Ideology and Conflict Resolution In Israeli Children's Literature: Pre and Post 1973

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Digest

Children's literature plays an important role in relating ideas, visions, and perceptions of the world to its readers. The ideologies that the authors espouse are sometime overt and at other times covert. Sometimes an author may intentionally convey a particular idea while at other time his or her world view works its way into the story.

The thesis examines ideology in the roles of religion, Arabs, and women and girls in Israeli children's literature. The books tended to be a-religious, treat religion as part of the background (i.e. the holidays mark the passing of time), or involved in peripheral ways, such as swearing on the Tanakh. Arabs are treated as foreigners, as stereotypically positive or negative, as the unreasonable enemy, or as non-residents of the land. Most powerfully, is the lack of acknowledgment that Arabs do live in land that belongs to Israel. Girls are given strong, sometimes stereotypical roles. Girls seem to be able to do anything: climb, lead, carry a gun, enjoy flowers. With womanhood, though, females are depicted as powerless. The strongest women all die, the only role models are housewives and men.

Conflict resolution is surprisingly consistent throughout the books. Some differences do occur. The individual move to the fore. Group process becomes even more egalitarian and individual relationships gain consideration over group problems. Still, ideologies of conflict

management and violence remain consistent. The basic model of conflict management within a group is a strong leader who is able to allow space for dissent and different ideas. Decisions are to be followed, but not to be followed blindly. Commands should be thought through and questioned when something seems not to make sense. Violence is merely a necessity. The authors seemed to agree that violence is a last resort and in the case of the Jews in Israel it is necessary.

I think the ideologies expressed in the literature reflect greater Israeli society. The question remains whether or not the literature influences the movement of society or whether society influences the movement of literature. I believe that the line is somewhat fuzzy. At times an author can lead, while at others literature is a chance to reflect. I think the answer here is somewhere between the two poles. The authors write about he past with themes of the future. The books have influenced Israelis, but the ideologies do not seem to be out of the mainstream for their generation.

Contents

Introduction

Introduction

I grew up reading everything I could get my hands on. In second grade my teacher allowed students who finished their work early to go into the room next door and choose a book to read. When, after two days, I approached my teacher, Ms. Chatman, explaining that I had finished the series of books in the other room, she didn't believe me and asked my several questions to verify that I had actually read the books. I answered all of her questions. I don't remember how she responded to my reading, but I do remember it as a moment that defined the way I read as a child. In math class during high school I read novels ranging from Steven King to T.S. Elliot. In third grade I fell in love with the freedom the two characters in From the Mixed Up Files of Mrs. Basil E. Frankweiler found while hiding out in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. In fourth grade I learned about death in The Bridge to Terebithia, about being a foster child in The Great Gilly Hopkins, and about the wonder of magic in The Once and Future King. I even learned about Israel, the Yom Kippur War, and the desire to make peace, in Smoke Over Golan.

Books helped to shape me. I believe their authors shared with me their ideologies, ideas, and struggles. I took their interests, solutions, and vision. The authors themselves were profoundly affected by the world around them and in turn passed it on to me.

I believe the same process happens and has happened with Israeli children's literature. I imagine an Israeli girl in kitah gimel (third

grade) reading "Chasamba" in 1965. She wants to be Tamar. She wants to be part of a group like Chasamba. She believes the words and takes the concepts spoken by the children of Chasamba. As Amos Oz explores in his address at Colorado State University, it is difficult to know which comes first: the idea in the community or the idea within literature. I think that it is somewhere in between. I do think, though, that this body of literature has helped to influence generations of Israeli children.

Its vision of Israel's social structure, its vision of the Arab, and its vision of Zion restored for the masses to return seem to me prevalent in Israeli society. Even the vision of peace occasionally expressed rears its head in Israeli vision.

