ABSTRACTS

The Emergence of the Concept of Economic Independence in the Israeli Discourse, 1948-1966

Arye Krampf

This article traces the development and translation into policy of a national ethos based on economic independence in Israel's first two decades. The rise of the ethos of economic independence resulted from the interaction between political leaders, public administrators, and economic experts. The concept of a national economic ethos facilitates our understanding of the relationship between nationalism and the economic discourse. Unlike other concepts, it assumes that national ideologies are based on economic concepts and, vice versa, economic policy-making is based on a specific national vision. Therefore, the concept of a national economic ethos enables us to analyze political-economic debates as the clash between economic and national views.

Israel's Unaccountable Elite: The Case of the Finance Ministry's Upper Echelons

Abraham Doron

The article explores the Treasury elite's critical role in state affairs and its influence in Israeli society. The timeliness of the subject lies in the rapid rise of the elite's power and the public's growing dissatisfaction with its conduct. The Treasury elite's power stems primarily from its strategic position in the government system. Its authority is not limited to the economic sphere but extends to other areas in the public sector, and its activity is characterized by pronounced social conservatism and

a culture of secrecy. In order to understand this elite′s status in Israel, it is necessary to examine the way its views and preferences shape Israeli society. These accentuate the elite's unaccountability which assumes little responsibility before the public and only minimal responsibility toward its elected political masters. The powers it has amassed pose a potential threat to the democratic regime, especially since the elite often serves as the final arbiter on social issues and economic policy.

The Israeli Medical Association in the 1950s and 2000s

Orit Rozin & Nadav Davidovitch

The article analyzes the IMA's role in developing the health field in Israel, and focuses on the changes in the association's attitudes and interests in the 1950s and 2000s. Since the 1950s, the IMA has acquired significant power and prestige within the medical community and in its relationship with medical faculties and Ministry of Health. This process should not be seen as the natural development of a professional group linked primarily to scientific achievements and institutionalization, instead, the consolidation of the IMA's status should be attributed to historical developments in the health field and, more broadly, to changes in political, social and economic power relations. Central to these processes is the hegemonic transformation caused by the neo-liberal worldview. Following this claim we show that in the profession-class dyad of IMA activity, class has emerged as the key variable. We contend that the class perspective, despite its theoretical limitations in certain cases, is a profitable explanation in the IMA case. It offers a deep understanding of the motivations and modus operandi of the IMA in light of the major changes that Israeli society, politics, the health system's structure, and the IMA's status have undergone.

The Hebrew University and its Tel Aviv Branches, 1950-1970

Nahum Gross

After Israel gained its independence, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (HU) faced a severe economic and political crisis. Ben-Gurion and his Government opposed the HU's administration and board of directors and tried to subordinate higher education

under government control. By choosing a scholar who combined administrative and political skills to head the university and who was acceptable to Ben-Gurion, and by co-opting government representatives to its executive bodies, the HU obtained substantial financial support and a choice site for a new campus, without ceding its formal autonomy. Nevertheless, it failed to retain its status as the sole university in Israel certified to award advanced academic degrees, despite years of political and organizational maneuvering aimed primarily at forestalling the establishment of an independent university in Tel Aviv. A major step in this struggle was the absorption of the Tel Aviv 'Higher School of Law and Economics' into the HU's 'Schools of Law and of Social Sciences'. When Mapai won the Tel Aviv municipal elections, the political direction reversed and the way opened for establishing a strong university in Tel Aviv with government, Knesset, and public opinion backing. This support and the growth of the new university, as well as the increased difficulties in running the Tel Aviv branches without a second building, eventually compelled the HU to withdraw from Tel Aviv. A more sober and perceptive understanding of the political and demographic developments in Israel would have allowed the HU to contribute to higher education in Tel Aviv without administrative and financial control – as was done in Haifa and later in Beer Sheva – saving much expense and protracted aggravation.

