ABSTRACTS

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The Turning-Point in the Study of the Outbreak of the Yom Kippur War

Yigal Kipnis

This article deals with the events leading to the Yom Kippur War by integrating and crosschecking material from American and Israeli archives. Some of the recently declassified material (2012) reveals details of the secret channel between Kissinger, Sadat, and Meir that indicate that Israel's conduct was guided mainly by geopolitical and domestic political considerations. The material also shows the minimum impact that the intelligence failure had on Israel's decisionmaking.

The first part of the article reviews the new information and reaches the following conclusions:

- The December 1971 understandings between Meir and Kissinger to preserve the political standstill were confirmed by Nixon but kept hidden from the State Department.
- In early 1973 Kissinger changed his position regarding an Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement, based on Sadat's peace initiative, and tried to jumpstart negotiations, but Meir adamantly rejected his efforts.

The second part of the article discusses the conduct of the main actors in these moves: Kissinger, Sadat, Meir and Dayan.

In the Shadow of Syria's Guns: Frontier Kibbutzim and the Israeli Emotional Regime

Orit Rozin

The Israel-Syrian border was a constant point of friction from the time the Israeli-Syrian ceasefire agreement was signed in 1949. Hostilities erupted over water resources and the cultivation and control of the demilitarized zones. Northern kibbutzim that took part in triggering Syrian violence became the victims of that violence. Since the late 1950s and especially in the years preceding the 1967 war, tension escalated. The article covers the 1956-1967 interwar years by tracing the emotional reaction of kibbutz members who were exposed to Syrian violence. It focuses on one primary emotion - fear.

Using Barbara Rosenwein's concept of emotional communities, I argue that the kibbutz members developed unique cultural practices that enabled them to overcome fear. Other sectors of society, however, especially complacent city-dwellers, despite their genuine feelings and gestures of solidarity with the kibbutzim, considered the frontier settlements' cultural and emotional norms different or even alien. The article employs William Reddy's concept to demonstrate that the emotional norms that had developed in the Yishuv period and nurtured in the kibbutzim were losing their grip. New role models were created as the Israeli emotional regime changed.

National Individuality, Social Justice and Universal Humanity in Nachman Syrkin's Thought

Yossi Turner

This article investigates the relationship that Nachman Syrkin, one of the early founders of socialist Zionism, claimed to exist between national individuality, social justice and universal humanity.

Employing Syrkin's focus on 'national psychology' as a key for understanding his views, the article examines the tension between national individuality and universal humanity in several of the historical, political and theoretical issues. Although a number of distinctions exist between his earlier and later thinking, Syrkin consistently uses the concept of 'national psychology' when discussing the problems of Jewish existence and the struggle for creating a just humanity as a goal shared by socialism and Zionism.

The paper's conclusion is that Syrkin believed that the universalization of culture is the highest form of national development but that national individuality is also necessary for the establishment of social justice and universal humanity. In other words, the principles of freedom and social equality embedded in the concept of universal humanity can be realized only through the creative power of a 'national psychology'.

A Look at Nationalism and the Jewish-Israeli Case

Assaf Malach

Were Ancient Israel and the Jewish people a nation in the Middle Ages? This article critically examines the answers to this question according to the three major schools of contemporary nationalism studies.

The Modernist School regards Israel as a religion only and denies the nationalistic aspects of Israel's history. Modernist scholars try to fit the Jewish-Israeli case to various theories that relate to nations very different from Israel. The Ethno-Symbolic School claims that Jewish nationalism is a major source of nationalism in general and that the Ancient Israel is the origin of nationalism. In other words, this approach is the extreme opposite of the Modernist School and ignores the national elements present in other ancient nations. The third school sees nationalism as a widespread human phenomenon that is not limited to a specific period or area. This school offers a balanced analysis of Israel's place in the history of nationalism.

The article's conclusion is that Jewish nationalism was not the only example of nationalism in antiquity, though its intensity was unique for several reasons. Furthermore, Ancient Israel produced the Old Testament, a religious text suffused with nationalistic elements that became a major source of inspiration for national awakening in medieval and modern Christian societies.

Creation of the Hebrew Incunabula Collection in the National Library of Israel

Galia Richler-Grebler and Gila Prebor

This article deals with one stage in the development of the collections in the National Library of Israel and focuses on the Hebrew incunabula collection as a case study. The Hebrew incunabula collection is a cornerstone in the library's Judaic collection and one of four core collections. The collection contains one hundred editions in one hundred and ninety four exemplars. Strangely, although it is one of the world's most important collections of Hebrew incunabula, it has never been studied in depth.

This article examines the collectors who donated the books and analyses the Hebrew incunabula collection in its historical context in light of the library's development. The results are presented on a timeline according to the order of the donations. The article explains the factors that contributed to the success of the collection's development and offers a paradigm for an efficient collection process in the future. The appendix contains a detailed list of the collection's current composition.

'A Moral War of Choice': The Holocaust's Impact on Menachem Begin's National Security Perception

Amir Peleg-Uziyahu

This article focuses on one of Begin's main lessons from the Holocaust – the need in certain historical situations to initiate a war: a moral war by choice.

Begin formulated his world view from the Holocaust in the 1940s. The main lesson was that the Jewish People should never again find themselves in a hopeless and desperate situation that could lead to extermination. In the 1950s and 1960s, in the face of Arab threats of annihilation, he stressed that a preventive attack against an enemy who is planning to annihilate you is the only way to thwart Israel's destruction. The idea of a preventive attack is based on the legitimate right to national self-defense.

Thus, Begin described the First Lebanon War as a moral war by choice. In the cabinet meeting that voted to launch the war, Begin stated that the alternative to this was a 'new Treblinka'. He drew a direct line from the Warsaw Ghetto to Beirut. This line was not mere rhetoric; it was Begin's lessons from the Holocaust that led to the First Lebanon War.

I'm Responsible, You Decide: Menachem Begin's Detached Leadership Pattern in the *Etzel*

Avi Shilon

The article discusses Begin's leadership pattern as commander of the *Etzel*. The central argument is that although Begin was considered the commander in charge of operations and general policy, it is more accurate to see his position as head of the political arm, and Paglin as head of the operational arm. Begin and Paglin's views conflicted on a number of key issues. The relations between the two were complex. At times Begin had to assume responsibility for actions implemented against his will or approval even when they diverted the *Etzel* from his intended direction. The conflicts were finally resolved by employing a model that may be termed 'full responsibility in return for total loyalty'. This meant that Begin retroactively assumed responsibility for Paglin's actions, and in return, operations that were implemented without his approval did not pose a challenge to his authority.

The article suggests that understanding Begin's leadership pattern in the Irgun is a key to assessing his political biography.

Mendele's Era: 'The Poetics of Distance' from Abramovitsh's Hebrew Style to Vogel's Hebrew-Viennese Novel

Lilach Nethanel

This article seeks to define one of the main challenges of Modern Hebrew literary writing. Many 19th-century Modern Hebrew authors encountered difficulties in writing realistic fiction in a non-spoken language. Mendele Mocher-Sforim (Sholem Yankev Abramovitsh) found a solution to this in the form of a fictional spoken language that transformed the historical differences between the written and spoken language into a poetical principle that I suggest calling the 'poetics of distance'.

The poetics of distance links Abramovitsh, the most recognized author of the Modern Hebrew prose, with David Vogel, one of the period's most controversial figures. The term 'Mendele's era' begins with Mendele's Hebrew fiction and

ends with the revival of spoken Hebrew in Palestine in the 1930s. The symbolic closure of this era is marked by the literary works of David Vogel, one of the last European-Hebrew writers. In the 1920s and 1930s Vogel insisted on writing European-Hebrew prose based on the poetics of distance because of the need to develop a poetic synthesis between Hebrew literary expression and the social-ideological reality of a growing Hebrew speaking community in Palestine.

An Ordinary Day: The Discursive Mode and the Demise of Alterman's Journalistic Poetry

Gideon Nevo

Alterman's journalistic poetry, a corpus of more than 900 poems spanning nearly 30 years, consists basically of three major sub-genres or modes: the satirical, the prophetic (or pathetic), and the discursive. Roughly, this poetic corpus, which developed in the 1930s as a vehicle of wit and satire, was transformed in the 1940s into a site of powerful national pathos, and, after Israel's founding in 1948, became dominated by a 'mundane' discursive mode based on rational reasoning.

Alterman's poetry in the 1950s, in its topical ('Hatur Hashvi'I' ['The Seventh Column']) and canonical ('Ir Hayona' ['City of the Dove']) configurations, was bitterly criticized from the left and right of the political spectrum. The purpose of this article is to unravel the complex rhetorical strategies and devices employed in the poems, as they appear in the discursive mode, and expose, with their deficiencies, their aesthetic and moral value. Tracing the story of Alterman's discursive mode parallels the degeneration and ultimate demise of Alterman's journalistic poetry – the largest, richest, most brilliant and influential of its kind in Modern Hebrew literature.

The Hadera Paper Plant and *Mapai*'s Economic Development Policy in the First Years of Israeli Statehood

Oren Kalman

This article explains the Israeli government's policy on industrial development in the state's first years by examining the American Israeli Paper Mills (AIPM) plant in Hadera. The plant, established by a group of private investors led by Joseph Mazer, an American paper industrialist, was one of Israel's major enterprises in the 1950s and the first Israeli industry based on American capital.

One assumes that the socialist party in power, Mapai, would favor the Histadrut labor federation (associated with Mapai) over the private sector. The article shows that AIPM's private sector initiative won wide support from the Mapai led governments despite a similar initiative by the Histadrut.

The article also looks at the considerations of Mapai's principal economic ministers – Eliezer Kaplan, Levi Eshkol and Pinchas Sapir – who supported AIPM regardless of public criticism. My conclusion is based on Israel's overarching economic development policy in this period.

The Recession: A Landmark in Israel's Political-Economic History, 1964-1967

Tom Navon

Between 1964 and 1966 the Israeli Government implemented a counter inflationary policy that resulted in economic depression and widespread unemployment. Contemporaries defined this policy as a recession. Unlike previous studies, this article examines the recession in its long-term, political-economic, international and local context. The conclusion is that the recession policymakers, Pinhas Sapir and Levi Eshkol, wanted to introduce a structural change in the economy that would lead to advanced production and export. This was nothing short of a 'second industrial revolution' in terms of the Israeli economy. However a distinction has to be made between two phases during the recession, when two conflicting policies arose. The first phase – the restraint phase – was characterized by drastic counter-inflationary measures that not only begat a social catastrophe but also dissociated

the policy from its purpose. Once the leadership realized the consequences of its policy, it initiated an expansionary economic plan that marks the second phase of the recession. The purpose of this policy was to redress the damages of the exaggerated anti-inflationary measures in order to promote industrialization more gradually and with greater stress on the social implications.

The Struggle to Unify Jaffa's Jewish Neighborhoods with Tel Aviv 1945-1947

Tamir Goren

Towards the end of the British Mandate one of the most complex issues that the authorities faced at the local municipal level was the problem of Jaffa's Jewish neighborhoods. This issue engaged the government from the start of the 1936 disturbances until the end of the Mandate. The heart of the problem lay in Jaffa's Jewish residents' demand for their neighborhoods to be annexed to Tel Aviv. This was the background to the tense relations between the Jews, Arabs, and British authorities from 1945 to 1947 which the three parties tried to alleviate.

A series of unprecedented moves were undertaken by the Jewish side in an attempt to influence the British government. This article examines the three parties' points of view while focusing on Zionist policy and its results.

Joseph Loewy's Lifetime Contribution to the Yishuv

Yossi Ben Artzi

Engineer and Zionist entrepreneur Joseph Loewy (1885-1948), one of the pioneer German Jewish immigrants to Eretz Israel, has not received sufficient attention in the historiography of Zionist settlement and Jewish revival in Israel. Only brief, often critical, mention of his haste in acquiring land and initiating large-scale settlement projects appears in history books.

Loewy first visited Eretz Israel in 1913, and worked with Arthur Ruppin in the Palestine Bureau. He was called back to Germany to serve in the German army in the First World War. After the war he returned to Jaffa and founded the Kedem

Building Company which became a model of innovative design in the construction of homes and neighborhoods for workers and the middle class. However, the enterprise eventually declared bankruptcy.

Loewy next moved to Haifa where he initiated several large scale land acquisition projects for urban and rural development. In 1926 he founded the Haifa Bay Development Company (which essentially established Jewish ownership in today's strategically vital Haifa Bay) and engaged in other major settlement ventures in the region. He published articles on settlement and development in Northern Palestine and even proposed his own 'partition plan'.

The article examines Loewy's character and enterprises, and explains the reasons for his exclusion from the Zionist historiography of land settlement and economic development.