

ABSTRACTS

to quote Anton Shamas, was 'a genius collaborator with the [Arab] heritage'. All of these reviewers agreed as to the uniqueness of Habiby's style, bringing together, as it does, traditional or classical Arabic literary features (the novel is described in the title page as *Khurrafiyya*, i.e. chit-chat or fairy tale), while at the same time presenting its 20th century reader with a truly modern text. The implied criticism of the Israeli Communist Party, in which Habiby served as a central figure for several decades, is effectively expressed by Habiby's repeated recourse to the popular saying 'You cannot hold two watermelons in one hand'. Several critics discussed the political significance of this saying for understanding the novel.

Habiby's reviewers approach his art from different angles. One point on which they do not seem to agree is whether the work in question is 'western' or not; whether Habiby, a Palestinian Israeli, is an 'oriental' writer, ('... his writing is not western literature', to quote Shamas again)? Are his 'implied readers' also Israeli (i.e. through Hebrew translation)? The gist of the controversy is, however, as to whether the novel is in the main a contribution to Palestinian particularism, or is it a text of universal nature. It would seem that the answer to this last question depends on whether the critic in question is Jewish or Palestinian.

The Palestinian critics seem to underline the specificity of *Saraya* in the Palestinian context, whereas the Jewish critics tend to point out its 'universality'. An article entitled 'Palestinian Post-modernism' (Somekh, *Haaretz*, 5.11.93) stresses the contemporariness of the novel. To quote Somekh: 'It is possible to characterize Habiby's literary experiments as a leap forward, inadvertant and exceptional though they may be, into postmodernism, which in fact precedes the appearance of true modernism in local Arabic literature'.

Habiby, a Palestinian-Israeli writer, was aware of the controversy aroused by his work. He remained, however, loyal to the basic tenets of his art. In a truly inspired Arabic language he quotes from western culture; and his art is primarily addressed to the Arab reader, although it also embodies a hidden dialogue with the Israeli reader.

from model to model, and from context to context. These mechanisms enable the models to simultaneously organize the same materials. This also enables the models to switch the materials from their accepted functions to serve functions which traditionally they are not befitted to. Amongst these mechanisms, particularly emphasized are the means of organizing the continuity of the novel, the structure of the mutual relations between the end and the preceding phases, combined discourse techniques, dispersal of information, the use of varied voices of the narrative, etc. All these reflect, and serve, a unique psychological-philosophical concept of an artist who is revealed in the novel as a maestro of both story and ethics. The paper ends with all this becoming perceptible with a detailed description of the first phase of the plot which is like the first act of a tragedy. Further phases will be reviewed in the second part of this article, to be published in the next volume.

The Acceptance of Emil Habiby in Contemporary Israeli Literature - Hebrew Literary Supplements on *Saraya, Daughter of the Ghoul*

Yaira Ginossar

Emil Habiby (1921-1996) was the first (and to date the only) Arab author to receive the prestigious Israel Prize for literature. The awarding of the prize in 1992 engendered a great controversy in Israel as well as in the Arab world.

In Hebrew, the language of the majority culture in Israel, Habiby's book *Saraya, Daughter of the Ghoul* witnessed a steady process of acceptance. Originally published in 1991, its Hebrew translation (by Anton Shamas) appeared in 1993. The review articles published in the literary pages of Israel's major Hebrew papers are of special significance since most of the authors of these articles were scholars specializing in the study of Arabic and/or Hebrew literatures. It is therefore possible to describe the acceptance of *Saraya* as 'combined' - a combination of studies by academic critics who may grant the work in question a measure of canonization on the one hand, and publication in literary pages of major newspapers, with the effect of popularizing the Palestinian author and his work.