'Kehilat Ya'akov': The Attempt to Purchase the Hartuv Estate, 1882-1883

Yossi Ben-Artzi

The article deals with the almost forgotten attempt by entrepreneurs of Jerusalem's 'Old Yishuv' to purchase land in the Hartuv (Artuf) area between 1882 and 1883. Two members of the community, aware of the local real estate situation and the aspirations of many Jewish refugees from Russia to become farmers in Palestine, entered a transaction with the Spanish vice-consul in Jerusalem, who owned land in the tiny Arab village of Artuf (in the hills west of Jerusalem). They put down a deposit, advertised their initiative in the Jewish press, composed a set of regulations for the future community, and named it – *Kehilat Ya'akov* (Jacob's Community). They hoped to attract as many buyers as possible, repay their debt to the vice-consul, and transfer ownership to the settlers. The idea, however, was greeted disparagingly

by many Jewish communities overseas who viewed the initiative as opportunism and land speculation. The plots went unsold. Attempts were made to sell the land to two well-known pioneer groups: the 'Lovers of Zion' organization that was brought to Palestine by Yehiel Brill on behalf of Baron de Rothschild in order to found a 'model colony' (the colony was eventually set up in Ekron-Mazkeret Batiya); and the 'Bilu'im'. Unfortunately, all these efforts came to nought. The entrepreneurs lost their investment, and the Spanish diplomat sold the land to the British Mission Society which established a Christian-Jewish village on the site in 1883. The attempt at land acquisition and settlement of the Artuf area casts the role played by Jerusalem's Orthodox community in the early stage of modern Zionism in an unfamiliar light.

'Tza'an' and 'Cana'an': *Hannale of Dorohoi*
The Forgotten Poem by Ya'akov Orland

Tamar Wolf-Monzon

Critical studies of Ya'akov Orland's poetry often repeat the premise that his later poems, from the 1970s on, are characterized by the use of historical materials for inspiration. Looking at the entire body of Orland's work, especially the papers in his private archive, most of which are still unpublished, one sees that his use of historical and biblical sources, and affinity for epic poems, began thirty years earlier and is closely tied to his theatrical writing and translation of plays. The article focuses on Orland's *Hannale of Dorohoi*, a dramatic poem written in the second half of the 1940s, parts of which appeared in the literary supplement of the Israeli newspaper *Davar* in 1947. Against the background of that period and the attempts to forge a Hebrew cultural identity, the article explores the limits of attraction to the 'other' that appear in the poem. This includes attraction to the gypsies' 'otherness', unlike the attraction to the Young Hebrews Movement or Canaanite ideology.

'A Covenant between the Lines':
Natan Alterman's Image in Poetic Works

Chaya Shacham

During his lifetime and after his demise, many poems were dedicated, either directly or obliquely, to the poet Natan Alterman. The article examines his changing image as depicted by poets of three literary generations. It analyzes thirteen works by nine poets published between 1951 and 2002 which reveal numerous fluctuations in Alterman's image. Unlike the poetic works of the late 1930s (that I discussed in two earlier studies) in which Alterman appears as an antagonist in 'dramas' of unrequited friendship, envy, and twisted personal relationships, in later works a different image emerges. In the earlier works, Alterman's image is mythologized, that is, he is accredited with supernatural powers. After his death the trend veered to the extreme, elevating him to legendary, even mythical status. Interestingly, with the passage of time his image went through another phase – iconoclasm! Poets began emphasizing Alterman's flaws and foibles and threatened to sully the untarnished image created earlier.

Polish and Jewish: Maurycy Gottlieb
Caught between Two Worlds

Dalia Manor

Ezra Mendelsohn's biography of the Jewish artist, Maurycy Gottlieb (1856-1879), is one of several works in many languages on this subject. The fact that so many books have been published about an artist whose life was so brief is an interesting phenomenon in itself. Mendelsohn portrays the artist as a role model in Jewish history, against the fascinating geo-cultural environment of Galicia where Gottlieb grew up. At the time Galicia had a mixed population of Poles, Ukrainians and Jews whose inter-ethnic differences were often blurred. Mendelsohn claims that Gottlieb's art is imbedded in the East European tradition of historical painting and Orientalism. The author rightly argues that being born Jewish, or painting Jewish figures or religious rituals, is not a sufficient definition of Jewish art. Gottlieb envisioned Jewish integration in Poland, and, since he considered himself both Jewish and

Polish, this qualifies him, according to Mendelsohn, as a universal Jewish artist. Thus, Gottlieb's paintings reflect questions of identity, as illustrated in his famous 'Jews Praying at the Synagogue on Yom Kippur' that depicts the dual nature of Judaism: a religion and a way of life, traditional law and a universal worldview. Curiously, the author pays little attention to Gottlieb's status as a major Polish painter, which suggests different interpretations of the same works. The book's emphasis on Gottlieb's aspirations to be both Jewish and Polish, to belong to both cultures simultaneously, echoes contemporary identity issues in art, especially multi-identities and cultural hybridism as legitimate foundations of high art.

