ABSTRACTS

Did All Roads Really Lead to Beirut?
Menachem Begin's Lebanese Policy, 1977-1982

Dan Naor

The Peace for Galilee War which began in 1982 is one of the most controversial events in Israeli history. The prevailing narrative states that it was a war of deception, in which Defense Minister Ariel Sharon misled Prime Minister Menachem Begin and the rest of the government. While Begin and the government approved a small-scale operation that was meant to push the Palestinian organizations to 40 kilometers north of the Israeli border, Sharon had more grandiose plans aimed at creating a new order in Lebanon. Without trying to vindicate Sharon for his actions during the war, this narrative attributes Begin with far too small a role.

This article claims that as part of Begin's Lebanese policy, the Peace for Galilee War was conceptualized well in advance. It will show that from the moment Begin became prime minister in 1977, a countdown began toward a full-scale operation in Lebanon. Under Begin's leadership, Israel's involvement in Lebanon increased from year to year. The culmination was the Peace for Galilee War.

Keywords: Ariel Sharon, Bachir Gemayel, Lebanon, Maronites, Menachem Begin, Peace for Galilee, Saad Haddad

Minister Zevulun Hammer's Ambivalent Attitude to the Peace Process with Egypt

Aharon Kampinsky

The article examines the attitude of Zevulun Hammer, a Member of Knesset and minister in the government, to the peace process with Egypt, starting from the Sadat visit in November 1977 to the Yamit evacuation in January 1982. The article points to the transition in Hammer's political position from his unambiguous right-wing stance during the 1960s and 1970s, which ruled out any territorial concessions, to his becoming a moderate dove in Begin's right-wing government. He essentially continued to adhere to the principle of the Greater Land of Israel and the construction of settlements in Judea and Samaria, but at the same time supported the peace agreement with Egypt, despite his reservations regarding the autonomy plan that was part of it. Similarly, Hammer was considered to be a moderate during the Lebanon War, relative to the Likud's ministers.

His position did not stem from an unequivocal identification with the positions of the Israeli Left, but rather it took a complex, restrained and cautious attitude toward the Left's policies. However, this did not affect Hammer's main position that supported territorial concessions if achieving peace was feasible, although it ultimately led to his return to the hawkish camp in the 1990s, during the Oslo Accords.

Keywords: Autonomy, Camp David Accord, Lebanon War, Mafdal, Oslo Accord, Peace Treaty with Egypt, Settlements, Yamit Evacuation, Young Revolution, Zevulun Hamer

Blocking Social Mobility in the Open University: Governing Institutions and the Council for Higher Education, 1974-1987

Uri Cohen

This article discusses the import and assimilation of an academic framework from Britain to Israel, which led to the establishment of the Open University. The vision of this type of institution was to reduce the large academic disparities that had

developed between various groups in Israel. The development and coalescing of this new academic institution in Israel during its formative years raise fundamental questions concerning social solidarity and social justice in Israel's higher education system, particularly in the context of relations between the two main ethnic groups – Ashkenazim and Sephardim. How have these relations been translated into the division of power and wealth, in the context of both the universities and the activity of the Council for Higher Education, alongside the Committee for Planning and Budgeting which is the government body responsible for overseeing the activity of the academic system? My goal is to discuss the principles of social and cultural order that were injected into the academic system during the 1970s and 1980s and their connection to the universities' political and cultural identity, alongside the organizational responses to questions of heterogeneity, tension and the major disparities that had developed in the universities based on the accessibility of an academic education. Specifically, higher education in Israel during this period was accessible to Ashkenazim while extreme inequality characterized the integration of Sephardim within university studies. As a result, Sephardim were excluded from employment in academic professions and from the management and allocation of resources in Israeli society. It is my claim in this article that the Open University did nothing to reduce disparities in higher education during this period and essentially worked to preserve and perpetuate the situation in which large population groups are denied access to academic degrees.

Keywords: Ashkenazim, the Council for Higher Education, Inequality in access to higher education, Open University, Sephardim

Dad Works, Mom Makes a Living:
Life Stories of Mizrahi-Jews and Arab-Israelis
in the 'First Mobility Generation'

Ram Yehoshua Adut

This article explores the life stories of Mizrahi and Arab men and women, born in the 1950s and living in two Jerusalem neighborhoods. Most of the interviewees were born in poverty, but during the 1970s managed to enter middle class professions.

