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The History of Conflict between Institutional and Native Hebrew in Israel

Uri Mor

Contemporary popular discourse on Hebrew prescriptivism betrays an interesting ambivalence: acceptance of institutional standards on the one hand and objection to normative intervention on the other. This ambivalence can be traced to the tension between the Language Committee and the Palestine Teachers' Association during the Second *Aliyah*. Both advocated that Israel adopt a modern national language, but the former was in favor of a systematic language planning, while the latter was in favor of spontaneous language adoption.

In the 1950s, a similar tension developed between the older generation and the Sabras (native speakers), whose generational identity had crystallized during the pre-State period. The language promoted by the former group was an institutional variety bound to a prescriptive norm, while that promoted by the latter was a native variety bound to conventional norms and real-life experience.

The tension in these two episodes led to a deep cultural rift—one that is familiar to every Hebrew speaker in Israel—between the formal language of the state and the natural language of Hebrew speakers.

A crosslinguistic perspective reveals a resemblance between Israeli Hebrew and European Late Dialect Selection languages, suggesting that the ambivalence towards prescriptivism in fact indicates ambivalence towards the national language, which is perceived, simultaneously, as a manifestation of a stable national identity and an institutional interference in individual speech.

Keywords: language ideologies, national language, native Hebrew, normativity

Trauma Processing in Israel's Contemporary Documentary Cinema

Adam Tsachi

This article investigates a new phenomenon in contemporary Israeli documentary cinema: the processing of war trauma. For the first time since the onset of the Second Intifada, films whose heroes suffer from PTSD are dealing with the processing of past experience.

Using case studies, the article analyzes films directed by PTSD victims, which deal with the processing of war trauma, including among others *One Battle Too Many* (Joel Sharon, 2013) and *Closed Story* (Micha Livne, 2015). The films' heroes are seeking to free themselves from the amnesia that is concealing the traumatic events deep within their memory. They manage to locate the repressed memory and then weave the traumatic story anew. The films propose various cinematic strategies for processing trauma, strategies that are meant to demarcate both the subjective traumatic past and the objective safe present and to place a defined aesthetic border between them.

The films are analyzed by means of close reading of the cinematic aesthetic and the discussion of trauma in the Humanities. The interweaving of unrealistic and realistic symbolization practices dismantles the classic form of documentary cinema and facilitates an encounter between the viewer and the overwhelming nature of trauma.

Keywords: cinema, documentary, Israel, PTSD, trauma, war trauma

Culture in the Histadrut, 1930-1945

Meir Chazan

The *Yishuv* in Mandatory Palestine was dominated by the Hebrew national culture. Culture was an important and sometimes definitive element in securing the dominance of the Zionist Labor Movement during the Mandate era. The construction and shaping of a new Hebrew culture was a central principle in the movement's creedal, political, and educational approach. The General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine, known as the Histadrut, which was the main institutional player

in the shaping of cultural endeavor in *Yishuv* society, hewed to the spirit of the Socialist Zionist worldview. During this period, the Histadrut emerged as the most progressive, authentic and current cultural agent working to shape the Jewish-Zionist atmosphere and every-day life in Palestine. In the 1930s, the leading figure in the Histadrut's cultural endeavor was Jacob Sandbank, who operated as part of the Cultural Center established in 1935. According to Sandbank, culture, in the sense of *kultura*, cannot be 'manufactured'. Instead, he claimed that it materializes in various spheres of life, and its vital and spiritual elements come about inadvertently – without prior intent, without setting goals, and without dictating things ab *initio*.

Key words: Berl Katznelson, culture, Jacob Sandbank, General Federation of Jewish Labor (Histadrut), Jewish *Yishuv*, Mandatory Palestine, Mapai

Before Sebastia: The Schem Group's Attempts to Establish an Israeli Settlement, 1969-1970

Amir Goldstein and Elchanan Shilo

The article will focus on the little-known affair related to the repeated attempts to establish an Israeli settlement in Nablus (Schem) or its vicinity during 1969-1970. A group of Betar youths who were affiliated with various Zionist right-wing parties (and who became known as the Schem Group) make seven separate attempts to establish a settlement in Samaria despite the government's opposition. Each attempt was blocked by the determined response of the security forces.

Despite the significant attention devoted by academic research to the attempts at settling the West Bank in the wake of the Six Day War, this particular affair has received little attention.

The episode occurred against the backdrop of the dissonance between the impassioned statements made by Menachem Begin—as the leader of Herut and Gahal—that Judea and Samaria should not be given back and the limited settlement initiatives undertaken by the movement.

The article examines the determined government response to the settlement attempts, the circles that backed the group and the ambivalent attitude of Menachem Begin (who was a minister-without-portfolio at the time) toward that initiative.

The article will describe the bonds forged between the Schem group and the Elon-Moreh gar'in (core group) members who undertook a similar initiative. That

initiative eventually succeeded, with the government's approval for the group to settle in the [army] camp at Kadum.

Keywords: Menachem Begin, Golda Meir, Nablus, Schem, Sebastia Affair, settlement, Zionist right-wing

The Ayalon River and the Relationships between the Authorities, 1948-1965

Assaf Selzer

During the first two decades following the establishment of the State of Israel, the Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality had to deal with flooding from the Ayalon River. By means of constructing a series of walls, the route of the river and its depth were altered in an unsuccessful attempt to solve the problem. It became clear that a more drastic solution was necessary.

Water issues and rivers in particular provide a unique opportunity to study the underlying relationships between local and central governments and between local and international water experts. In this article, I compare the different interests of those who were involved in dealing with the flooding from the Ayalon and the motivations behind their actions.

As part of the solution to the Ayalon flooding problem, an infrastructure company was established in 1965 as a partnership between the Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality and the Israeli government. The main task of the company was to construct a highway along the route of the river, thus ironically providing a drastic solution to the problem.

