

# ישראל

כתב עת לחקר הציונות ומדינת ישראל  
היסטוריה, תרבות, חברה

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were being treated unequally by the authorities, which were mainly comprised of Ashkenazi Jews. These feelings soon translated to complaints about a sort of systematic discrimination against them. Under these circumstances, two ministers in the Ben Gurion administration, both known as “oriental Jews,” suggested in 1961 the establishment of a special ministry within the government the focus of which would be the absorption of oriental Jews into Israeli society. They warned that if the status quo remained, oriental Jews would turn their votes from the leading party in Israel, Mapai, to the right-wing opposition parties. The introduction to the protocol examines the debate within Mapai, its background and consequences.

### Ofer Chen

#### Judaism as a Cultural and National Identity in the Teachings of Judge Moses Zilberg, 1948-1970

This article explores the vision of 'the Torah-state' in the thought and rulings of judge Moses Zilberg. The definition of Halakha as a dynamic, national framework put the struggle for making Halakha the legal system of Israel at the center of neo-Orthodox thought and activism. In the period before the establishment of the State of Israel Zilberg, inspired by the belief that Halakha could adapt to the demands of sovereignty, sought to make Halakhic Law the legal system ('Common Law') in Israel. But after the formation of the state, as time went by, and especially due to resistance from religious and secular circles, he was disillusioned with the possibility of implementing the sublime vision of Halakha. He seems to have become satisfied with Halakhic Law as a source of inspiration to the Israeli law. As a follower of Ahad Ha'am and Haim Nahman Bialik, Zilberg came to see the legal system as a main aspect of Israeli National identity.

### Yoav Gelber

#### The Beginning of the Battle for Hearts and Minds: From 'Underdog' to Occupier

The Six Day War brought about a major change in Israel's stance in the eyes of a growing part of world public opinion. Within a short time, its image transformed from an underdog to a conqueror and the basic issues of its legitimacy re-emerged to the stage, first in the occupied territories and then in principle. Public opinion refused to accept the war as a defensive one and blamed Israel for the grim fate of the Palestinians. Israel was late to identify and comprehend that the struggle for the support of public opinion became part of the campaign. This article explores the beginning of these processes, which still persist today, and shows that many issues concerning Israel's image in the eyes of world public opinion emerged already in those years and that Israel is still looking for and debating the appropriate answers.

### Zaki Shalom

#### The Debate within Mapai over the Status of 'Oriental Jews' and Their Absorption into Israeli Society

Since the establishment of the state of Israel, hundreds of thousands of Jews came to Israel from Arab countries. Many of them harbored a feeling that they

Israel, alongside an ongoing dispute over his legacy in academic circles and the media. This article explores how a marginalized character, perceived as radical and dangerous, has penetrated the national narrative to become a positive myth.

### Lilach Rosenberg-Friedman

Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Gender: The Integration of Non-Jewish Polish Women into Israeli Society in the Hebrew Press, 1956-1960

This article focuses on mixed families—Jewish and non-Jewish spouses—who immigrated to Israel between 1956 and 1960 from the former Communist bloc, in particular Poland. It explores the discourse on mixed families by drawing on the coverage of mixed families in the Israeli Hebrew press, presenting their encounter with the Jewish society as frequently troubled. At the heart of this tension lay the non-Jewish wives, whose gender and ethnic background was perceived as a threat to Jewish national identity. Associated with anti-Semitism and the destruction of European Jewry, their presence in the young Jewish State, as a minority seeking integration with the Jewish majority, exacerbated the relationship local Jews had with Europe as a whole and Poland in particular, thus directly affecting the assimilation of non-Jewish spouses. Their story evinces the relationship between nationalism, ethnicity, and gender in Israeli society during the early years of the state.

### Oded Heilbronner

The Discriminating Gaze: Racism and Social Segregation between European and Oriental Jews in Young Israel

This article interprets advertisements for products, especially cleaning and cosmetics products, accompanied by chronicles of behavioral patterns of immigrants from Asian and African countries – crimes, vandalism and violence – that appeared occasionally in the press in young Israel. Using theories of visual culture, I wish to delve into the significance of the contrast between ads for “white”, clean and Western products of consumerism, and between newspapers’ stories of “black”, problematic behavioral patterns of immigrants from “oriental” countries. I argue that the juxtaposition of these images and chronicles contributed to the consolidation of discriminatory and racist views among some of the newspaper readers toward these immigrants.

### Arnon Lammfromm

Levi Eshkol and his Activity in the Leadership of the  
Federation of Agricultural Workers in Judea, 1916-1918

At the beginning of 1916, Levi Shkolnik (Eshkol) was elected to the central committee of the Federation of Agricultural Workers in Judea, as one of five members. Although he was only 20 years old, he succeeded in taking a leading role in the Federation, which had to deal with substantial challenges in light of the difficulties encountered by the population of Palestine, specifically the Jews, during World War I. This article shows how Shkolnik took care of the needs of about 1,500 workers (men and women) as well as their children, from the Ashkenazi and Yemenite communities, despite the hardships of the war. His leadership at this early stage casts a new light on his political career, which ended with his becoming the third Prime Minister of Israel, in 1963-1969.

### Itzhak Pass

In the Shadow of a Split: The Influence of Yisrael Eldad's Retirement  
on the Fighters Party

The establishment of the State of Israel introduced Lehi (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel), the extremist underground militia that was the first to fight the British, to a crisis it did not overcome. It formed a political party called the "The Fighters Party", which won one seat in the First Knesset, but soon after ceased to exist. The reason was, among other things, a series of internal divisions. The most influential split was the retirement of Dr. Israel Eldad, the ideologue of Lehi and one of its leaders, from the party, because of an ideological clash with Natan Yallin-Mor, its political leader. His retirement, and the dynamics that followed, reflect the failure of the leadership to successfully steer the party through the transformation from an underground militia to a political party, a failure that led to the end of the both the party and the militia.

### Ofira Gruweis Kovalsky

Life after Death: The Myth of 'Yair' (Avraham Stern) in Israel

In 1942, Avraham Stern, commander of a small underground militia, Lehi (Freedom Fighters of Israel), was shot to death in Tel Aviv by British police officers. Though most of the Jewish community in Mandatory Palestine strongly opposed Stern's ideology and actions, seventy-seven years after his death, he and his organization are being portrayed as part of the foundational national narrative of the State of

## Abstracts

Tali Tadmor-Shimoni

The Married Female Teacher in the Hebrew Educational System:  
Between National Mission, Professional Identity and Gender  
Boundary Breaking, 1898-1928

This article focuses on the influence and the results of defining education in terms of national mission and gender-blindness upon the creation of a new model of relations and family, the model of the married female teacher in Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine. The teachers' families exemplified a change in bourgeois gender attitudes common to the majority of the Jewish community and in western countries regarding the division of labor in the family and at work. These various new gender emphases were also the result of the percolation and adoption of new definitions of femininity that were widespread in intellectual circles in Tsarist Russia and in German academic circles. The married female teacher was active in a society in which motherhood was seen as the primary contribution of women to the national vision. The work of these female educators introduced the possibility of professional contribution to the nation, as well.

David Lavi

“Almost like a President”: The Haham Bashi as a National Figure  
in Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's Newspapers

This article describes Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's (1858-1922) work method in his newspapers “Ha-Tzvi” and “Ha-Or”, focusing on the ways in which these newspapers addressed the figure of the Haham Bashi – the Chief Rabbi of the Jews of the Ottoman Empire or Chief Rabbi of Eretz Israel. The discourse in Ben Yehuda's newspapers was full of descriptions of the chief rabbis as political leaders and tended to ignore their religious functions. Ben Yehuda emphasized the respect bestowed upon them by Ottoman government officials and by foreign government representatives. Their actions were presented as having national significance. Ben Yehuda worked consistently to empower these elements through journalistic practices, including interviews with the rabbis themselves, which included questions about the status of the Hebrew language.

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# ISRAEL

STUDIES IN ZIONISM AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL  
HISTORY, SOCIETY, CULTURE

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THE CHAIM ROSENBERG SCHOOL OF JEWISH STUDIES  
THE CHAIM WEIZMANN INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ZIONISM AND ISRAEL

The Chaim Weizmann Institute for the Study of Zionism and Israel was set up in 1962 at Tel Aviv University through the initiative and with the assistance of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, with the aim of furthering the research and the teaching of the history of the Zionist idea, the Zionist movement and the Land of Israel in modern times.

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