ABSTRACTS

'Scientific Strategists' in the Period of *Mamlachtiut*: Reciprocity between the Academic Community and Political Power Centers

Moshe Lissak and Uri Cohen

In the first decades of the State of Israel an elitist group of scholars from academic institutions (mainly from the natural sciences) organized itself into a unique and powerful status group. Its members were senior partners in establishing and developing programs and processes that significantly shaped Israeli society. The sources of the power of this group (termed 'scientific strategists') came from personal and institutional cooperation between its members and highly influential political figures who strongly affected the group's agenda. This reciprocity was founded on mutual trust and loyalty that established the infrastructure and the impetus needed for creating the main political tradition of the time – *mamlachtiut* (statehood).

The paper examines the policy that the 'scientific strategists' implemented which enabled them to form a flexible social network in which political leaders and administrators could use their professional capabilities without removing them from their academic bases, and could also promote their symbolic status, financially support their scientific activity, and shower them with awards and public recognition.

We Are the People (You Are Not!): Inclusive and Exclusive Populism in Israel

Dani Filc

The article analyzes the evolution of populist movements in Israel. It also proposes a redefinition of populism as a form of manipulation of 'available masses'.

Populism is understood as a family of movements that regards the people as the source of virtue and the division of society into the (good) people, on the one hand, and the elites and non-liberal concept of democracy, on the other hand.

The populist group is composed of two sub-groups: inclusive populism and exclusionary populism. Inclusive populist movements develop when excluded social groups constitute themselves as active political subjects. Exclusionary populist movements aim to protect the threatened identity of certain social groups by deepening the exclusion of other groups, such as immigrants, Jews, or Muslims. Based on these categories the article discusses the emergence of three different populist parties in Israel: The Likud, under Menachem Begin's leadership, which is analyzed as an example of inclusive populism; Shas, as a party that radicalizes both inclusion and exclusion; and Avigdor Liberman's Yisrael Beitenu, as an example of exclusionary populism similar to European radical right populist parties.

Knesset Committees in a Supervisory Perspective: A Chronicle of a Failure Foretold?

Chen Friedberg

In a democracy, overseeing the executive branch by means of a parliamentary committee system is one of the legislature's most important tasks in a democracy. Therefore it is quite surprising to find that despite the importance of this function, academic literature on the subject in the Israeli context is very meager. The article illuminates this neglected field by putting the Israeli committees' supervision in historical perspective: From the 10th Knesset of the 1980s, through the 13th Knesset in the 1990s, and the 16th Knesset at the start of the new millennium.

The research focuses on a unique point of view: committees' supervisory potential (or ability). It assumes that poor supervision prevented the committees from functioning properly; therefore the potential level should be studied before investigating the committees' supervisory ineffectiveness. The research methodology measures their supervisory potential according to a number of parameters. This analysis enables a mapping of the failures that impair supervision and offers possible solutions for emending them.

Municipal Elections in Tel Aviv during the 1950s:
Processes, Results, and Ramifications

Arnon Golan

The local-municipal political system was an essential factor in the Yishuv's development in the late Ottoman and British Mandate periods. As the Zionist–socialist parties rose to power on the national level in the 1930s, the municipal system became the bastion of right-wing Zionist parties. The most vital political stronghold of right-wing Zionists was Tel Aviv, the country's metropolis, whose population made up approximately one-third of the Jewish community in Palestine.

After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Mapai, the leading socialist party and the dominant party in national politics, sought to strengthen its power by gaining control of the municipal political system as well. Tel Aviv was its first priority, but despite its efforts, more than a decade and three election campaigns had to pass until Mapai finally won the municipal elections. In retrospect, it was a pyrrhic victory. The effect of local politics on the national level seems negligible, and the victory in Tel Aviv did not prevent the Israeli right's strengthening in the 1960s nor ascending to power in the 1970s.

The Conquest of Nazareth:
The Arab City that Survived the War

Mustafa Abbasi

The article deals with the conquest of Nazareth (Operation 'Dekel') by Israeli forces in the 1948 War. It examines the internal events in what was the only one of four major Arab cities in the Galilee to survive the war nearly intact. Nazareth's fate was indeed unique, unlike that of Tiberias, Safed, and Acre, due to a combination of factors.

First, it had a determined and responsible leadership headed by the mayor, Yusuf Muhammad Ali al-Fahum, who took personal responsibility in ordering the city's inhabitants to remain in their homes and not leave under any circumstances. He dispelled all rumors, regardless of their ominous content. Second, Prime Minister and Defense Minister David Ben-Gurion cancelled the expulsion order that had

been issued by General Haim Laskov. And third, Nazareth was, and still is, a holy city for millions of Christians throughout the world and the home of numerous churches, monasteries, and holy places.

The Helicopter Disaster Monument and the Paradox of Privatizing the Commemoration of the Nation's Dead

Michael Feige

On February 4, 1997, two military helicopters carrying 73 Israeli troops to Lebanon collided in mid-air, killing all aboard. It was the worst accident in Israeli history. This essay discusses the various commemorative practices that were used to place the event in a meaningful historical context, leading from private commemorations to the massive monument built on the spot where one of the helicopters crashed.

The commemoration of the soldiers is examined within the context of the changes in Israel's culture of memory, especially the privatization process and the political, financial, and ethical issues it creates for memory entrepreneurs. The nature of the disaster, lying somewhere between an accident and a military operation, also had a substantive impact on the disaster's status in public memory. The research is based on qualitative methodologies (documentary analysis, observation, interviews, and so forth) that reflect the period between the time of the event to the completion of the monument, and the changing place of memory in contemporary Israeli society.

Hebrew is Hard to Learn, but Everyone Spoke Football

Amir Ben Porat

The article discusses the football's special role in Israel's first decade, a period characterized by mass immigration. Hundreds of thousands of new immigrants lacking a common language were expected (almost forced) to integrate into the developing society by adopting the values and symbols of the elites - the veteran settlers.

The veterans founded and preserved almost every cultural item: newspapers, weeklies, the theater, music, literature, poetry and so forth. These potential

instruments of cultural integration were inaccessible to the newcomers who neither spoke nor read Hebrew, who were unfamiliar with the symbols and codes of the local culture, and who generally lived in the geographical periphery, out of touch with most cultural items.

Football, however, was an almost universally recognized game. Because of its popularity and accessibility football became an instrument of integration and, in some cases, even a means of social protest. This function was neither planned nor consciously encouraged by the state leadership. Certain factors, such as political support of various teams, transformed the game into the most effective means of integration.

Gymnasia Herzliya in Tel Aviv Discoveres the Maccabees' Tombs, 1907-1911: The Shaping of Collective Memory and National Identity

Mooli Brog

Gymnasia Herzliya in Tel Aviv was built with money donated by Judge Jacob Moser. The venerable judge belonged to 'The Order of the Ancient Maccabees', a group whose members had failed to purchase what was known as 'The Tombs of the Maccabees'. The principal of the school wanted to thank the generous donor by carrying out an educational activity linked to the Hanukah holiday and the Maccabees, especially since Hanukah was the Zionist Movement's 'National Holiday' and Hanukah leaders the Zionists' heroes.

The principal initiated a school trip to Modi'in, during which a new set of Maccabees' Tombs was 'discovered', but whose 'identification' was not supported by historical or archaeological evidence. Nonetheless, the gymnasium nourished the newly 'invented tradition' by holding annual Hanukah pilgrimages that other schools soon participated in.

The intensification of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the patriotic dimension bestowed upon martyrdom strengthened the status of the Maccabees' Tombs as a symbol of national heroism. The article shows that collective memory can be created by the initiative of 'reputational entrepreneurs' and not by manipulation by the hegemonic elite.

The Kibbutz and the State

Anita Shapira

Of all the innovations of Zionism and the Eretz-Israel Labor Movement the most original and unique, in universal terms, was the kibbutz. The kibbutz was based on the belief in man's ability to change human nature and create an ideal human type.

The establishment of the State of Israel ended the period of volunteerism that characterized the kibbutz way of life. The kibbutz's traditional pioneering tasks were appropriated by the state. The kibbutz now emphasized the socialist factor, but, as a motivational element, it failed to arouse enthusiasm.

The kibbutz thrived in the years when private and general interests coincided. By end of the 1960s, however, the intensity of life and the spirit of the times changed. The kibbutz could not go against Israeli society which was now entrenched in materialism and bent on financial success. In the 1977 political upheaval Menachem Begin's delegitimization of the Kibbutz Movement undermined the kibbutz members' self-confidence in their way of life. The slackening of tension in national-pioneering tasks, the inexorable decline in the size of the Kibbutz Movement, its inability to bring in new members, and finally, the changes in the public and social climate – all stemmed from processes that lay beyond its control.

The Dialectic between the Pioneering Ethos and Socialist Ideology in the Israeli Labor Movement: David Ben-Gurion and Yitzhak Ben-Aharon, 1948-1967

Danny Gutwein

The pioneering ethos and socialist ideology are two of the Israeli Labor Movement's main characteristics. Unlike the standard approach that regards them as complementing bases, this article examines their differences: the pioneering ethos, which encouraged dissociation from general society and assumed that the ideal society could only be established outside of it; and the basic assumption of socialist ideology that social change must emerge from within. This was the inherent tension in the Labor Movement.

The theoretical basis of this clash can be found in Max Weber's distinction between 'ethos' and 'doctrine' (in his study on the link between the 'Protestant ethic' and 'spirit of capitalism') which his expounders transferred from the religious sphere to the political arena.

The article analyzes David Ben-Gurion's speeches and articles in the 1950s and Yitzhak Ben-Aharon's in the 1960s, and concludes that despite their affiliation to rival political wings in the Labor Movement and their support of opposing versions of Zionist-socialist ideology, both Zionist-labor leaders held the same pioneering ethos whose internal tension revolved around the difference between 'pioneer' and 'worker'.

Golda Meir: A Female Leader, Chairwoman of the Party

Meir Chazan

Golda Meir was elected secretary-general of Mapai in February 1966 after her retirement as foreign minister. She was the only woman to hold this position since Mapai's establishment in 1930. She was also the last woman secretary-general of Mapai, which became the Labor Party in early 1968 following its merger with Ahdut Ha'avodah and Ben-Gurion's party, Rafi. In this way, she also became the first secretary-general of the Labor Party. In March 1969 she stepped down from this position when she was appointed prime minister following Levi Eshkol's death.

The years 1966 to 1968 were among Israel's most turbulent political periods. Golda Meir, as secretary-general of Mapai, stood in the forefront of the struggle with Rafi and was fiercely criticized for her refusal to admit the party into the government on the eve of the Six-Day War. She led the crisis-ridden negotiations that resulted in political reconciliation and the formation of the Labor Party. This 'interim period' provided Golda Meir with the credentials that eventually made her the only candidate for the post of prime minister.

Document: Golda Meir's meeting with the Newspaper Editors after the Yom Kippur War

Tel Aviv, November 6, 1973

Zaki Shalom

One month after the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War, Prime Minister Golda Meir met with Israel's newspaper editors in a closed-door meeting. Such meetings had been the custom ever since David Ben-Gurion instituted them on November 29, 1947. Ben-Gurion shared state secrets with the editors on the basis of an unspoken agreement that they were pledged not to publish what was conveyed to them.

In their meeting with Golda Meir after the guns silenced, the editors expressed the need for establishing an investigating commission of the recent events. None of the editors dared to remind the prime minister of the basic truth: The role of the press is to report the government's shortcomings to the citizens, and by doing so, it may, on occasion, have to demand that those responsible for catastrophes draw the necessary personal conclusions.

Despite the editors' exhortations to set up a blue-ribbon panel to investigate the arrogance that characterized the government before and during the war, Prime Minister Meir insinuated that the failures were in the realm of military operations. Nothing she said reveals her acknowledgement at this stage that the responsibility war's fiasco lay at the political level.

'Cheeky Dirty Convert': The Marriage of Amram Blau and Ruth Ben-David

Kimmy Caplan

On September 2, 1965 Amram Blau (1894-1974) and Ruth Ben-David (1920-2000) married in a small and secretive wedding in Bnei-Brak. Amram was one of the founders of the radical ultra-orthodox religious group, Neturei Karta, in 1938 and had been its leader since then. Ruth, a former French Catholic, converted to Judaism in the early 1950s. The ceremony ended a two-year saga that resulted in Blau's dismissal from his preeminent position.

Ruth and Amram gained considerable notoriety in Israeli society. Ruth played a central role in smuggling the child Yosele Schuhmacher out of the country several months after he was kidnapped from his parents. Amram was a vociferous, uncompromising demonstrator against Zionism, Israel, and what he perceived as violations of the Sabbath and other sacred injunctions in the public domain.

Based upon archival material and other primary sources, the article traces the affair and its main characters, and suggests that its importance lays in the fact that it provided a golden opportunity for Blau's Neturei Karta opponents to oust him.

The *Posek* (Religious Arbiter) as Lobbyist: *Halacha* and Populism in Contemporary Sephardic Jewry

Nissim Leon

In modern society a *posek* (religious arbiter) is not just a formalist jurist or rabbi, he must also be a propagandist of *halacha* (Jewish law). In this capacity he explains to the members of his community the relevance of *halacha* in their daily lives and the modern world. To do so he must be a populist, which means that he has to expand his dialogue with the public and reinforce his direct connection with it through popular books, technology, and other modern devices.

The article focuses on two modern rabbis whose *halachic* approaches and decisions can be described as populism. The first is Rabbi Yosef Haim from Baghdad (1834-1909), and the second, Rabbi Ovadia Yosef (b. 1920). Based on recent studies, both jurists seem to have held opposing *halachic* views. The article argues that while these two leading oriental *poskim* may have handed down antagonistic rulings they held the same opinion on the populist function of the *halachic* jurist in modernity.

The Regeneration of Ultra-Orthodox (*Haredi*) Society after the Holocaust: Starting with the Old

Michal Shaul

Faced with the destruction of rabbis, students, the world of Torah, and emerging Zionist entity in the Holy Land, *Haredi* survivors saw themselves as the remnants and representatives of the authentic Jewish world 'that was'. In this light they developed a profound sense of mission aimed at perpetuating the chain of generations, strengthening Torah study, and keeping secularization at bay. Encouraged by the zeal of this mission and their self-perception as the victims' agents, the *Haredi* survivors channeled their energies into restoring their former world. The article analyzes the contribution of their complex memory to Holocaust memory in general and the *Haredi* community in particular.

The End of Social Citizenship: Rebuilding Welfare Policies on the Basis of Contractuality

Avraham Doron

One of the main issues that concerns social policy-makers and the general public and is connected to the state's responsibility to guarantee the welfare of its citizens is 'citizenship status'. The term refers to an individual's affiliations and memberships in a legally-defined political community. The importance of citizenship status is that it marks out people's identity and integrates them into the collective state community (Joppke, 2008). People generally take their identity and status as citizens for granted. Citizenship status in this sense endows a person with various civil and political rights. In addition, it also has clearly-defined social aspects that relate to welfare rights (Hvinden and Johansson, 2007; Miller, 2000; Roche, 1992).

The article discusses the social dimension of citizenship status, and what is termed 'social citizenship', that is, the social rights linked to citizenship status and the changes it has undergone.

'And Mordecai Bowed Not Down'
Abba Hillel Silver's Complex Zionist Struggle against Nazism

Ofer Schiff

The article deals with the early coping patterns of the activist American Zionist leader, Abba Hillel Silver, in his struggle against anti-Semitism and Nazism in the 1930s and early 1940s. It focuses on two seemingly contradicting strategies – a militant-particularistic pattern and a universalistic one – arguing that both were part of a single complex pattern that characterized Silver's activity throughout the entire period.

After Hitler's rise to power, Silver headed a non-sectarian, anti-Nazi movement that boycotted German goods. In the late 1930s he gradually became one of the leading activists in American Zionist leadership. He saw his mission as galvanizing an assertive Jewish response to Nazism and anti-Semitism instead of stressing Jewish victimhood and self-segregation. Activism, he believed, would reinforce the group's status as an integral part of its non-Jewish surroundings.

In Silver's view, and that of his large American Jewish following, Zionism was the movement that would turn the collective Jewish quest into an American patriotic assertion. The article examines the early expressions of this ambitious endeavor, noting its inherent weakness and strengths just before it became the most popular movement in the American Jewish community in the late 1940s.

The Transatlantic Book Trade and Growth of the
Yiddish Cultural Center in America, 1890-1939

Hagit Cohen

The article reconstructs the commercial ties between the Yiddish book market in the United States and East Europe. Four main periods characterize the development of these ties from the years of mass immigration to the late 1930s. Each period reveals a different side of the cultural relationship of the two Jewish centers.

In the first period the Yiddish center in the United States displayed cultural independence and innovation.

This advantage was short-lived, as the Yiddish book market in the Russian Empire eliminated the gap both in terms of literary innovation and book selection.

The commercial ties indicate a joint cultural space shared between East European immigrants to America and their brethren in the 'old country'. The unity of this reading community was maintained through the initiative and competition between the publishers and booksellers who distributed Yiddish works throughout the world.