Habiby's reviewers were at one in praising the literary talent of the writer who,

The Tragedy of the Mediocre Man of Senses
Studies in the Plot of the Novel *Temol Shilshom* (The Days Before)
by S. Y. Agnon

(First Article)

Boaz Arpali

Temol Shilshom (The Days Before), by S. Y. Agnon, is one of the exceptional novels in Hebrew literature, as well as 20th century world literature. It combines a number of the central models and aspects of the novel - from Cervantes to Kafka. It motivates a varied complex, particularly that of contextual interpretation and embodies the multi-faceted and most powerful struggle involved with issues of personal existence, as well as the social and the metaphysical existence of man in general and the Jew in particular. This is a Jewish novel and an Eretz-Israeli one. It is also Agnon's most universal novel. This paper, the first of two, deals with the plot of the novel. It offers a new look and a new interpretation.

The basic argument in this paper is that this plot is in fact a double plot, or that it can be described as such. On the one hand, it is a plot which maintains reference to models of the episodic-panoramic-Picaresque-comic story, that type of story which has a loose structure spreading out in space. On the other hand, it retains attributes to models of the psychological-dramatic-tragic story which develops in time and whose structure is tight and its links connected and deriving one from the other in a clear consequential chain.

The first story actuates the wandering protagonist who is passive, naive and comic. A series of incidents drives him from place to place, and from one encounter to another. In the second story, the very same protagonist acts due to the psychological ruling of his soul. He moves among the ideological and existential alternatives on the way that leads him to his foreseen doom. The first model is built from the beginning of the novel to its end. The second model is built, in retrospective reading, from the end to the beginning (and thus in each of its links). According to the first story, the protagonist's fate is arbitrary, unpredictable and unexplained. According to the second - his fate is necessary, explicable, part of a world order, which may be difficult to justify, but one can examine its character and its significance.

These models of the plots are presented briefly in this paper. Also described are the mechanisms of the narrative, by means of which the novel leads the reader

which serve also as the basis for the distinction between the spiritual world and the real world.

There are plastic-ambivalent moments in history for which the romantic paradigm (used not in the sense of the literary genre) seems to apply. It is precisely these moments which are best served by the devices made available by literature: Firstly to resolve, albeit in an imaginary fashion, the romantic complexity of reality. Then to act as a clarion call in proclaiming and encouraging the long-awaited revolution. Finally, when the vision reaches the stage of implementation - to act as the moral conscience, ever-critical of the inevitable fallibilities and frailties.

It is at this last-mentioned implementary stage of the revolutionary process that the fundamental distinction between the spiritual world and the world of historical activism reappears, and then the question that has to be asked is: What role does literature have to play in the post-visionary and post-revolutionary society?

The Hebrew Poets and 'The Red Congress', 1926

Avidov Lipsker

It is the concern of this study to examine the historical effectiveness of literary activity with reference to the events associated with the inauguration of the 'Working Youth' movement and its organ *Bama'aleh* ('Upward'). The founding conference of this trade union, which was unique in that it was organized and run by working youths, took place in Tel-Aviv between the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth of September, 1926. It was soon apparent that the tendencies of the Communist left, current amongst the youth of the time, had reached wild extremes of expression in the decor chosen for the visual setting of the conference: The national flag (the 'blue-and-white') and the portrait of Benjamin Zeev Herzl were conspicuous by their total absence. The event became known as 'The Red Congress'. In the face of this challenge leading writers took up the pen and chastised the perpetrators with varying degrees of severity - Berl Katznelson, Uri Zvi Greenberg, Alexander Ziskind Rabinowicz and H. N. Bialik. Their reaction stemmed the tide of the leftward drift and brought about a moderation of the ideological thrust of *Bama'aleh*. This may be regarded as a test case: An ideological conflict was waged in the socio-political arena and settled to a large extent in the sphere of Hebrew letters.

upon to transfer the hospital to the Ministry of Health while the army was to continue to have a say in its management. The nomination of Sheba as the director of the hospital in its revised form (June 1953) secured the new arrangements. Actually, this hospital served as a model for a number of other leading hospitals in the country which function to this day as 'integrated' institutions, and serve the needs of both the civilian and military sectors in Israel.

