only option available to these women. The need to found it, as well as the process of its establishment and its reception by Poale Zion, reflected - just as the case of Esther Mintz-Aberson did - the relegation of women at the time to the sidelines of public activity, as well as their inability to find their place in public life in any other manner.

The leaders of Pioneer Women, women who were educated in America, understood the situation and consciously adopted the model that already prevailed in America - activity through a woman's organization, which later would form the basis for a reserve of leaders and would educate women to engage in public life. Esther Mintz, who had been schooled outside the United States, tried to become

active within the mainstream public arena, but it turned out that this was not possible in the long run.

This article tries to show that, paradoxically, women's very consciousness of their status in society led them to shun the center of public life, while by organizing on the fringes they were able to become active in the long term. The very absence of such consciousness encouraged women to try to take up positions at the center of public life, but in the end, they were totally ousted from it.

The Causal Connection Between the Holocaust and the Birth of Israel: Historiography Between Myth and Reality

Dan Michman

The causal connection leading from the Holocaust to the establishment of the State of Israel has been accepted as a fact by many historians and in quasi-historical and philosophical observations. By analyzing the works of several individuals and groups of historians - with the tools of historical thinking, such as definitions of events, perspectives and points of departure, and the way chains of causality are constructed - this article shows that the 'Holocaust to Israel' connection is a myth serving a broad variety of political and ideological groups and streams. The author makes a plea for a more sophisticated and subtle approach to historical reality, without one-dimensional, simplistic and clear-cut (usually political) conclusions; only such an approach can provide us with a deeper historical understanding of reality.

Shiluv: Between Church and State

How the Religious Kibbutz Deals with Religious Zionism's Military Service - The Dilemma

Elisheva Rosman-Stollman

In Israel, where military service is mandatory, Religious Zionism is faced with a dilemma: How can one serve in the army and be a good citizen, yet still study Tora seriously and be a good observant Jew? It seems that the army is competing with religious institutions of higher learning for the undivided attention of the same young people.

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On the one hand, the Religious Zionist community in Israel would like its members to fulfill their civic duty to serve in the army. On the other hand, it fears the negative influence the army might have and of the possibility that these same young people will discontinue their religious observance as a result of their military service. It is important to this community that the next generation achieve a higher religious education, but the time that would otherwise be traditionally allocated for study has been taken over by military service.

The following article describes the Shiluv program which is a solution to this dilemma suggested by the Religious Kibbutz movement. The Shiluv five-year program seeks to integrate the study of Tora with a three-year military service term. Most of the students in the program originate from the greater Jerusalem area and come from very prestigious high schools.

The article concludes that the Shiluv program uses the traditional framework of the Yeshiva in order to mediate between the army and part of the Religious Zionist community in Israel. The program allows its students to fulfill their civic duty, without reducing their service term as is done in other frameworks, while proposing a way to protect their spiritual well-being.

Zionist Programs for the Promotion of Tourism in Mandatory Eretz-Israel during the 1940s

Yossi Katz

Throughout the years that the National Institutes were active in Eretz-Israel, from the late 19th century until the establishment of the State of Israel, tourism was not one of the areas in which their involvement was prevalent. During this period tourism was mostly the concern of private enterprise. It was only at the beginning of the 1940s that several people within the National Institutes raised the idea of having the Institutes become involved in tourist enterprises, in preparation for the great development that was expected to come in the wake of World War II, when it was estimated that about one million Jews would be absorbed in Eretz-Israel. Thus, the Zionist Establishment started to make plans for the development of commerce and industry amongst which tourism was included. These plans greatly preceded their times. They were nation-wide and dealt with the problems of the branch from an encompassing perspective, including the Jewish sector, the Arab sector and the

government. These plans were supposed to make the Zionist Establishment especially active in developing a wide tourist infrastructure which was to serve both incoming and domestic tourism. In the end, these plans were not implemented but formed the basis upon which tourism was developed following the establishment of the State of Israel.

Critical Sociology in Israel - A Reinterpretation

Schmuel Hirsch & Uri Cohen

In this paper, the researchers present a renewed, systematic interpretation of *Origins of the Israeli Polity* by Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak (1978). The critical analysis they suggest has a double purpose: First, to re-examine some of the authors' fundamental assumptions, and second, to 'criticize the critique' aimed at the book on various occasions. Critics of the book characterized its main arguments as an ideology serving the existing social order, formed by the Labor movement at the formative, critical stage of the formation of the Israeli state. Horowitz and Lissak were labeled by the critics as recruited scientists, who presented the Zionist agenda of transition from Yishuv to statehood from a superficial and reductionist perspective, which ignored the Arab Other and some grim facts, such as the deportation of the Palestinian Arabs and later the treatment of Arab Israeli citizens.

The authors of this paper maintain that this critique is unfounded. Although Horowitz and Lissak do admit, quite openly, that they base their arguments on the structural-functional theory, this course of action is successful and in no way orthodox or dogmatic. The critics' pretensions fail the test of reality, as their critique is, in most cases, invalid and devoid of substance. It does not suggest an alternative sociological perspective that may serve to examine the transitional stage dealt with in the book, and most important, offers no real understanding and application of the dialectic philosophy.

In conclusion, the critics' overzealous enthusiasm to interpret history from the Other's point of view is antithetic to true dialectic critical thought and the concept of totality, a chief element of this school of thought. When the book's main arguments are presented in a more balanced fashion, as the researchers attempt to do in this paper, they are seen to embody and express the main imperative of dialectic thought. This consists of a presentation of the complexity of the transition from Yishuv to

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statehood, on one hand, and on the other maintains a dialogue with various sociological perspectives in order to shed new, well-founded light on the main transformations which occurred in the emerging Israeli society.

Sisters, Fighters and Mothers The Ethos and Reality of the 1948 Generation

Yonit Efron

This article casts doubts on the innovativeness of the image of the female soldier - the Palmach girl - which was etched into Israel's collective memory, and explores the circumstances in which it was formed.

The Palmach woman was supposedly a new being, liberated from the bonds of tradition, bearing arms alongside the men. It is in the light of this image that certain phenomena, which are perceived by the Israelis (as well as by others) as being uniquely and substantially Israeli, are examined, such as the induction of girls into the IDF on an equal footing with the boys.

This paper shows that two forces were active in creating the image of the Palmach woman. Despite declarations of Socialist revolutionary equality traditional forces were also at work. Women were perceived as a counterpoint to the men, intended to fulfill classic female roles such as homemakers and mothers. The revolutionary forces did create a new image, although formed as a paler version of the idealized male model. Neither in their military nor in their civilian lives did these women significantly break through the traditional gender boundaries between male and female roles. This paper reviews the historical points where these forces were evidently at work, such as in the days of the Palmach, the 1948 battles, the establishment of the IDF and subsequent civilian life.

From a Hebrew Trade Union to an Israeli One - The Integration of Arabs into the *Histadrut*, 1948-1966

Sarah Ozacky-Lazar

The *Histadrut* was founded as a Hebrew workers' trade union in Eretz-Israel/Palestine in December 1920. Since its inception, the *Histadrut* has debated the

issue of including Arab workers within its ranks. The contradiction between the *Histadrut's* Jewish-Zionist goals and its Socialist ideology was difficult to bridge. On the one hand, it has striven to strengthen the professional status and national awareness of its Jewish members, but on the other hand, as a trade union, it had an international-socialist orientation and could not ignore the fact that there were unorganized exploited Arab workers in the country who needed its protection. During the years of the British Mandate over Palestine, the *Histadrut* was ambivalent about this issue and decided to establish a separate unit for Arab workers named *Brit Poalei Eretz-Israel* - Union of Workers in Eretz-Israel, thus excluding the Arabs from membership in the organization.

Things changed after the war in 1948. In the independent State of Israel which maintained a democratic regime, all the Arab residents who had stayed within the Green Line became citizens. Therefore, the *Histadrut* too had to reconsider the status of the Arab workers and change its attitude towards them.

In those early years, the *Histadrut* was one of the strongest organizations in the country and in many ways was more organized and established than the state itself. Its leaders were members of Mapai, the ruling party, and the lines between statehood and organizational interests were ambiguous. The *Histadrut* had national-Zionist goals and not just class interests. The first steps it took among the Arabs were organizing cultural and educational activities in their villages, as well as opening social clubs and medical clinics to serve the people. It was hoped that the Arabs would appreciate these activities and the benefits which they got from the *Histadrut* and thus identify themselves with the state and become 'loyal' citizens.

In 1953, the *Histadrut* decided for the first time to have Arab representatives join the professional unions of teachers, construction workers, clerks, etc. This was the preparatory stage for a decision taken six years later, in 1959, to open the *Histadrut* to Arabs as full and equal members. This increased the membership of the *Histadrut* by several thousand and strengthened its power. In 1965, the Arab members participated, for the first time, in the elections for the tenth convention of the *Histadrut* (January 1966), in which a dramatic decision to change the name of the *Histadrut* was taken. Since then, the *Histadrut* has been called: 'The General Federation of Labour in Eretz-Israel', instead of 'The Hebrew Union'.

In this paper, the author claims that despite these steps, and without ignoring its important economic and social contributions to the Arab sector, the *Histadrut* has not changed its character. It has not become a general organization which represents all its members regardless of their national belonging. The Arab members have

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continued the struggle to become real partners with an equal share in the activities of the *Histadrut*, its institutions and the decision making in its highest bodies. In the '50s and '60s, the *Histadrut* did not participate in the struggle against the Military Government and the confiscation of lands from Arab citizens and remained loyal to its Zionist goals more than to its class and professional ideals.

The Strategy of the Israeli Government and the Left Parties' Alternative Plans Towards Solving the Beduin Issue in the Negev, 1953-1960

Chanina Porat

In this paper, the author discusses the relations of the Israeli establishment towards the Beduin issue, 1953-1960. He also presents the development of the conflict between the Government, as represented by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Military Rule, and the Left that wanted to abolish the Military Rule and to sedentarize the Beduins. The heads of the state, by means of the Military Rule and supplementary laws, wished to supervise the Beduin tribes who had been concentrated within the *Sayag* in order to take over their lands. However, most of the Beduins refused to move from the Negev. They objected to the Military Rule's mode of operation and to the fact that it fostered the Sheiks' domination and insistence on upholding the traditional means of livelihood.

Between the army and the Ministries for Development and Agriculture and the Advisors on Arab Affairs to the Prime-Minister, there was a struggle as to the right way of settling the Beduins permanently, both in the Negev and the country in general. *Mapai*, fearing it would lose supporting votes from the tribes, delayed carrying out the plans. The settling institutes feared losing land for Jewish settling and the army wanted to put as far a distance as possible between the Beduins and the borders.

In 1954-1955 the conflict became more acute between several Beduin tribes and the various military authorities. The Beduins were accused of collaborating with the Egyptian intelligence after some of them were caught in sabbotage activities and espionage within Israeli territory. The administration, which was supposed to treat the Beduins not as 'tolerated infiltrators' but as citizens who were beginning to integrate into the life of the state, was unwilling to accept the new situation.

The conflict between the Government and the tribes over land ownership in the Negev concentrated as of 1955 in the question whether there were enough data which would justly enable to decide the judicial status of the land in the Negev. Albeit, the Ministry of Agriculture assisted by the Military Governor continued to lease state lands to Beduin families.

Representatives of the Left and members of kibbutzim supported the Beduins with agricultural and medical assistance on site. The Left kept struggling for Beduin rights and appealed to public opinion by raising questions in the Knesset, publishing articles, etc.

As of the mid-Fifties, the army began planning the sedentarization of the Beduins. As a military institute, the IDF examined this issue from a security angle, but the military officers agreed with the Government's policy that the supervision of the Beduins in the Negev would gain more land for the purpose of the mass settlement of the new immigrants. Against this background, the 1959 plan of Dayan, Minister of Agriculture, was discussed. Accordingly, a third of the Beduin population was to be transferred to mixed towns in Israel. As expected, the plan was opposed to both by the Beduins and the Israeli Left. To countermand this plan, Mapam's Minister for Development presented alternative plans to settle the Beduins in their own places.

Birth of a Theatre

Corina Shoef

The phenomenon called *t h e a t r e* can be found in most cultures in this world, and much research has been produced as to the presumed vitality of this institution for human culture. Nevertheless, one cannot easily pinpoint the process or the conditions leading to the birth of a specific theatre. A Jewish theatre (mainly in the Yiddish language) and its Hebrew precursor were born in a non-theatrical (and even anti-theatrical) society and culture only in the second half of the 19th century, thus offering a unique opportunity to examine the process leading to the birth of a specific theatre within such anti-theatrical culture.

Judaism and Theatre are basically two irreconcilable opposites. The reasons for this are deeply imbedded within the collective consciousness of the Jewish people for as long as one can trace a distinct Jewish culture. However, with the evolvement of a Jewish Enlightenment, attempting to establish a secular kind of Judaism, a dramatic

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art started to appear within a Jewish cultural framework, but only as a literary genre, and not as a performing art. Only in the last quarter of the 19th century a performing Jewish theatre started to fulfill an ever-growing social and cultural role within the Jewish society, first in Europe and then also in the 'New World'. This theatre became a vital means for the re-establishment of a Jewish communal life after the disintegration of the old, mainly religious social framework. The theatre, which had been rejected for so long, was drawing its legitimation mainly from its usefulness as a communal institution. A few years later, a Hebrew theatrical activity started to evolve, and again its main motivation may be detected in a crucial social need, this time it was the establishment of a new cultural identity.

Following the patterns of these very first Jewish theatrical activities, one can easily distinguish the specific social functions they fulfilled, on the one hand, and the traces of the old Jewish anti theatrical tradition, on the other hand.

The Flesh and the Blood: Ideological-Poetical Junctions in the Poetries of U. Z. Greenberg and A. Shlonsky, in the 'Twenties

Boaz Arpaly

This paper presents a comparative research in the poetries of Uri Zvi Greenberg (1896-1981) and that of Abraham Shlonsky (1900-1973) in the 'Twenties. With these bodies of poetry that both wrote during those years, they burst forth almost simultaneously onto the the Eretz-Israeli Hebrew poetry scene as the two most distinct representatives of European modernism and as the most conspicuous rebels against the rooted traditions of the poetry which preceded them. The basic experiences which are reflected in their poems are essentially common to both poets. Some of them are connected to the rise of modern civilization, to the crises of the beginning of the century within the European world and to the Jewish world within it; others to the transpiring reality of the pioneering Jewish settlement in Eretz-Israel to which both men came to, within a matter of just a few years, with clear Zionist-ideological motives. But despite the importance of these common (thematic) features, from the decisive poetical aspects the differences between the two poets are crucial. Each of them reflects the period and the generation in a different way. Each of them rebels against his predecessors in a different way, and each one represents disparate, at times contradictory, even polar aspects of the European modernism.

The author of this paper examines both the common sides, as well as the differences between the poets, from one specific perspective: The presence of 'the flesh and the blood'. To be more precise - of man as flesh and blood - common to the poetries of both during this period, and which singles it out. This presence, which has no such precedent in Hebrew poetry as to its qualities, functions and amount of presentations, is revealed in these poetries by two combined ways. The first way (the direct one) is the very representation of man as a physical-physiological entity. The second way (the indirect one) - the 'physiological personification' one. Both poets use materials from the physical and physiological world in order to inform by their means realities which are not necessarily human (landscape, world, social phenomena, etc.). From an ideological point of view, the shaping of man as a carnal entity is reflected in the poetry of both poets as a world picture in which traditional concepts (theological and ideological) are negated, as well as those that had defined man (and world) in another way (metaphysical, spiritual, religious or rational).

From the point of view of poetics, the use of materials (both figurative as well as literal) from bodily reality are symptoms of anti-romantic and anti-classical poetic trends (objection to the 'beautiful' and the 'aesthetic', the sentimental and the ideal, the opening of poetry to 'low' aspects of life, etc.) which characterize the modernist revolution in literature. The poetic and ideological relations hinted at here are not fixed throughout the period. In the transition from an existential-universal world view to the Zionist ideology, for example, which occurs with both poets, they change and even revert their positions.

Most of this article is dedicated to the description and detailed interpretation of the poetry of the 'Twenties of both Greenberg and Shlonsky (poems, cycles and books) according to the comparative perspective that was described above and in relation to aspects converging upon this perspective.

Emil Habibi and 'The Red Parcel'

Yaira Ginossar

In this paper, the researcher examines the late Arab author from Haifa, Emil Habibi's last novel *Saraya, Daughter of the Ghoul*. The discussion is mainly literary (the quality of the autobiographical genre burdened by fiction, the textual balance and

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tension between the woman - whose name gives title to the work - and the male character who narrates the tale, as well as both these characters as opposed to the central status of the marginal characters). Despite all this, the article tackles several issues that are of interest to the educated Israeli who is attentive to questions raised by the local cultural discourse.

In the literature of national minorities there is a tendency to expose the allegory, the collective consciousness and not the individual one. Habiby's last story, more than his previous works, is a story in which these consciousnesses are on the one hand combined, but on the other hand contradictory to each other. These are focal points which are at a struggle. This work is about stylistic and thematic tensions. Amongst them a collective consciousness which is made up of the numerous people who are present within the text (and not from a one-faced crowd) in contrast to an elite, most-talented 'I' - the writer who wishes to liberate himself from the throng. He had had the possibility to realize a personal existence with the female character, Saraya, the 'little gypsy', but her presence too has a double core. She is a daughter of the same Arab social structure which claims her for its own purposes.

The title of this paper, 'The Red Parcel', is based on a secondary story which appears towards the end of Habiby's novel. This story unites - as a model - four different elements which characterize the text: History; marginal characters; autobiography and legend. 'The Red Parcel' is one of the texts which demonstrate how the fusion of these different elements form a personal legend within a contemporary autobiography.

Herzl's Social and Economic Vision

Uri Zilbersheid

Herzl's social and economic vision is to be found in his writings: in the diaries, in the epoch-making book *The Jewish State* as well as in different articles and the utopian scheme *Old-New Land*.

A close examination of the vision shows two distinct forms which can also be seen as two phases of an inner development: The first form, or phase, is more realistic regarding the prevailing economic and social conditions and interests and was to be achieved, to a large extent, in the first stage of building the Jewish state. The second form, or phase, is utopian in its character and was to be achieved to the

full at a later stage of the formation of the Jewish state. Herzl did not elaborate on the nature of the transition from the first to the second phase, but it seems that the nucleus of the second phase was to be planted within the first phase in order to grow gradually out of it.

In the first phase, Herzl strove to establish a welfare state: Social welfare system, partial state ownership of economic means and governmental involvement in the national economy. Herzl's plans and ideas, which found expression in the first form of his vision, made him one of the pioneers of the modern welfare state and the founder of this socio-economic concept in the Zionist movement.

In the second phase, Herzl envisaged a society which was to go beyond the modern social state, would become more equalitarian and voluntary and less centralized. Many features of the welfare system would continue to exist in the new social frame, which increasingly would take the place of the first stage, i.e. of the combination of free enterprise and welfare system. The state authority would be substantially reduced, so that the new framework would not be considered a state any more. The second form, or phase, of Herzl's vision makes him a central figure in the idealistic socialist tradition in Zionism.

Both phases are characterized by Herzl's deep wish to bring about the productivization of the Jewish people, i.e. taking them out of financial and commercial activities and turning them into a nation widely active in industry and agriculture.

Commandments and Orthodoxy in M. M. Buber's Thought

Shalom Ratzabi

The article deals with the development of M. M. Buber's attitude toward the *Halakha* (Jewish commandments) and the traditional Jewish way of life. In the course of the discussion, the author points to the curious fact that Buber's rejection of the *Halakha* can be seen as the only constant component in his long and variable philosophical enterprise. So the author tries to find the motivation for this rejection of the Orthodox way of life and its accord with Buber's whole philosophy, in each stage of his philosophical development. In doing so, the author points out that Buber's attitude toward the *Halakhic* way of life was formulated by his teenage experiences and was rooted in the formative stage of his life. Therefore, his motivation to reject the

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traditional Jewish way of life was indeed unchangeable. That is to say that Buber was compelled to modify his arguments against Jewish Orthodoxy in accordance with his whole philosophical and national stage of thought. It means that one can find the core of Buber's philosophical and national stand in each stage of his development within the arguments that he himself provides as to his own attitude toward Jewish Orthodoxy. To prove this claim, the paper has to trace Buber's philosophical development and to point to the affinity between Buber's philosophical outlook and his arguments justifying his negation of Jewish Orthodoxy. To fulfill this task, the author of this paper examines three main stages in Buber's philosophy. In doing so, the author suggests that even if Buber's stand toward the *Halakha* were constant, we could still find some contradictions between his whole philosophy and his negation of the *Halakha*. It seems, as the author points out in the discussion, that these contradictions are based in the fact that Buber's attitude toward the traditional way was not the result of the culmination of his philosophical enterprise, but rather rooted in his formative experiences.

Internal Tensions as a Basis for Israeli-American Jewish Solidarity - A Review Essay

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What are the long-term effects of the growing tensions and dissonance that characterize the relations between Israel and American Jewry? How should we assess the impact of the changing roles and mutual perceptions of these relationships on the future quality and substance of Israeli-American Jewish solidarity, especially now that the old 'survivalist' pattern of Israel-Diaspora relations is exhausting itself? And finally, what are the main issues that will confront both communities in the twenty-first century? These are some of the questions which are discussed in a recently published volume, *Beyond Survival and Philanthropy: American Jewry and Israel*, edited by Allon Gal and Alfred Gottschalk, based on lectures presented at an international conference sponsored by the Hebrew Union College, the Ben-Gurion Research Center and the Center for North American Jewry of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

This review-essay attempts to categorize the various responses of the impressive wide-range of leading Israeli and American Jewish scholars and public figures who

have contributed to this volume. It finds that despite the many differences among the participants, they all share the same pluralistic attitude regarding the need for building a relationship which would be more equal and personally meaningful for the members of both communities. In other words, this volume which starts with a genuine concern of its initiators regarding the growing tensions between and within the two communities concludes with a surprisingly optimistic answer that the existing differences - when honestly and openly discussed - should not necessarily be viewed as a 'problem' but rather as the 'glue'. The essay attempts to analyze the significance of this pluralistic, and rather optimistic attitude, both in historical terms and in relation to today's rival pessimistic trends. It concludes by questioning whether this volume represents a realistic hope that could lead to a new type of Israeli-American Jewish solidarity or perhaps it only represents the view of a group which defensively struggles for some common denominator for a people who are at best polarized, or otherwise indifferent.