The mother figure in the stories is revered for the sacrifices she makes, although she is portrayed as a static figure rooted in a traditional community. Her work

outside the home is referred to as just 'making a living'. Mizrahi and Arab women in particular express a negative attitude towards their mother's 'self'. In contrast, the father figure is—perhaps surprisingly—portrayed as a hero. Against the backdrop of life's difficulties, the father appears as a clever survivor or a romantic who retains his inner dignity. The father is a role model for the narrator's 'self'.

Structural similarities are to be found between the Mizrahi and Arab stories, with gender-related differences. The Arab and Mizrahi narratives have embedded within them elements of Western hegemonic individualism, though they also construct new ethno-class identities that resemble Afro- and Latin-American 'minority cultures of mobility'.

Keywords: Arabs, Life Stories, Minority Culture of Mobility, Mizrahi, Parents, Self

From Haifa to Berlin:
The Jewish Bourgeoisie in Palestine in the Early 20th Century from a Gender Perspective

Deborah Bernstein, Talia Pfefferman

This article provides an in-depth look at an elite Jewish family in Haifa during the 1920s with the goal of examining class and gender relations in that period. This is accomplished by analyzing family correspondence between the family's parents, Nahum Vilbush (Vilbushevitz) and Shoshana Vilbush (né Feinberg), and their daughter Zohara who was staying in Berlin during the years 1929-1930. The Vilbushevitz, Feinberg, Belkind and Hankin families, who were linked by marriage, played an important role in the national narrative and have been the subject of much academic study and many documentary articles. However, in most cases, neither class nor gender has been the focus. The analysis of the letters reveals the parents' daily experiences through the prism of gender and class – the experience of the bourgeois man, the industrialist entrepreneur, a member of the collective national entity and a father as opposed to the experience of the bourgeois woman, the manager of the home and family, and a mother. The analysis includes the content of the letters, the husband and wife's foci of interest, their respective styles of writing, and the gendered socialization that each parent attempts to convey to their daughter. It is found that gender played a central role in determining the identity, attitudes

and lifestyle of the Jewish bourgeoisie in Palestine. Nevertheless, and despite the gender differences that characterized bourgeois ethics, a blurring of boundaries between husband and wife can also be discerned in the letters. Finally, the family correspondence sheds new light on the place of nationalism in the daily life of the bourgeoisie, subject to daily experiences and personal circumstances.

Keywords: Bourgeoisie, Epistolary Writing, Gender, Vilbush (Vilbushevitz), the *Yishuv*

History Education in State-Religious Schools during the Past Decade

Roy Weintraub

History education is a cultural phenomenon that reflects complex knowledge-power relations and embodies a wide range of ideological, political, educational and ethical issues. This article explores the teaching of history in State-Religious Education (SRE) and examines its unique characteristics, as compared to inter alia State Education. Focusing on the past decade and against the backdrop of the 'history wars' of the 2000s, the changes that have occurred in the Religious Zionist sector and its increasing influence in Israeli society are described. Drawing on diverse sources, the article discusses the various factors that have shaped the development of history education in SRE.

Apart from elements common to both SRE and State Education, the article examines three categories in which faith-based principles have shaped history education in SRE: redemptionism; attitudes towards religion and observant Jews; and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The study reveals major disagreements within SRE on how to teach key historical episodes. A broad consensus, however, can be discerned regarding the status of territories gained in the Six-Day War, as an integral part of the Greater Land of Israel. The study concludes that, as Israel enters its eighth decade, history education in SRE presents a unique and proud historical narrative, and perhaps even multiple narratives.

Keywords: Faith-based History, History Education, History Wars, Religious Zionism, State-Religious Education

Shaping a Mobilized Culture:
The 1936 Riots and the *Hashomer Collection*

Yair Seltenreich

The *Yishuv* in Palestine paid a heavy price in blood during the 1936 Riots and as a result there arose a need to strengthen the spirit of a mobilized society, which served as the basis for the unity of the *Yishuv*. Against this background, two commemorative books were published in 1936 and 1938: *The 1936 Riots* and the *Hashomer Collection*. They were written by an elite group of authors on the Left and both focused on security and toil. The theme of *The 1936 Riots* was the ethos of the present while that of the *Hashomer Collection* was the myth of the recent past.