The United States Middle East Policy: Catalyst for the Outbreak of the Yom Kippur War

Boaz Vanetik & Zaki Shalom

The article focuses on the part played by the US administration, and especially Nixon's National Security Advisor (NSA) Henry Kissinger, in the failure to reach an Israeli-Egyptian settlement in 1973, the year the Yom Kippur War broke out. Recent declassified documents in the United States and Israel reveal that the White House's conduct in the Middle East not only failed to prevent war, but also actually catalyzed its outbreak. Kissinger adopted a 'stalemate policy' that undermined any peace initiative that did not satisfy Israel's position. Under these circumstances, the Egyptian government realized that the United States was not genuinely interested in advancing a peace process. This assessment prompted the Egyptians to abandon the diplomatic track and, with Syria, to attack Israel in October 1973. Both states assumed that such a move would jumpstart White House involvement in a peace process and eventually return to them the lands occupied by Israel since the Six-Day War.

Nasir's Strategy for 'Eliminating the Traces of Aggression' June 1967-September 1970: A Reassessment

Moshe Shemesh

In his resignation speech of June 9, 1967 Nasir defined for the first time the main goal of his strategy as 'the eradication of the traces of aggression', that is, the annulment of Israel's war gains. The Khartoum Arab Summit in September ratified this strategy. Based on Egyptian and Arab primary sources, the article reassesses some of the central issues related to this strategy. These include: Soviet influence on formulating and implementing the strategy's principles; Nasir's near-obsessive determination to reach a military confrontation with Israel; Nasir's view that a political solution to the conflict was unattainable. The strategy's basic guidelines were: refusal to accept Israel's conditions; preservation of Arab honor; 'recovery by force what was taken by force'; and reliance on Soviet military and political support. Nasir implemented this strategy along two parallel tracks: political activity and intensive military preparation. However, since he believed that the political path was doomed to failure, war was inevitable.

Masada or Modi'in: Menachem Begin and His Attitude towards the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

Amir Peleg

I argue that Menachem Begin's view of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising was ideologically motivated by sharp disapproval of Jewish existence in the Diaspora and the belief that the struggle waged by his prestate National Military Organization (Etzel) for Israel's independence was the beginning of a new Jewish history. This 'new' history merged Jewish blood and the historical homeland into an invincible, unified entity that constituted the reemergence of Jewish independence (that ended in the first century BCE with the last of the Hasmonean rulers). Begin compared the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt to the fall of Masada (73 AD), asserting that the defense of Masada was immoral because it culminated in suicide. On the other hand, Modi'in (the city where the Hasmonean Revolt broke out in the second century BC), and which Begin equated with Etzel's revolutionary activity, was the beginning of the

relentless struggle to regain national freedom. When Begin perceived the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising as a symbolic event that expressed the meaninglessness of life in the Diaspora and as an event that terminated in mass suicide by the Jewish defenders, he concluded that the uprising in Poland should remain outside the narrative of Israel's liberation. I contend that once Begin decided to exclude the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt from his political party's (Herut) narrative, the Beitar organization that had fought in the uprising was doomed to historical oblivion.

Ben-Gurion's Attitude towards the Revisionist Movement and its offshoots

Yehiam Weitz

The article deals with Ben-Gurion's ambivalence towards the Revisionist Movement and its leaders. Evidence of this can be seen in his relationship with Ze'ev Jabotinsky between 1933-1935 (that went from bitter rivalry to close cooperation); his friendship with the most important poet of the Revisionist Movement, Uri Zvi Greenberg, especially during the 1960-1961 Lavon Affair; his warm friendship with Yehoshua Cohen – a member of Lehi (the Stern Gang) and one of the founders of Kibbutz Sde-Boker; his relationship with Geula Cohen, a member of Lehi and a prominent figure in the radical right; and his relationship with Menachem Begin in the 1960s (that went from deep-felt hatred to friendship).

The Destruction of Old Tiberias, 1948-1949

Mustafa Abbasi

Israeli and Palestinian scholars have written about the destruction of Arab settlements and the reshaping of the countryside and landscape that took place during and after the 1948 War. Most studies have dealt with the large-scale destruction at the macro-level. I believe, however, that a deeper understanding of the devastation and transformation calls for research at the micro-level. The article attempts to fill the void by analyzing the stages in the destruction of Old Tiberias and tracing the underlying causes. It also discusses the decision making process and its implication for the Jewish inhabitants who remained in the city.