As a senior in High School a seventeen year old Israeli boy, Omri, came to live with my family and go to school with me for five months. The experience had its difficult times and its spectacular moments. Omri, however, became my brother -- in part by his will over the following years and in part because of similar passions. Omri has been profoundly influenced by experiences in his life, by his family and by the reality of Israel. He also talks about books, and songs. He knows English Literature and Israeli. He argues with it and challenges it, but he will tell you that it also argues with and challenges him. He read Chasamba as a child. He knows the stories of Devorah Omer and listens to the music of Y'honatan Gefen. He will tell you that the literature too, was part of what influenced him. Omri is very clearly Israeli. His attitudes, ideals, and desires are

Israeli (whatever that might mean). He, though, is unique -- influenced by many different aspects of society, including the powerful ideologies about which I have written. The ideas in the following chapters reflect my belief that ideology permeates all aspects of the world. The ideas reflect my understanding that Omri and myself were and continue to be influenced by the ideologies in these books.

I am excited about the ideas in the following chapters. I could not possibly explore every aspect of the literature that I found compelling. Along with the topics I did focus on: religion, depictions of Arabs, female roles, and conflict resolution; are others: Social Zionism, colonialism, peace, the influence of the Middle East on the literature, and social integration.

Ideology is a powerful place to begin. It sets the stage for the chapters that follow. What is ideology that it can so profoundly influence its recipients? What is literature that it can manipulate, stimulate, and create? Why should I care about what lies in the ideologies of children's literature?

And, what are some of those ideologies? Which might I find in the literature? What has the literature set out to teach? Does Israeli children's literature model changes in Israeli society? Does Israeli society model its literature? or are societal change and its expression in literature contemporary with each other.

I see ideology as the essence of literature. Gender, race and religion are beginning places for ideology. I imagine that Religion, race, and gender are three of the most basic and universal elements of conflict, and conflict one of the most prevalent wonders of our world. I am intrigued by the use, abuse, and containment of conflict. I feel good about its power to change the world and fear its power to destroy. Like the yetzer ra (evil inclination) of Jewish tradition, conflict when used well can build lives. When used spuriously it can destroy them.

When I speak to Israelis in their twenties and thirties asking which books they read growing up I am constantly told: "'Chasamba', Devorah Omer, and Mati Gur." "Chasamba" was repeatedly "the" book that people recall. Shlomo Artzi played the leader of the group, Yaron, in the movie version of the book. "Chasamba" I have been told effected a generation of Israelis. It is the place to begin. I also examine Devorah Omer, Mati Gur, Glila Ron-Feder, Margalit Banai, Leah Goldberg, and others. They are well written, span years and contemplate issues ranging from war to love, to acting on stage. Each is ideological, but none so blatantly (or perhaps effectively) as the series "Chasamba."

"Chasamba" will be the focus of this exploration. Yigal Mozenson, the author, was repeatedly suggested as an author with whom I should work. The adventure of his stories was appealing to me and included many different aspects of problem solving and conflict resolution.

"Chasamba", though, is only a beginning point. It is a point of departure from which I can compare and contrast other literature.

As strictly children's fiction the series "Chasamba" draws readers. The characters are likable. The story, though fantastical, creates a setting in which children can place faith. Readers can relate to the relationships in the stories as well as the personalities. These are not children from a fantasy place, they are from Tel Aviv. We know the streets that they walk on and the beaches that they prefer. When they feel homesick in jail or hiding in a basement the reader can relate. These children are regular children, not superheroes - any Israeli can hope to do what they do. We meet their parents. They go home at night. Perhaps most importantly of all, they feel afraid.

I collected some other favorites -- mine, my friends, Omri's. I perused book shelves, and looked for books that were either written by known names or in reading seemed to be well written, and set to work. I do not claim that this is an exhaustive search through Israeli children's literature. It hits on a many books and looks for patterns.

Chapter 1: Ideology

Ideology

Seeking out ideology is exciting. Ideology is a mirror into the society that produced it, a path by which to trace the evolution of societal assumptions, mistakes and power. The Declaration of Independence of the United States of America notes that each man has the right to "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Perhaps we do, but from where do these rights come? How was Thomas Jefferson able to write these words and see them accepted as true? Ideology. Ideology helps ideas, both wonderful and evil, grow. It allows lands and groups to prosper. Israel might still be Palestine if no modern Zionist ideologies were born. The sexual revolution without its ideology of each person's authority over his or her own body would have stagnated. Catholicism believes in the philosophy of natural law. Sports subscribe to the ideology of teamwork, strength and instinct.

