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Haim Hazaz's *Hadrasha* Reconsidered

Iris Parush and Brakha Dalmatzky-Fischler

The proposed reading of Haim Hazaz's story *Hadrasha* (The Sermon) deals with its overt and covert interpretations – over the course of the sixty-year-long polemic surrounding this work – as a Zionist or proto-Canaanite manifesto that identifies Judaism with the Diaspora, and seeks to be divorced from both. It argues that Yudke, the protagonist, refuses to renounce his identity as a Jew and fails to visualize, let alone identify with, or love, the identity of the 'other nation' that will inherit Judaism in Eretz Israel. Yudke experiences difficulty contending with what he sees as the harsh, paradoxical face of the national revival movement, whose success means the loss of Judaism, and points out the heavy price to be paid for the realization of the Zionist vision. As portrayed, the predicaments of Zionism are vested not in organization or leadership, but are intrinsic. Like his protagonist, the implied author criticizes the Zionist consensus that chooses to ignore the internal contradictions embedded in the roots of Zionism.

This analysis of *Hadrasha* addresses the poetic and linguistic means used by Hazaz to deliberately create a polyphonic text that undercuts its apparent verities and undermines the notion of giving Zionism preference over Diaspora Jewishness. The language of the story reveals Hazaz's resistance to the purist and prescriptive pressures characteristic of that period, and his circumvention of the demand for the normative language commonly identified with the growing Zionist hegemony. The discussion also sheds light on Hazaz's conception of the Hebrew language at the time he composed this story.

Chivalry, Nationality and Anglo-Jewish Identity in the Works of Solomon Joseph Solomon

Irit Miller

In 1906, the Anglo-Jewish artist Solomon Joseph Solomon (1860-1927) exhibited his painting *St. George* at the Royal Academy of Arts in London. Solomon selected *St. George* as his Diploma work upon his nomination as a Royal Academician. Solomon's admission to the heart of the art establishment marked his institutional recognition by the Academy. It was primarily a personal accomplishment, evidence of his full integration into the British art establishment and his inclusion among the leading artists on a national scale. Within the Jewish community, where he had already been considered the foremost artist, his election was a paradigm of integration, acculturation, and social mobility.

St. George relates to Solomon's previous paintings: *Laus Deo* (1899) and *Equipped* (1900). The ennobled images of knights reflected the spirit and sentiments of patriotic pride through the revival of the glorious medieval chivalry tradition. The appreciation of these paintings was also associated with the political atmosphere, particularly the Boer War, 1899-1902, and the involvement and support of it by Anglo Jewry.

Solomon's painting *St. George* was invested with special significance. *St. George*, the patron saint of England, was the supreme symbol of chivalry. With *St. George*, Solomon chose a meaningful symbol, referring to the English collective mythology and history. Solomon's *St. George* and other images of chivalry had an important role in formulating the 'national cosmology'. *St. George* is a declaration of Solomon's Englishness. The fact that he was a Jewish artist is even more significant. Solomon stated through his pictures his special sensitivity of belonging to a minority. *St. George* is a manifestation of Solomon's Otherness and his unique position as an artist negotiating between the national traditions of the host society and his particular Jewish legacy and experience. This double vision and multisided perspective, alternately surfacing and receding, reveal the dilemma of the Jewish identity in the Diaspora of the modern era.

Jewish National Identity in Composer Ernest Bloch's Œuvre

Zecharia Plavin

Ernest Bloch, one of the prominent composers of the twentieth century, created concert music with a distinct Jewish (and frequently Hebrew) flavor. His achievement lies in creating fusion between aesthetics of impeccable taste, or even more precisely – aesthetics of nobility that is a paramount requirement of European concert music, and salient features of the recognizable Jewish national culture, which Europeans had held in very low esteem and disdain for a very long time. Bloch's greatest achievements lie in presenting cultural ties linking the Jews in an elevated and highly dignified manner, thus providing noble representation to the persecuted and denigrated people. In a way, Bloch provided his people with a voice of hope.