Sports, Politics and Exiles:
Protests in Israel during the 1978 World Soccer Cup in Argentina

Raanan Rein & Efraim Davidi

This article analyzes the campaign against the 1978 World Cup. After reviewing the Argentinean military government's exploitation of the games in order to legitimize its dictatorship, we discuss world reaction to the event being held in a country ruled by a repressive, corrupt regime. The main focus, however, is on the response of individuals and groups in Israel who used the occasion to denounce and demonstrate against the crimes committed in Argentina. The Israeli case is of particular interest because of the close ties between the Israeli government and Argentinean dictatorship, and the large Latin American immigrant community – mostly Argentineans – in Israel. This community steadily rose as hundreds fled the brutality of the military dictatorship.

The 'Community Committee' and Establishment of a Multiethnic Hebrew Community in Haifa during World War I

Anat Kidron

On the eve of World War I the Jewish community in Haifa underwent demographic and organisational changes. These included the establishment of a joint community committee (*va'ad ha'eda)* which operated until 1913 and marked the beginning of the united Jewish community in Haifa. The article discusses the formation of the Jewish nationalist community in Haifa during the war and the way it preserved the community's framework by providing essential services. The public leadership – which came mainly from the 'New Yishuv' – tried to establish a self-sufficient, productive management system in dealing with vital resources, such as food, medicine, and medical treatment. I contend that the public service structure established by the national leadership during the war laid the foundations for community organisation and postwar recovery. Furthermore, it reflects the beginning of the modern-nationalist view and the domination of 'New Yishuv' leadership in Haifa, and was a forerunner of the Hebrew community's separation from the Arab surroundings.

Support and Reservations: Ben-Gurion's Attitude towards the Institutionalization of Religion in the IDF

Aaron Kampinsky

The article examines Ben-Gurion's attitude towards the complex issue of institutionalizing religion in the IDF. On the one hand, Ben-Gurion initiated the discontinuation of separate units for religious soldiers in 1948, in line with his state-oriented attitude, and pioneered the establishment of the Military Rabbinate so that both the religious and non-religious citizens could serve in the army. On the other hand, he staunchly opposed the expansion of the Military Rabbinate's activities into education. This was the reason for his opposition to the creation of a 'religion corps' or 'religious revival campaign' in the IDF. Nevertheless, he was not against the Military Rabbinate's educational activities in immigrant camps or its use of the Bible as an educational tool in the first years of the state.

Philosophical and Cultural Aspects of the Debate over Enlisting Yeshiva Students

Yuval Jobani

This article explores various traditional Jewish arguments for exempting religious scholars from military duty. In contemporary Israeli society *Torah* scholars have lost their elite status that once granted them exemption from monetary taxation and physical labor for defense purposes. Excluding extreme cases of immediate existential danger, such as the 1948 War of Independence, this privilege continues. I propose reforming the current form of exemption by adopting 'cultural excellence' as a basic principle. Granting exemption to a very limited group of outstanding religious scholars could significantly reduce the antagonism between Orthodox Jews and the majority of Israeli citizens. Mutual ill-will could further diminish if the same guidelines also applied to young Israelis of exceptional talent in 'secular' fields such as science, arts, or sports.

Activities and Conflicts of 'The Soviet Authority for the Advancement of Jewish Land Settlement', 1924-1925

Matityahu Mintz

The KOMZET, the Authority for the Advancement of Settlement of 'Jewish Land Workers' had a rough start. Ratification of its bylaws was postponed for two years (1924 and 1925) and the practical matter of gaining permission for contact with land commissioners in the Ukrainian Republic and Crimean Autonomous Republic (both of which were hostile to the Jewish group) remained in limbo. The Jewish leadership strove to advance the KOMZET enterprise, concentrating its efforts in the southern Ukraine, where Jewish settlements had been established in the time of the czars, and northern Crimea that was sparsely populated. The two republics, however, put up obstacles designed to curtail the project and especially the Jewish national goal of establishing conditions for dense settlement (one hundred thousand families) that would serve as a territorial base for a Jewish socialist republic. The pressure from KOMZET's opponents succeeded in minimizing the group's authority, introducing proposals for dividing land settlement into geographical blocks distant from one another, and undermining the Jewish national goal. The article discusses KOMZET's efforts in dealing with these challenges.