This chapter will attempt to define ideology. The term's many connotations lend to it multiple definitions that differ only by degree. Thus, I will also seek an understanding of the term in general. My writing on ideology reflects the work of James H. Kavanagh, John Stephens, and Terry Eagleton. Each has subsumed or summarized the work of other writers on "ideology" including Althusser, considered the premier Marxist ideologian.

The media often refers to ideology as something negative, standing in the way of a rational solution or providing impetus for a negative political outcome:

> "The term is used to designate some kind of especially coherent and rigidly held system of political ideas.... "Ideology," in the language, works as the opposite of "pragmatism," "common sense," or even of "reality."[1]

When defined or used in this way, ideology seems to fail in maintaining a positive place in "real" discourse. Thus:

> "In this kind of criticism, the ideological aspects of a literary work will be felt as at best irrelevant to, and at worst detracting from, its aesthetic value. in the terms of this criticism, ideology is the unfortunate irruption of opinions and doctrine within what should be a fully "creative" or "imaginative" work."[2]

This limited view of ideology is not the definition with which I will work. Ideology encompasses, for me, a broader range of political and social idealism. Some ideals that affect our world positively and others that create an understanding of ideology comparable to the use of ideology in the media.

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[1] James H. Kavanagh, "Idoeology" Critical Terms for Literary Study, ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas Mclaughlin (Chicago and London,: University of Chicago Press 1995) 306.

[2] Kavanagh 306

Terry Eagleton writes, "It is possible to define ideology in roughly six different ways, in a progressive sharpening of focus." First he explains, "We can mean by it... the general material process of production of ideas, beliefs and values in social life." "A second, slightly less general meaning of ideology turns on ideas and beliefs (whether true or false) which symbolize the conditions and life-experiences of a specific, socially significant group or class." The third definition would attend to " the promotion and legitimation of the interests of such social groups in the face of opposing interests." A fourth possibility "would retain this emphasis of the promotion and legitimation of sectoral interests, but confine it to the activities of a dominant social power." In the fifth way ideology "signifies ideas and beliefs which help to legitimate the interests of a ruling group or class specifically by distortion and dissimulation." And a sixth possibility, in which false or deceptive beliefs are regarded as "arising not form the interests of a dominant class but from the material structure of society as a whole."[3]

Ideology, for Eagleton, is about "discourse" and not merely language. He sees ideology as occurring within a social context. Language alone does not convey the ideology, in actuality, "...exactly the same piece of language may be ideological in one context and not in another; ideology is a function of the relation of an utterance to its social context."[4] It will be essential to look at the ideology within

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[3]Terry Eagleton, Ideology. (London and New York: Verso, 1994) 28 - 30.
[4]Eagleton 9.

literature in relation to its social context, as well as in relation to the context of the book itself.

Eagleton finds value in each of the definitions of ideology, in that they help to illumine the social process. However, he finds it essential to recognize the division between the different types of ideology. He finds it important to acknowledge which definition comes into play at a particular moment He doesn't seem to arrive at a particular personal definition. Instead, he describes the results of ideology more clearly than he describes a particular view that he ascribes to himself. Ideology, for him, "represents the points where power impacts upon certain utterances and inscribes itself tacitly within them... the concept of ideology aims to disclose something of the relation between an utterance and its material conditions of possibility, when those conditions of possibility are viewed in the light of certain power-struggles central to the reproduction of a whole form of social life."[5]

Similarly, Kavanagh broadly describes ideology as, "The indispensable practice -- including the 'systems of representation' that are its products and supports -- through which individuals of different class, race, and sex are worked into a particular 'lived relation' to a sociohistorical project."[6] For him, Ideology seeks to mold a particular group of people into a particular system (i.e., Socialist Zionism attempts to mold Jews into the ideal soicalist

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[5]Eagleton 223.