Throughout the text, the author focuses mainly on the famous 'Jewish Cycle' composition written by Bloch during 1912-1916, preceding his emigration to the USA. The author places great importance to the relations between Bloch and Robert Godet, who for ten years served as Bloch's spiritual mentor, only to appear later as one linked to the darkest anti-Semitic forces of Europe, mainly to Houston Stewart Chamberlain, author of the ominous 'The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century'.

The *Haredization* of Oriental Jewry in Israel

Nissim Leon

The question guiding this article is: how did the process of *haredization* develop amongst Oriental Jewry as a broad based social, religious and political movement, mainly in the conditions prevalent in Israeli society, and not in their countries of origin. Up until today, this question has been discussed in various formulations by a variety of researchers whose common interest is the history and culture of Oriental Jewry within modern society. This study claims that the reason for this is the very processes of colonial modernization. These were only partial processes, and not particularly challenging, and certainly did not include challenges such as a religious or a national reform movement that could interfere with the control and leadership of religious life. The discussion opens up a new way of understanding the Oriental Ultra-Orthodox phenomenon in Israel.

‘Altruistic Communism’: The Modernist Kabbalah
of Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag

Boaz Huss

The tendency to integrate Kabbalistic doctrines and modernist principals can be discerned amongst various scholars in the first part of the 20th century. A major representative of this tendency, which can be described as ‘Modernist Kabbalah’, is Rabbi Yehuda Ashlag (1884-1954), who immigrated to the Land of Israel in 1922. In the vast corpus of his writings, mostly commentaries on the *Zohar* and the Lurianic Kabbalah, Ashlag presents an innovative and complex Kabbalistic system which integrates Socialist and Communist principals with Lurianic themes. Ashlag’s Kabbalistic doctrines were adopted (and adapted) by several contemporary Kabbalistic movements and have become the most widely disseminated Kabbalistic system in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

Until recently, Ashlag’s Kabbalah has not received much scholarly attention. This study offers a preliminary description of Ashlag’s principal doctrines, and argues for the centrality of modernist and especially Marxist principals in his Kabbalistic system. The article also describes Ashlag’s knowledge and attitude to modernist thought, examining the modernist elements of his theory and analyzing his unique combination of Kabbalah and Marxism, which Ashlag himself referred to as ‘Altruistic Communism’.

‘Epicureans also have a Share in Sinai’:
On Jabotinsky’s Approach to Jewish Legacy

Arye Naor

The Article analyzes Ze’ev Jabotinsky’s approach to Jewish religion and culture. It concludes firstly, that in Jabotinsky’s thinking religion has an instrumental function in serving nationalism. Secondly, that Jewish culture is an inspiring, rather than an authoritative source of constitutional arrangements for the Jewish State. For Jabotinsky, a secular intellectual, religion did not occupy much of his attention until he realized that it might be politically fruitful to use the ‘religious pathos’ in the service of nationalism and its political institutions. He used the Bible as a source

to legitimize his ideology, its social elements in particular. By means of abstraction, he made Biblical concepts of the Sabbath, Jubilee and Passover, cornerstones of a compassionate liberalism, which he saw as an alternative to Marxist socialism. He thus used the language of the Bible in order to portray a secular society with a tendency to social justice on the one hand, and cultural nationalism on the other hand. Religion as such had no place in his private life, but nationally observed it did play a positive role during the exile period as a substitute to national territory; hence, once the exiles return to the Land of Israel, religion will have no role to play.

Ahad Ha'am and the Shaping of Secular Education

Zvi Zameret

As early as the Minsk Conference in September 1902, both Ahad Ha'am, who represented the 'Intellectual Zionists', and Rabbi Reiness, who represented the 'Orthodox Zionists', maintained that Jewish religious education in Eretz Israel should be separated from Jewish secular education. As Professor Ben-Zion Dinur wrote, Ahad Ha'am became 'the guide for a greatly perplexed generation and he knew how to indicate to that generation the path it should follow'. To a great extent in accord with his outlook, secular Zionist education was based on four elements ('four legs'): Hebrew language, Hebrew literature, Jewish history and the final objective of them all: Jewish ethics.

Ahad Ha'am completely immersed himself in modern secular education, not only in its philosophy but also in its practical aspects. He launched the creation of secular educational institutions in Eretz Israel. He was also involved in the establishment of the first two institutions of higher education – the Technion and the Hebrew University; he sketched the broad outlines of secular education and to a great degree supervised educational practices in Zionist schools; he was involved in efforts to train the first Zionist teachers and enhance their qualifications. In all his journeys throughout the country, he first of all paid close attention to the manner in which Zionist schools were operating, evaluating their strong points and deficiencies.

Today, more than a century after the Minsk Conference, as a result of the division between 'religious' and 'secular' schools, the largest sector in the Israeli population – *masorati* Jews – lack an educational system that suits their needs. Furthermore,

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the secular education in Israel also seems to place less emphasis on the four basic elements posited by Ahad Ha'am.

Diplomacy Overshadowed by War: Israel, the United States and Egypt prior to the Six Days War

Zaki Shalom

The Six Days War undoubtedly marks the greatest strategic-military victory Israel has ever gained over its Arab enemies. Within only a few days, Israel defeated the armies of Egypt, Syria and Jordan and took over large portions of their territories. This victory, however, could not sweep away the fears, doubts and frustrations during the weeks that preceded the war. The decision of President Nasser to send large numbers of troops into Sinai and to demand the evacuation of the United Nations Emergency Force caught Israel by surprise. During the pre-war, the dominant assessment stressed that Egypt was aware of its military inferiority vis-à-vis Israel, and would not be willing to engage in a military confrontation in the foreseeable future. Consequently, the leading assessments in the initial stages of the crisis reflected the thinking that Egypt was merely carrying out a demonstration of power intended to deter Israel from launching an offensive against Syria. Gradually and painfully, Israel began to learn that the Egyptian moves were far more than an act of show. Finding itself in a crisis that appeared to threaten its very existence and vital interests, Israel turned for support to its main ally, the United States, in accordance with longstanding guarantees given to Israel at the highest level of the administration. To its great disappointment, however, Israel would soon learn that at this stage of the crisis, the US administration was not only unwilling to render support, but in fact exerted pressure so that Israel would avoid exercising its natural right for self-defense.

Military and Society in Israel during the 1950s

Zeev Drori

This essay explores the societal factors which had impact on the capability of Israel Defense Forces (IDF). The nature of a nation's social fabric may both weaken and

enhance its military potential and performance. In order to explore this nexus, military and social developments during the early 1950s were selected as an exemplary case study of the reciprocal influences occurring between these two spheres.

Two areas were examined: the broad defense notion and the settlements along the borders, and the factors that bore impact upon the unit commands in the regular army and the operational capability of the IDF during those same years.

Most of the young immigrants were conscripted into the armed forces even before they were settled down in the new country or had the chance to get established socially and economically. The article provides detailed data concerning the social and educational background of the combatant soldiers, and the implication on the combat units and the commanding echelon development.

The senior command, while seeking to circumvent the problem of deficiency in operational fitness of the field units, found a solution in the establishment of an elite cadre. In effect, the dependence on the parachutists' unit, a select group of combatants, boosted the confidence and contributed to the change in IDF's operational capabilities.

Many more years were required to absorb the immigrants into Israeli society and bring about the accompanying improvement in the army's standards.

Food Distribution and Soup Kitchens: A Substitute for Social Protection in Israel in the 21st Century

Abraham Doron

As in many other countries over the last decade, there has been a proliferation of community food distribution programs and soup kitchens in Israel. In the past, direct distribution of food to the needy has been a marginal factor in providing assistance to the poor, catered mainly by traditional religious organizations. The increase of poverty, low income and unemployment in recent years, combined with welfare reform policies causing serious cuts in income support payments, as well as other national insurance and public welfare benefit programs, have undermined the social protection safety net of large population groups in Israel and brought about the need for food distribution.

Recent studies regarding the way the voluntary food distribution programs function in the country provide evidence that the food distribution programs follow

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closely on many of the rigidities of the welfare programs for the poor. To sum up, these programs, although viewed as an emergency response to a crisis, signalize a form of privatization and shifting of responsibility of social protection from the public to the private sector in the form of a return to an older relief form of provision with regard to the poor.

The 'General Zionists' – the Liberal Alternative and Its Failure, 1959-1961

Amir Goldstein

'General Zionism' is an almost forgotten stream in the Israeli collective consciousness. Its presence is minor both in historical recognition and in academic research. This article describes the downfall of the General Zionists towards the end of the 1950s and its alliance with the Progressive Party in an attempt to grant the General Zionists substantive political power that would challenge Mapai's hegemony in the State of Israel.

Following their one-time success in the elections to the Second Knesset in 1951, the General Zionists' decline began. They lost their public significance due to Mapai's economic policies in the 1950s that neutralized the sting of protest which had sustained support for the General Zionists. Also, Mapai's centralistic government prevented the General Zionists from succeeding in institutionalizing the support of sectors that had voted for them during the 'austerity' period. The General Zionists were perceived as representatives of a veteran, well-to-do and alienated population and did not succeed in winning the hearts of the new immigrants' population. Simultaneously, the General Zionists' minimal participation in foreign policy and defense, their obligation to individualism and their remoteness from the collective ethos distanced them from the younger electorate. The party's difficulty in formulating a clear ideological agenda, as well as lacking a leader who could unify the various sectors of the party and who symbolized its identity, contributed to its downfall.

In 1961, the General Zionists joined the Progressive Party in an attempt to take advantage of the civil agenda which was created in the wake of the 'Lavon Affair', in order to establish an Israeli Liberal Party which would provide an alternative to the Labor hegemony.

Social Changes in the Kibbutz Movement in the 1960s

Alon Gan

This article describes and analyzes the main processes that occurred in the Kibbutz Movement in the 1960s. It describes the gradual change that took place, diverting the agenda of the kibbutz in the opposite direction:

- From the center of the country to the periphery.
- From commitment to national goals to focus on economic factors (economic stability as a priority, coupled with contempt for anything irrelevant to this aim).
- From puritan asceticism to consumerism.
- From a specific way of life to a home.

The description of the above processes is based on an examination and analysis of a wide ranging pool of journals, newsletters, weeklies and periodicals published by the Kibbutz Movement during that period. The picture reflected in them reveals that in the 1960s, the gap between the words and slogans on the one hand, and the inner aspirations on the other, was widening.

Those years were characterized by attempts to erect dams and walls against the winds threatening from the outside, as though constantly testing the kibbutz way of life; years of longing to hold on to tattered dreams, to pick up their shreds scattered throughout the kibbutz; years of wishing to preserve the way of life that was losing its vitality.

Three Concepts of Place in Israel's Public Housing in the 1950s

Hadas Shadar

The creation of a place to live in is not just a formal architectural matter. House designing and neighborhood planning are not limited to issues of materials and space alone. They illustrate the planner's concept of the place in its deepest sense: the concept of a place that combines abstract notions that are expressed in the neighborhood's image, in its character and in the way it was planned.

The article surveys three places: three neighborhoods planned and built by both the governmental planning authority and the public housing authority in the 1950s. These places demonstrate different abstract notions. These notions are examined in

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the beginning of the article. The final part of the article compares the planning with the reality (i.e. the real physical conditions with the occupant's conditions). The conclusions of the article stemming from this comparison address the meaning of the abstract notions in Israeli society in general, beyond the places that are mentioned in the article.

The Discrimination Policy towards the Arabs in Israel, 1948-1968

Yair Boymal

Contrary to many writings, the goal of this article is to show that the Israeli Establishment (Government, Mapai party, IDF, Knesset, Histadrut) had a clear implemented policy towards the Arab citizens of Israel.

The super goals of the Israeli establishment were aimed at strengthening the Jewish state. These goals, whether explicitly or through denial, defined the Arab minority as an alienated and separate community.

It seems that the Israeli governments never really decided or declared what were the fundamental principles that guided them through their actions in the Arab sector. However, one can distinguish nine such principles during the first two decades of the state's existence: (1) Placing difficulties and obstacles in granting Israeli citizenship. (2) Placing the Arabs under tight security supervision. (3) Expropriation of lands and breaching their geographic-demographic sequence with new Jewish settlements. (4) Avoiding drafting the Muslim majority to the army. (5) Excluding the Arabs from development programs and dealing with their administrative affairs separately. (6) Not recognizing the existence of one Arab minority by applying the policy of 'divide and rule'. (7) Preventing the establishment of an Arab leadership. (8) Exclusion from the Israeli public sphere. (9) Economic deprivation and discrimination.

Juan Perón's Return to Power as Reflected in the Hebrew Press: Argentina, Israel and the Jews, 1973-1974

Raanan Rein

Juan Perón's return to Argentina, after a prolonged exile, aroused hopes of renewed political stability and economic growth in this South American republic. This article studies the images of Perón and Perónism in Israel during this charismatic leader's third presidency. It also deals with the influence of the dramatic events that took place in Argentina within the local Jewish community, and that country's relations with the State of Israel, as they were perceived by the contemporary Hebrew press.

Even in the midst of the Yom Kippur War, and at times of other major events at the international scene, such as the Watergate affair and the Nixon-Brezhnev summit, the Israeli press devoted more attention to Argentina than might have been expected.

This paper traces the changes in the image of Perón between the 1950s and the 1970s, by analyzing the articles and commentaries published in various Israeli dailies: *Davar*, *Al Hamishmar*, *Ha'aretz*, *Ma'ariv* and *Yedioth Aharonot*. While this image was complex and far from being uni-dimensional, in the 1970s it was certainly more negative. This had something to do with the stronger anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli voices within the Perónist movement which identified with various liberation movements in the Third World, as well as with a shift in the Argentine foreign policy towards the Arabs in general, and the Palestinian cause in particular, in the Middle East conflict.

Eastern Jews in the Arabic Press in Israel, 1948-1967

Mustafa Kabha

The Jews of Eastern origin played a significant role in the process of rebuilding the Arabic Journalistic discourse in Israel from 1948 to 1967. Although the newspapers in which they wrote were enlisted party publications, and although their writing was aimed mainly at serving the goals and aspirations of these parties, it can be said that these writers greatly contributed to rebuilding an alert and lively journalistic discourse in Arabic, particularly by:

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1. Filling part of the void formed as a result of the displacement of the Palestinian intelligentsia and by helping to create and nurture a new intelligentsia.
2. Enriching the Arabic language of journalistic writing in style, expressions and concepts.
3. The experience which they brought with them to Israel, and through their continued interest in their countries of origin (especially in cultural matters), they facilitated an on-going cultural contact between the Arab population in Israel and the Arab culture in the region.

Contemporary Jewish Identities: Still One ‘Jewish Nation’?

Eliezer Ben-Rafael, Lior Ben Chaim-Rafael

This article focuses on the contemporary multiplicity of versions of the Jewish identity since the beginning of the modern era. The authors’ approach endorses the view held by researchers in this area, that the new forms of Jewishness should be understood as transformations, rather than as deletion and rejection of the values and principles of faith contained in historical and religious sources. It is in this context that the first question which preoccupies the authors is whether or not the host of Jewish identities sets in motion forces of divergence that cast a shadow of doubt as to the probability of the Jewish people continuing as one social, cultural or political entity. In addition, the authors also address the issue of whether the numerous contemporary versions of Jewish identity can be regarded as making up one space, responding somehow to a notion of coherence.

The authors’ analysis stems from the traditional pre-modern formulation of the Jewish identity as a basis for comparison, through a structuralist approach, for versions that have emerged ever since and brought its hegemony to an end. In this analysis, the authors use the concept of ‘flow’ in order to point out to subspaces pertaining to the general Jewish-identity space. They distinguish three such flows which can be traced from the earliest stage of the entry into modernity, namely the ultra-orthodox, ethno-cultural and national flows. Each of these flows emphasizes another major aspect of the traditional identity and ramifies into a variety of secondary flows. The analysis which indicates some overlapping between the flows sheds light on the major foci of controversies and tendencies to convergence in today’s Jewry.

‘They are Like the Bund’: The *Forverts*’s Support of Zionism since the 1920s

Ehud Manor

Since 1897, the year that saw both the birth of Zionism and the Bund, the *Forverts*, the *Jewish Daily Forward (JDF)*, the celebrated daily New York newspaper of the Yiddish speaking socialists, fiercely attacked Zionism from every possible aspect: philosophically, spiritually, politically, economically and socially. However, in 1930, when Zionist leader David Ben-Gurion came to New York in quest of a political and financial support, Abraham Cahan, editor of the *JDF*, described the leader of Mapai as ‘The best socialist in the world’.

How and why did the *JDF* turn itself into a pro-Zionist organization? This essay aims at answering this puzzling question. It suggests that the internal politics among the rank and file of the Jewish socialist movement in New York caused Socialist-Zionism to be taken as a positive, rather than a negative factor. During the 1920s, the prospect of a Jewish state in Palestine began to seem like a better cause with which to identify. Cahan’s trips to the ‘Promised Land’ in 1925 and 1929 must be regarded as a result of this changing attitude rather than as its cause, as has been suggested until now by some historical interpretations.

Lenin’s Hidden Formula and the Jewish Question in the Soviet-Jewish Discourse

Matityahu Mintz

Convinced that some documentary evidence must exist concerning the relocation of laboring Jews to agricultural settlements during the 1920s, the author of this paper searched for such doctrinal support within the inter-Soviet ideological discourse. His search was also for signs of the concealed intentions to shape a national homogenous and compact Jewish district that would serve as a basis for a Jewish Socialist republic, one in a mosaic of Soviet republics. The author’s working surmise was that adequate support would be found in the writings of the ‘Founding Fathers’ of Marxist thought that were known and sanctified in the Soviet Marxist doctrine.

The section by Lenin that drew the author’s attention, despite its being problematical, could perhaps assist in solving the enigma. This paper deals with

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Lenin's text, which is unexpected in all subjects relating to the debate surrounding the Jewish issue, as well as its metamorphoses in the inter-Soviet discourse, both the Jewish and non-Jewish.

On Economy and Society in the Days of an Empire

Shlomo Swirski

Ever since the adoption in 1985 of the emergency plan to stabilize the economy, Israeli economists have been the flag bearers of what might be called 'the long march to economic freedom'. The 1985 plan which instituted a policy of downsizing the state, of positing growth as the main goal of economic policy and of investing the private sector with responsibility for achieving that growth, has been called 'the economic independence day' of Israel. Following this development, economists came to the front of the public stage, where they have served as policy advisors and have had ample opportunity to implant their terminology into the public discourse. For the economists, Israel is well on its way towards economic freedom, with the privatization of government corporations and government services, with disinvestments in public services and with continuous reduction in the cost of capital.

Economists have replaced sociologists that prior to the adoption by Israel of a strategy of a regional super-power, following the 1967 War, had served as major policy advisors and as formulators of the terms of the public discourse. The turn from sociology to economics reflects a move from a policy of social and economic development, geared towards 'modernization' of the Jews who had arrived en masse from Arab countries, to a policy of economic growth, geared towards the empowerment of the grand bourgeoisie. 'The long march towards economic freedom' has replaced 'the long march towards modernity'. Modernity itself, though, was then defined as an attribute of the Ashkenazi Jews, a fact that served to legitimize the division of labor which was then emerging between a largely Mizrahi and Palestinian proletariat and an Ashkenazi middle and upper middle class. The war of 1967 led to a deepening of that divide, with the emergence of a grand bourgeoisie growing out of and around the new military-industrial complex, and presently blooming in the fields of hi-tech and high finance.

Israeli sociology has gone through a significant transformation since the days of the modernization theory; Israeli economics is still in the age of *la pensée unique*.