Keywords: Ayalon Crosstown Expressway, Ayalon river, central government, flood control, local government, Tel Aviv-Jaffa

Bringing in the Army to Break the Locomotive Drivers' and Sailors' Strikes in 1951

Boaz Garfinkel

In the second half of 1951 the State of Israel used the army to break up two strikes: the locomotive drivers' strike and the seamen's strike. In contrast to the latter, the locomotive drivers' strike has been neglected by historical memory and ignored in historical research.

Research devoted to the seamen's strike has been carried out in isolation from other strikes during this period and presents it—mistakenly—as a unique case. As a result, it has been interpreted in the context of ideological and political confrontations, ignoring the fact that the government's response to the strike was part of its broader approach to labor relations.

This article will claim that in view of the proximity of the strikes and the similarity of the government's responses, the seamen's strike should be understood in light of the locomotive drivers' strike, an approach that suggests a different interpretation of the strike. An analysis of the two strikes in sequence reveals that in the early years of Israeli statehood, Mapai had a policy of using the army to break up strikes, which was abandoned only after it had gained experience in dealing with them.

Keywords: Histadrut, labor relations, labor restraint, locomotive drivers' strike, Mapai, military, seamen's strike, strike breaking, union

The Polio Epidemic in Israel, 1949-1956

Dorit Weiss

The polio epidemic broke out in Israel in July 1949, soon after the establishment of the State and during a period of mass immigration. The fledgling Ministry of Health was in the stage of creating the medical system and infrastructure and was still in the process of formulating policy. The new State of Israel now faced a complex, multifaceted challenge, at a time when it was vigorously seeking acceptance and recognition of its standing in the UN and the World Health Organization (WHO).

The healthcare system battled the epidemic for over four years. In view of the severity of the situation and the lack of alternative solutions, the heads of the

healthcare system adopted their own independent policy. Demonstrating professional courage, they undertook the manufacture of vaccines and initiated a mass vaccination campaign.

Israel's handling of the epidemic boosted the country's standing and reputation among medical professionals worldwide and in the WHO. In addition to laboratories for producing vaccines, Israel developed treatment, rehabilitation and monitoring systems. The impressive response of the Israeli public health authorities to the epidemic established its position among the leading countries worldwide in the field of preventive medicine.

Keywords: health policy, Israel's health history, Israel's Ministry of Health, mass vaccination, Polio epidemic, vaccine production

Degel Zion: Sephardi and Mizrahi Youth and the Sephardi Question

Moshe Naor

This article examines the history of Degel Zion, which was established in 1938 as a Sephardi youth organization at the initiative of the Association of Sephardi Jews in Tel Aviv, and which operated until the latter years of the British Mandate. Degel Zion was established as a local ethnic organization but developed into a national youth movement that sought to organize Sephardi and Mizrahi youth and integrate them within the *Yishuv* and within the nation-building process. The article will discuss the manner in which Degel Zion related to the 'Sephardi question' – a term that referred to the social and cultural condition of the Sephardi and Mizrahi youth and their marginal status within the *Yishuv*. The article will explore the way in which Degel Zion justified its existence as an ethnic framework. The discourse on the Sephardi question, as promoted by Degel Zion, related not only to the influence of the national institutions on the shape of the ethnic problem, but also embodied a Sephardi-Mizrahi self-perception and historical narrative that the leadership and facilitators of the movement sought to inculcate in its young members.

Keywords: Arab-Jewish relations, Association of Sephardi Jews, Mandatory Palestine, Mizrahim, oriental Jews, the Sephardi question, Sephardim, youth movement, youth organization

Shadow Plans for Beer Sheva, 1947-1949

Hadas Shadar and Eli Maslovski

The development of Jewish Beer Sheva was viewed as the building of a new city, since it was to be manifold larger than the original Arabic Beer Sheva. The plan for the development of Jewish Beer Sheva was part of the 'Sharon Plan', a master plan for the State of Israel published in 1951. However, beyond this official plan, there were several other plans for the city which were eventually relegated to the archive: two plans for a Jewish neighborhood alongside the existing Arab city dated 1947 and a plan for the entire city drawn up by the 'Afikim Ba-Negev' company dated 1949. These plans, which were never implemented, shed light on the planning, thinking and ideology during this period, which were based on a connection to the land, the value of community and a changing attitude towards the Arab city.

Keywords: Alexander Klein, Beer Sheva, Britain's new towns, garden city, Richard Kaufman

'Intimate Neighbors': Life in Shared Apartments in British Mandate Palestine

Elia Etkin

This article discusses a distinct form of urban housing that flourished in the *Yishuv* during the British Mandate, in which a family dwelt with other families or individuals in the same household. The article coins and defines the term 'intimate neighborly relations' and uses it to analyze the living experience of shared apartments and to describe the relationships that were formed between the residents. An anthropological analysis of the overlap between neighbors and home that is implied by the concept of 'intimate neighbors' refines our understanding of private and family space among the Jewish middle class in Palestine. Moreover, the article demonstrates the role of gender in neighborliness and urbanity and uncovers how women shaped the intimacy in the shared apartments. The main argument in the article, based on autobiographical and legal documents alongside popular representations of the practice, is that living together with 'intimate neighbors' involved inconvenience, embarrassment and even disgust. At the same time, and despite the difficulties, 'intimate neighbors' provided a form of human interaction in

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an immigrant society, in which many experience alienation and loneliness. Finally, the relationships among 'intimate neighbors' were simultaneously a personal experience and a public-national issue, especially in the 1940s when it became a widespread phenomenon and conflicts between neighbors escalated.

Keywords: British Mandate Palestine, everyday life, home, 'intimate neighborly relations', urban history