[6] Kavanagh 319.

Zionist Jews and convince them of a belief in a socialist Jewish Homeland).

It is important to note that "Ideology is not necessarily the 'truth.'" It may be put forward as the truth. It may appear in books as reality, but ideology is not the "truth." It is often that which the author would like to be true or sees as true, but may not bear even a resemblance to that which is actually occurring or even would be "best."

Ideology is, broadly, the values, morals, or guiding principles of an institution, society, or group. More narrowly, it is a system that intentionally puts forth a system of beliefs which guide or control the behavior of a group. I have not chosen one particular definition of ideology, because I do understand that ideology takes place in discourse and not through language alone. In some cases ideology will be that of the current political power, such as the dominant socialist ideals of early Israel. In others it will be pushing an ideal that is not part of the broader socio-political structure, like voter registration for Blacks throughout the United States in the 1950's and 60's. At times the ideologies expressed will represent that which I see as the "truth," while at other times the ideology expressed will be nothing more than a dream never come to fruition.

In children's literature, in particular, I do see ideology as something that intends to "work individuals into a particular 'lived relation' to a sociohistorical project." Ideology permeates all societies, as well

as their institutions. Literature is a primary place through which ideology is instilled in people both young and old.

Chapter 2: Ideology in Children's Literature

Ideology in Children's Literature

Does ideology have a place in the study of literature? Does, as Eagleton asks "ideology deserve all the attention we are lavishing on it?"[7] James Kavanagh answers that Ideological analysis, for many scholars, maintains a reasonable, if limited, place in literary and social study. He writes, "For this writer at least, ideological analysis maintains its edge -- that which prevents it from becoming a form of social psychology -- only by keeping our eyes on the relations of cultural texts to questions of politics, power, and/or class."[8] Kavanagh answers that, yes, ideology has a place, but a somewhat limited one. I will keep this in mind with my approach. I will examine how the children's literature that I have read relates to prevalent ideologies of gender, military power, social status, the ideal Israel, and the image of the Arab. I will examine how ideology affects the approach to conflict management and resolution. In so doing I will, in fact, examine "cultural texts in relation to questions of politics, power and class."

John Stephens, though, seems to see a broader application for ideology in children's literature. He explains that

> "What this otherwise amorphous body of texts (children's literature) has in common is an impulse to intervene in the lives of children. That is, children's fiction belongs firmly

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[7]Eagleton 33.
[8]Kavanagh 312.

> within the domain of cultural practices which exist for the purpose of socializing their target audience. Childhood is seen as the crucial formative period in the life of a human being..."[9]

Children's literature is seen, clearly, as a means by which to press a particular ideology onto children. Ideologies are not necessarily undesirable. It is through ideological indoctrination that children learn to live, cope, and succeed in the world. One of the main ways to communicate these ideologies is through language. Written language is one of the primary ways for this communication to take place.[10]

For Stephens, ideological study of children's literature is clearly relevant. For him, ideology is what children's literature has in common. In a sense it is what children's literature (at least from the point of view of the author or publisher) is about. It must be relevant. As Jill P. May shares, "Professionals in Publishing define how children will understand what they read based on what they hope children will see in the text."[11]

Often the ideology of children's literature, as with adult literature, is symbolic or hidden. In other places the ideology is simply in the world of the book itself and not explicitly described or explained.

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[9]John Stephens, Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction (London and New York: Longman, 1992) 8.
[10]Stephens (Paraphrased with some language borrowed from John Stephens.) 8.
[11]Stephens 17.

And, still, in others the spoken ideology does not match the actuality of the story.

Ideology, according to Stephens, can be expressed explicitly within the language of conversation or within the narration of a text. It may also appear far more implicitly. "On the one hand, the significance deduced from a text -- its theme, moral, insight into behavior, and so on -- is never without an ideological dimension or connotation. On the other hand, and less overtly, ideology is implicit in the way the story an audience derives from a text exists as an isomorph of events in the actual world."[12]

Jill P. May writes, "All societies use narrative to create traditions. Stories become a vital part of a group's daily world. As individuals tell each other about day to day happenings, they suggest what they believe should happen and their stories become allegorical narratives. Stories hold a structure that reflects heroic journeys, traditional holidays, and acceptable cultural practices. This structure helps a group understand their interpretation of the world and their place in it. It is the structure that each culture places in its stories for children."[13] Children's authors and their readers operate through the lens of this structure.

Children's literature has, for years, been an avenue for the adult world to confer its values onto future generations. From Mark Twain

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[12] Stephens 2.

[13] Jill P. May, Children's Literature and Critical Theory (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) 38-39.

in the 1800's until Katherine Patterson today children's authors have subtly and/or overtly placed their ideology into the pages of their books. C.S Lewis when he wrote the "Chronicles of Narnia" wrote wonderful stories that subtly reinforced the ideal Christian world. Katherine Patterson wrote about girls' strength and independence in Julie of the Wolves. Betty Greene writes about the dilemmas of maintaining a particular ideology in the reality of the world in Summer of my German Soldier, a story about a Jewish girl in the United States who befriends a German prisoner of war during World War II.

The issues treated in children's fiction differ from those found in adult fiction. Alison Lurie writes, "Of the three principal preoccupations of adult fiction -- sex, money, and death -- the first is absent from classic children's literature and the other two are either absent or muted."[14] The author's use of literature is much the same though. The issues may be somewhat different, yet each author comes to his book with an ideological agenda. Though themes of sexual ethics, money and death are not as widespread in children's literature, each genre deals with social status, success, power, relationships, and conflict.

The heroes (both male and female) in children's literature appear often as subversive or outside society. The Hardy boys go against what their contemporaries or the adults in their community desire.

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[14] Alison Lurie, Don't Tell the Grown-ups: Why Kids Love the Books they do (New York: Avon Books, 1990) XIV.

The world of Snow Treasure describes children fighting against the Nazi invasion of Norway. "The Chronicles of Narnia" take place in a land that is only accessible to children and in which the only human-like adult is an evil witch. Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn both maintain heroes who move strongly against the world in which they exist. Perhaps, the most compelling example for me is From the Mixed-up Files of Mrs. Basil E. Frankweiler by E.L. Koenigsberg. In this story a brother and sister run away from home and live in the New York City Metropolitan Museum of Art for several days. They leave family and cunningly discover ways in which they can live in the museum. Mrs. Basil E. Frankweiler herself is set off from society, despite her wealth and is the one adult in the story who is able to establish a successful relationship with the two children.

In describing two Newberry Award winners from the 1950's and 1960's Jill P. May describes a slightly different aspect of this struggle against "traditional values." She writes, "*And Now Miguel* and *Onion John* depict young protagonists who are struggling against traditional values... Most adolescent heroes are ironic heroes because they must learn to accept an unfriendly society's patterns and beliefs..."[15]

Though the best of children's literature tends to show children in subversive roles, it also tends to reinforce the ideals that the author wants to present. As we will see with Yigal Mozenson, his characters definitely operate as child heroes in an adult world. They

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[15] May 21-22.

successfully subvert the ruling power, and they do seem more capable than their adult counterparts. It is through these characters that he emphasizes his particular ideology. The adult world also plays by Mozenson's ideals, but the ideology is in the mouths of the children. The children's subversive acts and their not so subversive conversations capture the ideology that motivates them. Jane Yolen says, "With story we can look at our past, where we are now, and project into our future."[16]

Literature continues to have a strong place in our technological world. The sales of children's books continue to grow. There is a proliferation of awards for children's books written in many different languages. Israel has several awards for children's books and many of Israel's most important authors write for children as well.

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[16]Gloria Goodale, "Kids Need 'A Mix of Myth and Reality'," The Christian Science Monitor 4 Nov. 1996: -

Chapter 3: Ideology in Israeli Children's Literature

Ideology in Israeli Children's Literature

Many Israeli children's authors express overtly what it is they believe children should understand about the world in which they live. They show strong girls, little religion, a seemingly socially equal society, and particular approaches to conflict or violence. Whether overtly or subvertly each of the authors I read write with an eye to how readers will perceive the world they create: the wars, the struggles, even the times, places and activities. The language the authors use, along with the social context in which they write effect the perception of the reader, reading in a context of his or her own. As I explore the various ideologies expressed in these books, I will look at how the ideologies change over time and how they remain the same. I am aware that the ideologies with which I approach the literature impact the way in which I read and analyze. I will, though, attempt to look at the texts as themselves and though my biases may find their way into the discussion, my attempt will be to look at and analyze that which I find interesting within the books themselves.

Bernard Dov Cooperman writes, regarding Israeli children's literature that, "One of the reasons for the exceptionally rapid development of children's literature has been the eagerness of well-known, and even stellar, figures from the literary world to devote much of their energy to this area. Luminaries from Hayyim Nachman Bialik to Leah Goldberg, Journalists like Benjamin Tamuz, and novelists like Shualmit Har-Even--figures in other words, from the

most sophisticated areas of literary endeavor--have been willing to write for children. In the 1970's, we also find a group of dedicated writers whose major efforts have been devoted to this field with correspondingly excellent results: the poets Mira Meir and Dalia Ravikovitz, and Oded Burla come to mind in this regard."[17] Eliezer Ben-Yehudah along with David Yellin published the first children's book in Eretz Yisrael. Nachman Bialik, S.Y. Agnon, S. Ben-Zion, Y.Cahan, and others each wrote children's poetry and fiction.[18] T. Carmi published the popular, Sammy the Porcupine (Shmulikpod) in 1964.

Why do they write for children? Perhaps it is because the genre holds a new challenge for these writers. Perhaps it is because they want to create a Hebrew literate Israeli society. I think, though, that they write because they have something to teach, to tell, or to convey.

The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs claims that Yigal Mozenson's "writing reflects his belief in a young person's duty to build the country, to defend it and bind one's destiny to that of one's compatriots."[19] Even the acronym for Chasamba, "Chavurah sod Muchlat B'Hechlat" meaning "Definitely Absolutely Secret Group" reflects, from the beginning of the series, his beliefs and driving

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[17]Bernard Dov Cooperman, "Realities and Dreams: Images of the World in Israeli Children's Literature." Harvard Library Bulletin 31.2 (Spring 1983): reprinted by the Sherman H. Starr Judaica Library Publication Fund: 28-29

[18]"Children's Literature," Encyclopedia Judaica, ---- ed.

[19]"Igal Mossinson," online, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs Webpage, April 1993.

forces. He has an ideology that he wants the child readers of his books to accept. His (as I will examine later) is an overt ideology. While other authors may be more subtle in their approach to instilling a particular world view in a book. I believe that they nonetheless do.

As John Stephens explained earlier, children's literature "has in common is an impulse to intervene in the lives of children. That is, children's fiction belongs firmly within the domain of cultural practices which exist for the purpose of socializing their target audience"[20] . I agree. I think that this is true of Israeli literature as it is of American Literature. Authors may not write intentionally to instill a particular view. John Neufeld claims that he does not write with the intent to pull a child to his way of thinking; he merely wants to introduce the reader to other ways of viewing the world...[21] This is an ideological viewpoint from its core, as all writing has some ideological component. Anita Silvey believes that the problem with today's children's literature is that it is always about something and it needs to stop preaching. She wants children's authors to write fun light stories. "I remember a similar time", Silvey writes, "for young-adult books in the seventies, when everyone was saying, 'Some of our readers just want innocent romance; they are not drawn to problem novels.' Thus Sweet Valley High was born - and read."[22] Ideology, though, goes beyond problem

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[20] Stephens 8.
[21] John Neufeld, "Preaching to the Unconverted," School Library Journal,
[22] