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The American Sixties in Israel: From Rebellion to Conformism

Gadi Taub

The influence of 'The Sixties' as a defused world-wide cultural rebellion began to be felt in Israel in the 1970s, when young people were let down by Israel's dominant Zionist ethos. At first the symbols of the rebellion were understood to be both of a left-wing variety and subversive of Israel's hegemonic ethos. As time went by, however, the meaning of the symbols became more clearly identified with the American Sixties, which, against the background of the general Americanization of Israel's culture, made them part of the mainstream. Since the contented Israelis identification with 'The Sixties' has become more and more focused on individualism and authenticity, as opposed to solidarity and social responsibility which were the pillars of the older Labor Zionist, it would seem like the current adherence to the symbols of the student rebellion are better understood as part of Israel's turn rightwards to free market individualism and privatization.

Jacqueline Kahanoff – Pioneer of Mediterranean Culture in Israel

David Ohana

As the debate about Israel's identity as a Mediterranean culture gains momentum so the place of essayist and author Jacqueline Kahanoff gains centrality in this discourses. Kahanoff serves as an axis, as a pioneer and as intellectual persona for the study of the various issues connected to the development of the Israeli culture. Also, for the debate about East and West in Israel and all that is between them, as well as the clarification concerning the issue of spatial identity and the Israeli culture

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in the Mediterranean basin. The association between Kahanoff, who was born in Egypt and immigrated to Israel in 1954, and the Israeli Mediterranean profile has become so obvious that she has been dubbed: 'Pioneer of the Mediterranean Idea'.

The author of this paper analyzes the Mediterranean idea, examines its place within the cultural identity of Israel and reveals its cultural sources, particularly via the case study of Jacqueline Kahanoff.

Not 'Just Symbols from There' and 'Outstanding Leaders from Here' A Study on the Essay 'Detached Symbols' by Meir Ya'ari

Matityahu Mintz

This paper is a study in Meir Ya'ari's essay 'Detached Symbols', published in 1923. Though the essay was sub-titled 'Fragmented Thoughts'—a somewhat more modest and less binding title, it was in fact a 'programmatic outline', a 'declaration of intentions' and only seemingly opaque. The essay was meant to pave Ya'ari's return to the circle of leaders who headed the *Shomrim* in Eretz Israel.

In Meir Ya'ari's opinion, the *Shomrim* who fled to Vienna in fear of the Russian armies that invaded Galicia, at the beginning of World War I, adopted symbols that were detached. It was even clear to him that 'no moral value exists, eternal or in any way special that is necessarily connected with youth'. Therefore, he was opposed to the desire to maintain links to the educational movement beyond the age of eighteen. However, he did praise the uniqueness and independence of the *Shomrim's* behaviour in Eretz Israel. But he did deny the wish to instantaneously form what then would have been an immature party. Moreover, it was important for him not to just search anywhere for new symbols to follow; for that was apt to mean to join forces with the already existing political organizations, *Hapoel Hatzair* or *Achdut Ha'avoda* and to express solidarity with them.

Ya'ari's slogan that one must dig for many years (in order to discover the light at the end of the tunnel) that it was not up to one generation to complete the task, was an endeavor to bring the *Shomrim* to recognize the uniqueness of their mission and to the understanding that their task was not short ranged or limited by time. Namely, the potency, the slogan that for generations was to be in the charge of the *Shomrim* in Eretz Israel. Therefore, the *Shomrim* were entrusted to safeguard their independence and were prohibited from searching for a hold, an anchor, in an existing organization, even if there were outstanding leaders amongst their flanks.

Ya'ari assumed that even if he did not have at his immediate disposal a source of 'fresh water', a kind of an efficient, revolutionary key for the realization of a new society, the capacity was there, to be fulfilled in the future. Therefore, all the formulas he used, all the clinging and the recoiling, were essentially designed to protect the independence of the *Shomrim* and their entrenchment within it. His formulas were basically instrumental. The principle of the nucleus which Ya'ari totally identified with, as if it were his own flesh and blood, was his fierce faith in the *Shomrim*'s potential to crystallize a special message, an independent ideological message that would be formed in an unceasing debate amongst themselves. In this continuous debate Ya'ari was to have a decisive and unique place as guide and mentor.

Remarks on the Adaptation of the Idea of Nationalism to Religious and Orthodox Zionism

Shalom Ratzabi

The aim of this article is twofold. On the one hand, it draws the main lines of the problems caused by the penetration of the idea of nationalism into the intimate world of traditional Judaism. On the other hand, it points to the way by which Rabbi Isaac Jacob Reines (1839-1915), founder of the *Mizrachi* movement, enabled the idea of nationalism to permeate into the world of Judaism as a basis for Jewish social and political activities. This pattern of adaptation was continued and developed by Rabbi Joseph Dov Soloveitchik and Rabbi Ben-Zion Meir Hai Uziel. In contrast to common opinion, the intention of this paper is to show that already in its formative years, religious and orthodox Zionism succeeded in adapting the idea of nationalism into its world of Judaism without forsaking Judaism's primacy as a religion.

On the Reconstruction of the Conception of Jewish Nationhood

Mordecai M. Kaplan

This article is a translation, with minor omissions, of chapters 17 and 18 of Mordecai M. Kaplan's book *Judaism as a Civilization: Towards a Reconstruction of American-Jewish Life*. Kaplan analyzes the character of the profound changes that the Jewish

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people are undergoing – from being a religious collective, *Kneset Yisrael* (the ecclesia of Israel) to becoming a nation. Kaplan perceives Judaism to be a national-religious culture that is characterized by the Jewish experience. However, he maintains that Judaism as a national-religious culture of the Jewish people will only be able to endure as long as it will be able to supply the concrete needs of its existence. This is the basis for his claim that the Jewish people are in need of a homeland and that that is their only way of adjusting themselves to the modern world that is formed by nations. Towards the end of the article, Kaplan expands this point and presents the unique task that the Jewish people have within the framework of the nations of the world.

Israel's War of Independence – David Ben-Gurion's War

David Tal

Ben-Gurion's position within the decision process making during the Israeli war of Independence in 1948 was unique. Though the war took place at a time while the Israeli national institutions were in the process of being built, the Jewish/Israeli ruling infrastructure already existed as it was formed during the years of the British Mandate rule in Palestine. Within this framework, growing upon the existing infrastructure, Ben-Gurion is predominant as the man who guided the establishment of the IDF and as the one who directed the war itself. Thus, he acquired for himself a position that by far exceeded what one might expect would be the responsibility of a Prime Minister and Minister of Defense during the course of a war. He, almost exclusively, made decisions in almost any field, regarding any matter relating to the running of the war; from small tactical decisions to matters of grand-strategy. The identification between Ben-Gurion and the position of Minister of Defense was so strong that his colleagues in the government did not dispute his decisions. Even when it was clear to them that in fact he was leading a one-man regime concerning matters of security. Although his decisions did not significantly stray beyond the consensus of the *Yishuv*, still, he, almost single handedly, was the one who made the most important strategic and operational decisions. He set the goals for the war and determined the way it would be conducted, the timing for the renewal of the battles and the places where it would all occur, as well as how to terminate the war. All the while he ignored the political system on whose behalf he was acting. For these reasons, Israel's War of Independence should also be dubbed Ben-Gurion's War.

David Ben-Gurion, Moshe Sharett and the Status of the Gaza Strip, 1948-1956

Jacob Tovy

The issue of the Gaza Strip's status already preoccupied Prime Minister and Defense Minister, David Ben-Gurion, as well as his Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett, in the last quarter of 1948, when that territory came into being. At that point in time, both of them expressed their objection to the Egyptians remaining there. Their reasons were based on security and political grounds. However, the necessity to achieve a truce with Egypt – the biggest and most important Arab country – convinced them to forfeit this position.

The common point of view that existed between the two leaders, regarding the Gaza Strip, changed dramatically to acute disagreement in the course of the Lausanne Conference. While Ben-Gurion was willing to annex the Strip to Israel with all its Arab population, Sharett voiced his disapproval of the idea, mainly because of the demographic danger that was involved in that kind of a move. Though the majority of the cabinet ministers backed Ben-Gurion, he did not manage to implement his approach. The Egyptians rejected it outright.

From the end of the Lausanne Conference and until the beginning of 1954, the question of the Gaza Strip was set aside. Sharett managed to enforce his view on the subject throughout that period, although some high-ranking officials in the Foreign Ministry thought otherwise.

The rapid escalation in the Israeli-Egyptian relations that unfolded from the second half of 1954, once again focused attention on the Gaza Strip issue. Ben-Gurion tried hard to persuade his colleagues in the cabinet to launch a military or political campaign that would bring the Strip under Israeli control, or at least, would oust the Egyptians from that territory. In his opinion, Israel was compelled to do so because of the terror attacks that originated from the Gaza Strip. And, worse than that, because of the strategic threat that was posed against Israel by the Egyptian army units that were stationed in the Strip – at a negligible distance from the center of the country. Sharett, on the other hand, opposed this position due to the political international complications that could arise, as well as because of the demographic problem. In contrast to the Lausanne period, this time he was able to recruit to his side a majority, although slim, of the cabinet ministers. In light of that, and due to military developments that occurred in the Middle East at that time (most important

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of them – the supply of Soviet arms to Egypt), Ben-Gurion decided to put off the idea of altering the status of the Gaza Strip, at least until some military and political parameters would change in Israel's favor.

Jewish Traditionalism and Popular Culture in Israel

Yaacov Yadgar and Charles S. Liebman

In light of the data revealing that the majority of Israeli Jews observe many Jewish practices and traditions, it is surprising to find that the Israeli media, whose programs and contents ostensibly reflect Israeli popular culture, give little if any expression to Jewish-Israeli traditions and practices widely observed by the vast majority of the population. The authors of this paper are of the impression that the Israeli media, consciously or unconsciously, presents a Jewish-Israeli reality, in which one is either Orthodox or 'totally' secular, indifferent to any of the Jewish traditions. 'The religious-secular rift', as the media constructs it, is a core element in the identity of Israeli Jews. In other words, the distinction between secular and religious has become synonymous with the distinction between Israeli and Jewish. This has implications for the identity of many Israeli Jews to whom Jewish is imagined as 'the other' in their own Israeli collective identity. In this binary context of secular vs. religious, Israeli vs. Jewish, and me vs. the other, the voice of those who do not identify on this one-dimensional axis is severely weakened. The culture and identity of those who combine an observance of Jewish tradition with active participation in the secularized, modern life is hardly expressed in the public arena with all the ensuing consequences to their own identity and to their access to influence within the public sphere.

Immigration, Health and the Israeli Melting Pot

Nadav Davidovitch, Shifra Shvarts

The State of Israel was established in May 1948. Within one year the small country with a population of only 600,000 was faced with the formidable task of absorbing over 300,000 new immigrants. The great majority of these immigrants were Holocaust survivors in poor health. Many others came from Yemen, Iraq and India,

where they had suffered chronic malnutrition and extremely high mortality rates. The health system was to play a crucial part in the absorption of the newcomers. Cooperating with educators, social workers and bureaucrats in an intricate network, health workers participated in the construction of the immigrants' new identity. An important part within this public health mission was the mass vaccination program. Vaccinations against smallpox, typhoid and tuberculosis were mandatory and became part of several necessary steps required before immigrants could leave the reception camps. While this stage is usually described as a natural and unproblematic 'civilizing process' whilst entering a modern society, a deeper look reveals a more complicated interaction. In this paper, the authors present the social history of mass immunization as a case study of the interactions among the issues of health, immigration and identity in the young Israeli state. The new immigrants were the main targets for immunizations and although they were portrayed many times as passive receptors of the treatment given by the health authorities, their response to public health measures was complex. Suggestions to limit access to public schools to unvaccinated children and reports of health officers describing the dubious vaccination status in various transit camps, attest to the problematic reaction to immunizations programs. Different conceptions of health, sickness and prevention turned the relationship between the health authorities and the immigrants into an intricate negotiation process. Analyzing these mass vaccination operations, the 'circulation' of public health concepts and practices among the various agents involved disclose a more dynamic relationship than usually presented.

Between Citizens and a New State The History of *Shurat Hamitnadvim*

Paula Kabalo

The article tells the story of *Shurat Hamitnadvim*, the Volunteers' Line, a grassroots organization founded by Israeli students and intellectuals in the early 1950s with the aim of proposing an alternative, non-partisan, citizen-rooted framework. The organization focused on two main goals:

- i. Assisting new immigrants through the absorption process into the new society.
- ii. Attempting to create and encourage norms of efficiency and integrity in the public sector.

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In its first years, *Shurat Hamitnadvim* earned the trust and assistance of the state's authorities and other related public organs. This attitude gradually changed as the organization found itself in conflict with the state's establishment, public institutions and the political parties.

Shurat Hamitnadvim offered a new non-partisan, independent form of organization. The methods it used included the spread of information through the media and the creation of an open public discourse on various issues. This formula threatened the existing partisan civic organs that considered themselves to be the dominant mediators between the state and society. After five years of activity, the organization was accused of slander and hence was engaged in a long trial that finally led to its disintegration.

In spite of its short existence, *Shurat Hamitnadvim* can be considered to be a breakthrough in the concept of civic organizations and activities in Israel. In many senses it paved the way for the acceptance of civic associations as legitimate and dominant actors of Israeli civil society.

From *Etzel* to *Gahal* – The History of the *Herut* Movement, 1948-1965

Yechiam Weitz

The aim of this article is to analyze the development of the *Herut* Movement from its founding in 1948 to the establishment of *Gahal* (the *Herut*-Liberal Party Block), in the spring of 1965. The article is divided into five sections depicting the sub-periods:

1. The founding and 'Grand Dreams' stage – from the establishment of the movement to the elections for the First *Knesset*, 1948-1949.
2. The deterioration and restraint stage – from the elections to the First *Knesset* until the controversy over the direct negotiations regarding the reparations from West Germany, 1949-1952.
3. The 'Take-Off' stage – from the reparations controversy until the elections to the Third *Knesset*, 1952-1955.
4. The 'Marching in Place' stage – from the Third *Knesset* elections until the elections to the Fifth *Knesset* in the midst of the 'Lavon Affair', 1955-1961.
5. The 'Searching for a Partner to Replace *Mapai*'s Rule' stage – from the elections to the Fifth *Knesset* until the signing of the agreement for the establishment of *Gahal*, 1961-1965.

The Artisans' 'Labor Battalion': The Story of a Failed Ethos

Gur Alroey

In the early 1920s, when immigration to Palestine resumed after World War I, several social and economic groups began to form, representing different sectors of the Palestinian Jewish economy in the early days of the British Mandate. Pioneers – those who had stayed in the country, those who had returned to Palestine after being expelled by the Ottoman rulers, and new arrivals – founded the General Federation of Jewish Labour (the Histadrut) and *Gedud Ha-avoda* (the 'Labor Battalion') and put the idea of a large collective (i.e., the kibbutz) into practice. Urban workers founded the Artisans' Center, the Federation of Industrialists and Work Providers, and the Organization of Merchants. Both the pioneers and the city-dwellers (at least in the case of the Artisans' Center) first began to organize shortly before World War I, but development was suspended due to the war and the crisis that struck the Jewish community of Palestine.

This paper focuses on artisans in Tel Aviv and their organization, the Artisans' Center, which was part of the 'civic circles'. Although it was a local organization with no influence outside Tel Aviv and with few members relative to the number of artisans in Tel Aviv in the 1920s, its activity and its method of organization can teach us something about the entire 'civic'. What made the Artisans' Center different from the rest of the 'civic circles' that were forming in Palestine in the 1920s was that it began as early as the Second *Aliyah*. This fact – its inception shortly after the establishment of the labor party – is what legitimized the Center's complaints about the pioneering labor camp and increased its members' sense of being victims of discrimination. Furthermore, the public struggle of the Artisans' Center against the pioneering labor circles went beyond economics; it reflected, first and foremost, the artisans' quest for legitimacy and for public recognition for their activities and their contribution to Zionism in general and to settlement in Palestine in particular. The actions taken by Center members, their efforts to be considered a legitimate offspring of the Zionist movement, and especially their attempts to create an ethos of the Zionist artisan in Palestine, who would compete with the pioneer road-builders, are the focus of this paper.

Israeli 'Baby and Child Care': The Social Construction of Israeli Babies and Mothers by Parents' Manuals

Sachlav Stoler-Liss

In the early 1920s a group of Israeli doctors and psychologists began a prolonged project of social guidance for parents. The Jewish towns and villages in Mandate Palestine were not heavily populated, but their inhabitants were fully aware of what they saw as their historical role in creating a 'new native Jew'. The young Israeli was supposed to have not only attractive external features but also qualities such as honesty, courage, and patriotism. Doctors used varied methods in their efforts to contribute to raising children with these characteristics. In this paper, the author discusses the written parents' manuals published in Hebrew, beginning in the 1920s.

The doctors' advice reflected an ideological core that regarded motherhood and 'proper' child rearing as key factors in the struggle for a 'new society' and a 'new Jew'. The manuals describe in great detail the proper mother and proper child by using the ongoing theme of 'A Sound Mind in a Sound Body'.

Birth was the obvious way to produce these proper children. But births had to be controlled and regulated, supervised and carefully balanced. Eugenics, Social Darwinism, selective abortion restrictions and breast-milk banks are a few of the themes that were found very appealing in the Israeli context. Besides explicit appeals to bear and raise only healthy and privileged children, there was enormous emphasis on day-to-day childcare. The desirable baby, the *Sabra*, was essential for the Israeli nation-building process.

The *Jekes* in the Legal Field and Bourgeois Culture in Pre-Israel British Palestine

Rakefet Sela-Sheffy

This paper discusses the role of German Jewish immigrants (the so-called *Jekes*) in the construction of Hebrew bourgeois culture within the Jewish community (the so-called *Yishuv*) in British-Mandate Palestine, using the legal field as a test-case. Its aim is twofold: to examine [1] The European-like bourgeois e t h o s and

its appropriation as a legitimate model in the *Yishuv* culture, and [2] The position and action of the *Jekes*, operating as a distinct culture group, in a particular field. The legal field at the time served as a habitat for the rise of a bourgeois ethos, of which modern notions of professionalism and norms of ‘civil order’, and the pursuit of the liberal professions in general – and of law in particular – were pertinent. This ethos, rejected as ‘alien’ and ‘inappropriate’ by the public discourse, agreed however with the cultural profile of the *Jekes*, at least as their established image. However, the majority of the practicing Jewish lawyers in British Palestine were not of German origin. It follows that, at least in the case of the legal field, it were the veteran East-European immigrants, those who had laid the foundations of the legal professional organization already during the 1920s, who in fact imported the European-oriented bourgeois repertoire into the local settings, rather than the *Jekes*. Only a restricted group of *Jekes* – with Felix Rosenblitt (later - Rozen) and Moshe Smoeira as its prominent figures – nevertheless became dominant in this field, and eventually were commissioned with the task of organizing the Israeli legal system when the state of Israel was founded in 1948. The prominence of this small group of *Jekes* in the legal arena was made possible by two main conditions: (a) The fact that the legal field was hardly relevant to the mainstream political agenda of the *Yishuv* leadership, and hence became a rather ‘vacant space’. (b) The *Jekes*’ ability (without deliberate effort) to turn their distinctive cultural profile, which in other contexts aroused antagonism, into an asset within this particular field of action. These two conditions made the legal field instrumental in the integration of the *Jekes* into the local social elite, and at the same time consolidating them as a distinct culture group.

The Depiction of Space in *Days of Ziklag*

Gidi Nevo

This essay examines the depiction of space in the novel *Days of Ziklag* by means of a comparison between the landscape of S. Yizhar and the rendering of space in the fiction of Mendele Mocher Seforim. This is in order to show the immense distance travelled by Hebrew narrative between Mendele and Yizhar in the capacity to describe and to evoke a space with all its nuances, its sensuous complexities and the dynamic activity constantly taking place in it. It must be emphasized that the comparison is not evaluative but methodological in essence.

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The essay attempts to provide a basis for the contention that S. Yizhar is the greatest of literary landscapists in modern Hebrew literature. At the same time the essay maintains that the outstanding quality of Yizhar's writing is not to be seen as confined to the depiction of landscape alone. The supreme art of Yizhar lies not in the designing of a space as a background or a stage set but in his capacity to render human actions and movements as integral to the space and constituting a part of it. It is in this area that Yizhar reaches the summit of his power and effectiveness and realizes his unique achievement as a narrative artist. The essay intends to portray Yizhar as a great poet of human vitality.

Revisiting Elisheva (Bikhovsky)

Part II

Dan Miron

In the first part of this paper, published in *IYUNIM BITKUMAT ISRAEL* 12, it was recounted that at the beginning of the 1930s the poet Elisheva Bikhovsky (1888-1949) underwent a serious personal crisis that constrained her fervent literary activity. In autumn 1926, her collection of poems, entitled *Kos Ketanna* (A Small Cup) was published and became a 'favorite' with her readers both in Eretz Israel and abroad. While this collection was printed in three editions, her book *Haruzim* (Rhymes) appeared in only one single edition at the end of 1927. The aforementioned personal crisis was not the main reason for Elisheva's continuing paralysis. By the late 1920s and early '30s she felt that the days of her literary repute were over. *Haruzim* expressed the estrangement between the poet and her readers. It also voiced the poet's alienation from the main trends in Hebrew culture, especially in Eretz Israel.

As already stated in the first part of the paper, the author does not wish to plead for Elisheva. Just as historical forces carried her on high for a while and enabled her to leave her mark on a literature in which, in fact, she was a stranger, so objective historical forces determined the necessity of her decline. The researcher of literature is obliged to comprehend the dynamics of Elisheva's rise as also that of her fall. Not least, it is his duty to elucidate her very real contribution to the literature of her time, both in its passing historical aspect and its poetic value that still persists.