In this article, I examine the two books from various perspectives and investigate their role in reinforcing the culture of a mobilized society. I interpret the characters of the authors and their style of editing and in this way identify the values that the authors tried to convey to the readers and their methods of doing so. Three such values, namely settling the Homeland, work and defense, were considered to be the fundamental values of the mobilized Hebrew society. In addition, the article looks at the way in which the editors chose to present role models in the books. I will try to provide support for the claim that the books are an example of the way in which a mobilized society seeks to instill emotions. It will be argued that the objective of the books was to rebuild the resilience of the *Yishuv* in Palestine and to show the way forward for the mobilized Hebrew society in a time of crisis.

Keywords: Commemoration, Emotions, *Hashomer*, Mobilized society, 1936 Riots

Does the Knesset Reflect the Composition of Israeli Society?
Changes in Representation Gaps, 1977-2019

Ofer Kenig and Chen Friedberg

The Knesset is one of the pillars of Israeli democracy. It is the only elected political institution at the national level and, as such, is expected to reflect the diversity and complexity of Israeli society. The purpose of this article is to examine two key questions: a. Does the composition of the Knesset appropriately reflect Israeli

society and what changes have occurred in the pattern of representation over the years? b. Does the Knesset's representation patterns coincide with ideological and sectoral affiliation? The article discusses the concept of descriptive representation, according to which the essence of political representation lies in the identity and characteristics of the representatives rather than their actions.

Based on an original database of 1,560 observations, corresponding to the 120 MKs elected for each Knesset term from 1977 until April 2019, we examine the representation of a number of population groups: women, Arabs, the ultra-Orthodox, and immigrants, as well as citizens living in kibbutzim, settlements and development towns. With regard to the first research question, the findings show that the manner in which the Knesset reflects Israeli society has changed over the years. For example, it was found that underprivileged groups (e.g. women and Arabs) who for many years suffered from underrepresentation have gradually narrowed the gap and are now more appropriately represented. On the other hand, there are minority groups that are overrepresented in the Knesset. With regard to the second research question, the findings suggest that patterns of representation coincide to a large extent with ideological and sectoral affiliation. For example, the ultra-Orthodox and the Arabs – the two most distinct minority groups in Israeli society – are represented in the Knesset mainly by sectoral parties. Furthermore, the weakening of the Zionist parties on the Left has undermined their ability to represent certain population groups (such as kibbutzim, development towns and immigrants). During the last decade, these groups have been represented primarily by center parties.

Keywords: Descriptive representation, Knesset, Members of Knesset, PR electoral system, Social-demographic characteristics

Under the Radar: Constructive Vote of No-Confidence in Israel

Tal Lanto

In 2014, Israel became the seventh country to adopt the rare constructive vote of no-confidence mechanism, which limits the ability of the legislative branch to challenge the executive branch. In this article, I deal with the causes and circumstances that led to the adoption of the constructive vote of no-confidence in Israel. By means of historical research that investigates this process from its inception to its conclusion, it is shown that Israel, like other countries, adopted this mechanism with the goal of

stabilizing the executive branch, an idea that was proposed by experts and research institutes. With regard to the process itself, it can be seen that catalyzing events advanced the reform by providing its advocates with a window of opportunity they could take advantage of. With respect to the political motives, during the shift to the constructive mechanism it was found that the positions of the parties with regard to the reform were formulated not along ideological lines but rather according to whether they belonged to the coalition or the opposition, since Knesset members are not able to vote according to their personal views. Finally, with regard to the outcome, the paper will claim that the constructive vote of no-confidence mechanism was adopted in Israel under the radar because the issue was not high on the agenda of legislators in the Knesset. The initiators of the reform embedded the proposed change in no-confidence voting within a broader set of reforms. As a result, there were only superficial and non-comprehensive discussions of the proposal. This finding points to a new strategy in the study of parliamentary reforms.

Keywords: Legislative studies, Comparative politics, Politics in Israel, Parliamentary reforms, Institutional change