The Messianic Paradigm: Radicalism and Romanticism in History and Literature

Ella Belfer

Considering the relationship between literature and history, the author of this paper presents the following questions: Are there circumstances under which the fundamental distinction between the 'spiritual world' of literature and the historical 'world of action' is blurred, and if so, what are those circumstances? Furthermore, what brings about the heightening of the presence of literature within the context of the historical experience, causing it to discard its role as a mere bystander passing, as it were, comments on history and to take on an active role in the historical process? Finally, are there any definable parameters to this phenomenon?

The answer to the last question is in the affirmative.

It is the author's opinion that this phenomenon is a by-product of the visionary element at work within history. Whenever a process of revolutionary-radical activism is set into motion, this process will strive towards the total destruction of the existing society, and its reconstruction in an alternative form. By its very nature, the process is impaled on the horns of the historic-romantic dilemma of vision versus reality.

The power which literature wields at such a juncture (for which the Zionist revolution can serve as a convenient example) springs in the author's opinion from two sources:

* The paradoxical nature of the revolutionary-visionary phenomenon, torn as it is between radicalism and romanticism.

* The basic components of the imaginary world of literature, components

Apparently the considerations of the Israeli authorities, in the first years of the State's existence, were first and foremost to settle the country and provide security for its population and maximum absorption of new immigrants. All these were above all other humane factors, especially regarding civil rights, property and land ownership of the Arabs in general and the Bedouins in particular.

Thus came about a situation whereby the Bedouins were denied the *Dirah*, the traditional grazing rights, and the migration of the flocks ceased. Some of the areas which in the past had been grazed remained in Arab states while on other areas the State intended to settle many new Jewish agricultural communities. To these areas entrance was totally denied to the Bedouins. The process of sedentarization and settling which had begun before the war, coupled with the grazing prohibitions, now turned into enforced sedentarization and reduced the traditional livelihoods of the tribes. The Bedouins began to search for alternative employment solutions, i.e. as agricultural day laborers on the neighboring *moshavim* and *kibbutzim* and later in construction work, transportation, industry and guard duties.

Tel-Hashomer - From Military Hospital No. 5 to a Civilian Medical Center

Daniel Nadav

The early history of this hospital, since its inauguration as a military hospital in June 1948, illustrates the wish of its founder, Dr. Chaim Sheba, to influence the framework of public health in the new state. In accordance with his social vision, he wanted to use Tel-Hashomer and other IDF hospitals as a cornerstone for a national or nationalized health system. He failed in this venture while serving as director-general of the Ministry of Health from 1950 to 1952. This was mainly due to the lack of support of Ben-Gurion who was attentive to the *Histadrut* and its health organization which were opposed to radical changes that could endanger their hegemony in the sphere of public health. Nevertheless, Sheba expanded the activities of Tel-Hashomer well beyond the usual scope of a military hospital. He introduced civilian health fields and drew the best specialists to work there.

In 1953, the army had to give up its exclusive hold on the hospital as it could not continue to finance its huge expenses. After long negotiations, it was agreed

Settlement and Development Policy and the Negev Bedouins, 1948-1953

Chanina Porat

This paper examines the Israeli Government's policy for the sedentarization of the Negev Bedouins, following the War of Independence and taking into account the urgent challenges the young government had to face: Supplying the increasing population with fresh provisions; absorbing the new immigrants; dispersing them throughout the country; providing employment and housing, as well as taking control of the abandoned rural lands. In addition, defense of the frontiers was a major issue to contend with.

Following the War of Independence, the Israeli authorities evacuated Bedouin tribe members who had remained in the Negev to an area in the Eastern Negev called *Sayag*. The reasons for this evacuation were security and settlement. Most assessments were that of the 80,000 Bedouins who had inhabited the Negev prior to the war, less than 12,000 remained with the ending of the battles.

The Israeli authorities wished to determine the required area for cultivation necessary for a Bedouin family, based on the Mandate Government's figures. The authorities chose the low estimates thereby determining that the 15,000 Bedouins concentrated in the *Sayag* area would each receive an average of 30 dunams. This figure was not accepted by the Bedouins.

It was well known to the authorities that 1.8 million dunams, worth 30 million pounds sterling, remained in the Negev that prior to the war had been cultivated by the Bedouins. This did not prevent the authorities from crowding the tribes in the *Sayag*. This area was devoid of water and arable lands. The tribes were also barred from returning to their abandoned lands.

Ben-Gurion and Yosef Weitz were in agreement that most of the Bedouins were to be compelled to leave the areas of Israeli territory. Thus the security situation in the Negev would improve and the better lands would be put at the disposal of the population dispersal policy.

During the first years of the State several proposals were raised to solve the settlement issue of the Bedouins, by establishing agricultural villages. Albeit, it was clear to the authorities that this plan meant that the State had to relinquish its claim to the Negev lands and this they refused to do. Parallel to this, under Egypt's initiative, international pressure increased upon Israel to let the Bedouin refugees return to their lands, and to stop the continuing deportations due to security reasons.

reason for this was the negative attitude espoused by the Zionist leadership, especially proponents of the Labor movement, towards private enterprise in general and towards the private citrus industry in particular.

This article analyzes the rift that existed between the private farmers and representatives of the Zionist establishment concerning the role of private enterprise in the building of the *Yishuv*. It offers a detailed account of the fundamental principles and beliefs held by the private citrus growers, based to a large extent on the writings of Moshe Smilansky, a noted author and leader of the private citrus growers. The study also reveals that following the *Fourth Aliya* the Labor movement shifted its ideological and economic policies and utilized market and capitalist strategies. Yet, in spite of this, the ideological rift between the farmers and their opponents remained deep and for a time unbridgeable.

This is as It was: Capitalism, Commodity and Inequality

Amir Ben-Porat

This paper offers an alternative interpretation to the process of ethnic inequality in Israel that began in the early days of statehood. The prevalent explanation of ethnic inequality is faulty because it does not rely on a proper theoretical framework. The conventional explanation regarding Israel relies on Modernization and on the Pluralist perspective, as well as on fragments of Marxism which were not sufficiently integrated into the explanation. It is suggested here that a better explanation of ethnic inequality should be derived from the theory of 'becoming a capitalist society'. This leads to two things: ethnic inequality will then be anchored in a general explanation of inequality and it will be situated in a comparative context.

The thesis of this paper is that ethnic inequality is a symptom of class-based inequality which developed during the process of the Israeli society becoming capitalist thus making ethnic inequality historically inevitable. It afflicted mostly immigrants from Asia and Africa because they were the most vulnerable to proletarianization and commodification on immigration. The responsibility and culpability of the Israeli state derived from its being a 'hatchery' of the process of becoming capitalist.

ABSTRACTS

in which the program operated and its stringent administrative practices. Also, the rationing devices it used to distribute its limited resources and the rather deplorable effect it had on the well-being of the elderly poor who were dependent on the program as their only source of income support.

From the experience of the selective grant program for the elderly poor in the 50s and 60s, it is evident that exclusion and the establishment of separate programs designed to serve weak and poor population groups do not serve their best interests. In the context of the stratifying role of the welfare state, such selective programs tend to develop highly restrictive policies, administrative practices, and rationing measures that reflect the relative powerless position of these groups. In the current political climate, in which a return to selective income security programs has been recommended, the experience of the selective Old Age grants program should thus serve as a serious warning against these trends.

Degania or Petah Tikvah? The Ideological Debate between the Private Jewish Citrus Growers and their Opponents, 1904-1939

Nahum Karlinsky

There is a common and rarely contested assumption that the agricultural settlements founded by the Zionist National Institutions, particularly the *kibbutzim* and *moshavim*, comprised the dominant mode of settlement in Mandatory Palestine. Contrary to this widespread belief, the economic and demographic data from this period clearly indicates that before 1939 the agricultural settlements established by the private sector dominated the map of the *Yishuv* in terms of number of settlements, land acquisition, number of inhabitants, job opportunities, and in their general contribution to the growth of the Jewish economy. The success of the private agricultural settlements was mainly due to the flourishing citrus industry. Indeed, most of the private farmers at that time were citrus growers.

However, in spite of its significant contribution to the implementation of Zionist objectives and ideals, the role of the private citrus industry was marginalized, and rarely received the scholarly attention it deserved. The main

The Absorption of Holocaust Survivors in the State of Israel - New Perspectives

Hanna Yablonka

The commonly accepted theory regarding the absorption of the mass immigration in Israel is that of the 'Melting Pot', whereby all the immigrants were forcefully molded into the so called existing Israeli culture.

A recent micro research concerning the European immigrants, most of whom were Holocaust survivors, shows otherwise. It now appears that these immigrants were not integrated by a passive process but rather as a result of their own actively organized efforts. These efforts sought to extend both material aid and moral support to the survivors-immigrants by helping to shape the Israeli society's views of the Holocaust and the survivors. Historical investigation of these efforts reveals many organizations aimed at economic support as well as many others which were devoted to preserving the European Jewish experiences of the Second World War and the memory of the Holocaust.

Old Age Grants in the 1950s and 1960s

Abraham Doron

The main topic of the paper is exclusion and selectivity in social security programs. The Old Age national insurance program introduced in Israel in the early 1950s excluded from its universal coverage two groups of elderly people: Those who had already reached the age of 67 at the time the law was adopted, and new immigrants who, upon arrival in the country, were 60 years of age and over.

As many among the excluded elderly remained without any sources of income a selective program of old age assistance grants was established for them. There was no clear governmental responsibility for the old age grants program. It was operated in the form of a semi-voluntary fund under the auspices of the Ministry of Welfare, in cooperation with and with combined funding from *Malben* (the American JDC program for dependent immigrants in Israel), the Jewish Agency and the country's local authorities. The paper includes a description and analysis of the protracted process that led to the establishment of the program; the manner

ABSTRACTS

This article is comprised of four parts, the purpose of each is to present and analyze the phenomenon of the ideological, official and dissident anti-Semitism which was supported and tolerated by the regime at the time of the USSR's total collapse.

Part I is dedicated to the historical roots of the Soviet ideological anti-Semitism during the Gorbachev era, i.e. the Slavophilism; the Pochevnichestvo; the Russian Idea and the Nationalist Bolshevism.

Part II deals with the trends which were organized or supported by the regime, i.e. the Village Literature; Historical Literature; Russian Neo-Paganism and various aspects of Russian Nationalism.

Part III is presented against the historical background of the dissident ideological trends, i.e. Christian Socialism; Neo-Slavophilism and Neo-Fascism. The discussion evolves around Alexander Solzhynitsin the writer, Igor Shafarevich the scientist and the Pamyat Organization.

In Part IV both the official as well as the popular anti-Semitism are examined by their activities and organizations all over the Soviet Union.

Betar and the Holocaust Survivors in Italy (1945-1946)

Jacob Markovizky

This article focuses on the organization and the activities of *Betar* among the Holocaust survivors who reached Italy in the aftermath of World War II. Italy was the main country of transit for the Jewish refugees. Their presence there played an important role in the epic rebirth of the Jewish nation.

The goals of *Betar's* activities were to achieve unity and cooperation within the ranks of the survivors. Thus, the political, educational and indoctrination activities were quickly begun among the refugees.

The author of this article also draws attention to the continuous tension which existed between *Betar* and the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* (IZL). The IZL's representatives were compelled to operate among individuals and groups of *Betar* and they tried to attract them to join the ranks of the IZL while in Italy.

The author concludes that in spite of the controversies and struggles, it was *Betar's* activities which enabled the survivors to shape their national identity and formed them into a conscious group which strove to reach their 'Promised Land' despite all British efforts to deny them entry.

* Using methodologies by which the issue is analyzed on the basis of 'feelings', 'images' and 'motivations' rather than facts which arise from the research.

* Missing the essential documentation and using only partial and insignificant papers. This phenomenon is due to the mistaken identification of the main bodies which dealt with the rescue attempts while lacking sufficient use of British and American Intelligence documentation in order to reconstruct the rescue actions that were attempted.

* Projection of the political struggle on shaping the image of the State, the public 'discourse' as to the 'cleanliness' of the Zionist revolution, its legitimacy and even the justification of the State as a solution to the anomaly of the existence of the Jewish people, on the way of writing and analyzing this charged issue.

* Attributing the failure of most of the major attempts to rescue Jews and the terrible gap between the Six Million and the few who survived to the 'obtuseness and alienation' of the Zionist leadership in relation to everything which happened in the Diaspora.

* Translating the ideological component of 'Negating the Diaspora' within the Zionist credo as an ideological and conscious basis of the de facto abandonment of the Diaspora during the Holocaust.

* Tedium of Ben-Gurion as a founding leader who did not agree with and who did not adjust to the transition between the '*Sturm und Drang*' period to that of the established period of the society, using these materials as a means to ease the leave-taking process from him.

Anti-Semitic Propaganda and Activities during the Gorbachev Era

Benjamin Pinkus

Gorbachev's years of ruling the USSR were times of soul searching and attempts to bring into effect reforms that were to solve the USSR's endless pains and problems. These years were noted for their relative openness and liberalism. Therefore, it was only to be expected that the anti-Semitic propaganda attacks which had prevailed prior to Gorbachev's rise to power would have subsided. But, like all other intricate systems of this gigantic country, this particular campaign both continued and changed at one and the same time.

ABSTRACTS

it on to the leaders of the Jewish trade unions, thus contributing to the diminishing of *Poalei Zion's* public status.

Furthermore, at the basis of the campaign lay the connections between the leaders of the trade unions and those of the *Histadrut*. These connections led to developments in the American Jewish labor movement which were a reflection of the developments in Eretz-Israel. The result of this process was the formulation of new patterns for conducting the work for Eretz-Israel in America, in the spirit and image of the *Histadrut*, and contrary to the political interest of the *Poalei Zion* party.

Moreover, the connections with the leaders of the *Histadrut* also led to the involvement of these leaders in the work for Eretz-Israel in America. This involvement eventually paved the way to the unification between *Poalei Zion* and *Ze'irei Zion* in America in 1931, as a parallel move to establishing *Mapai*. The unification heralded the end of a chapter in the history of *Poalei Zion* in America and the opening of a new entirely different one.

Above all, one year after the unification, further to the activities carried out in the UHT campaign, the 'League for Labor Palestine' was established in America. The league proceeded to concentrate fund raising for Eretz-Israel among American Jewish labor, and in fact also took the conducting of the work for Eretz-Israel away from the united party, leading to the blurring of the boundaries between them.

The Distorted Stereotype about D. Ben-Gurion and the Holocaust

Tuvia Friling

Based on the last chapter of the book *Arrow in the Dark: David Ben-Gurion, the Yishuv Leadership and the Rescue Attempts During the Holocaust* (in print), this paper traces the reasons for the distorted image that has been connected with Ben-Gurion and the *Yishuv's* efforts to rescue Jews during the Holocaust. The paper describes and analyzes the gap between the results of the research of recent years and this stereotype and attributes it to the following components:

* Attempting to de-humanize Ben-Gurion's image, as a means used by components within the political conflict during the 1950s.

1880-1925, who was involved in the endeavor. Chazanowitch was born in Lithuania and became one of the prominent figures in the *Poalei Zion* party in Russia. He emigrated from Russia in 1907. At first he became active in *Poalei Zion* in Austria, but later wandered to Canada and Argentina where he tried to establish a branch of *Poalei Zion* while confronting the JCA. Due to these activities he was expelled from Argentina. In 1908, while being a member of the PZ World League secretariat, he showed his initiative, involvement and also proved his knack for public relations and his keen political instincts. In fact, he proved to have a most significant presence amongst the leadership of the League. He got embroiled in his relations with other party members as well as other parties of the League. It is therefore not surprising that his term in office was entangled by many personal crises.

The 'United Hebrew Trade's Campaign' and the Changes within *Poalei Zion* in America, 1924-1932

Rachel Rojanski

The United Hebrew Trade's Campaign, which opened in New York in February, 1924, and became a permanent annual campaign in 1926, is considered in the annals of *Poalei Zion* as a record accomplishment. Some even define it as one of the most important activities carried out by the party.

The UHT campaign was indeed the principal endeavor in which *Poalei Zion* was involved in the '20s, and from many points of view it granted the party a great achievement by becoming a permanent operation that placed the work for Eretz-Israel on the agenda of hundreds of branches of labor organizations.

Despite this, the author of this article attempts to show that the development of the campaign and the ensuing political processes constituted a dominant factor in the dynamics that led to the diminishment of *Poalei Zion's* political status in America, eventually resulting in remarkable changes in their power, including organizational changes.

Poalei Zion, which was a Zionist party with a clear Eretz-Israel ideology, and which in World War I had attained the status of a leading force among the Jewish Labor Movement in America, aimed to turn the work for Eretz-Israel during the '20s into an organizing element of the Jewish labor in America, under their leadership. The UHT campaign took this role away from them and passed

ABSTRACTS

Egypt's attitude was dominant, no Arab decision was taken at this stage. Israel, meanwhile, continued to carry out her project.

T h e s e c o n d p h a s e, 1 9 6 4 - J u n e, 1 9 6 7: The First Arab Summit convened in January 1964. Its aim was to contend with the completion of the Israeli National Water Carrier and its impending use in May of that year. The summit approved Nasir's strategy, stating that 'The immediate goal is the diversion of the Jordan tributaries and building of an effective defense force by strengthening the Arab armies'. The Second Arab Summit (September 1964) decided to start carrying out the Arab plan for the diversion of the Jordan tributaries.

Syria was the only Arab state which attempted to carry out its share of the Arab diversion plan. However, the scope of its work was inconsequential. Against the background of Israel's military attacks on the Syrian diversion works during 1965, the Third Arab Summit, held in September 1965, concluded that "Israel had succeeded in sabotaging the implementation of the Arab plan to divert the Jordan's tributaries, thus bringing it to a halt'. Thus the Arab strategy against Israel, in the struggle over water, failed.

Leon Chazanowitch in Petrograd, Beginning of 1918

Matityahu Mintz

In 1977, the author of this article published a paper in *Shvut* No. 5, under the title: 'Jewish Lobbying to Participate in the Brest-Litovsk Peace Negotiations, January 1918'. That paper dealt with the background and preliminary efforts to include a Jewish delegation to the peace talks between Germany and Soviet Russia which took place in Brest-Litovsk. As is well known, the talks were held in two stages. In the first part, the Soviet delegation was headed by Lev Trotsky. It ended on February 10, after the Germans had signed a separate peace treaty with the Ukraine and achieved the right for temporary control over Ukrainian territory. The Soviet delegation then withdrew from the talks having declared that Russia was terminating the war and dispersing its army, but refusing to sign the agreement.

The current article covers the first stage of those negotiations. It broadens the scope with additional original documentation which the author had no access to in 1977. These papers include correspondence by Leon Schub Chazanowitch,

kept by each signatory. Sir Anthony Eden, Britain's PM ordered to destroy his copy upon Sir Patrick's return to London. The French copy was apparently in the hands of Pineau in 1976 when he wrote his Suez memoirs, but thereafter could not be found any more. It must have been stuck for reasons of secrecy in some obscure file and forgotten.

For many years it was believed that the only copy left remained in the hands of David Ben-Gurion, who for decades refused to expose it. Indeed, a photo copy exists today in the Ben-Gurion Archives in Sede-Boker. But, when the Government of Israel agreed to show the document to a British television crew, it became evident that Israel's original copy had also disappeared.

This article recounts in full detail the story of the Sèvres Protocol and explains the background of its strange history. The Protocol and some annexed pertinent documents are reprinted and attached, based on the photocopy which was found in the Israeli archive.

The Arab Struggle Over Water Against Israel, 1959-1967

Moshe Shemesh

The conflict over the Jordan River water diversion, or its use by Israel, has been an issue on the Arab world's political agenda since September 1959 and until the Six Days War. The problem was essentially perceived by the Arab world as a political one and as the core of the struggle against Israel. The Arab discourse was mainly about how the Arab world should react to Israel's plan. Egypt and Syria held opposing positions as to the means by which to resolve the problem.

One can discern two phases in the Arab reaction and deeds:

The first phase, 1959 - 1963: The issue was discussed by the Arab media and by Arab official forums; the Arab League Council, the Arab Defense Council and by the Arab Chiefs-of-Staffs. The debates evolved around the way to prevent the implementation of the Israeli Water Carrier to divert the Jordan waters to the Negev - whether to divert the Jordan's tributaries or resort to military action. Whereas Egypt preferred the technical means, namely to divert the Jordan tributaries, Syria demanded Arab military action. Although

ABSTRACTS

for a population transfer - voluntary or coercive, if necessary - of Arabs from the Jewish state to-be, according to the precedent of the Turkish-Greek transfers, under the League of Nations auspices, provided for in the Treaty of Lausanne, 1923. Some supporters of partition rejected the idea for moral or practical reasons.

Ben-Gurion, a prominent supporter of partition, considered transfer as just one of the provisions of the British 'package'. However, in the heat of the debate he pointed out that 'deeds count, not words'. He was to be proven right. The proposal was examined in depth by a Jewish Agency committee and was found impracticable; coercive transfer was ruled out. By the end of 1938 the British shelved partition.

The idea of transfer re-emerged toward the end of World War II, in the British Labour Party election platform. At the time, Zionist leaders endeavored to abolish the idea, or at least to modify it, because of its potential danger in the post-war circumstances.

In response to the UN Partition resolution (29th November 1947), the Arabs took to arms and the War of Independence ensued. Mainly during April to mid-May, 1948, masses of Arabs were demobilized and uprooted by the impact of Jewish attacks aimed at forestalling the impending inter-Arab invasion. In June, Joseph Weitz of the KKL termed the result a 'transfer de facto' when he proposed to Ben-Gurion to settle abandoned localities and cultivate their lands.

Along the survey of 'deeds' and 'words' issue is taken with the theme of Benny Morris who blames the Zionists for concealing their prior intention to transfer Arabs, and for its violent implementation, rather than regarding transfer as one tragic outcome of the upheaval caused by war.

How did the Sèvres Protocol Disappear?

Mordechai Bar-On

The Protocol which summarized the Anglo-French-Israeli agreements, reached at the secret meeting held in Sèvres, near Paris, during 22-24 October 1956, to launch a combined attack on Egypt at the end of that month, was signed by David Ben-Gurion, Israel's Prime Minister, Christian Pineau, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs and Sir Patrick Dean, a high official of the British Foreign Office. It was written in French and typed in three copies, one to be

ABSTRACTS

The Growing Involvement of Iraq and Syria in Palestine, 1936-1939

Michael Eppel

This article analyzes the socio-political background and social conditions for the emergence of the Palestine conflict as a constant component in the political arena of Iraq and Syria. This conflict emerged as a permanent component in the Iraqi and Syrian domestic politics and foreign policy during the 1930s in the context of the rise of Arab national consciousness and Pan-Arab ideology uniting the socio-political radicalization among the *effendiyya* - the westernized new middle class. The growing involvement of Iraq and Syria in Palestine, and the emergence of the Palestine conflict as a domestic emotionally and ideologically charged issue, stemmed from the heterogeneous composition of the population in both states, the weakness of each state, of the regimes and the social contradictions. For the nationalist *effendiyya* the Palestine conflict was a symbolic expression of national struggle and Pan-Arab nationalist solidarity. The politicians from the ruling conservative elites used the Palestine conflict as an instrument in domestic politics and in foreign policy. The politicians who used the Palestine conflict for gaining the support of the nationalist *effendiyya* and as a means in the foreign policy became captives of their own verbal extremism. Verbal extremism on the Palestine question became a vital part of the nationalist legitimization of the politicians in Iraq and in Syria.

From the Transfer Proposal of 1937-1938 to the 'Transfer De Facto' of 1947-1948

Elhannan Orren

The Partition Plan of the Royal Commission, 1937, threw the Zionist movement into a stormy debate. One hot issue concerned the proposal of the Commission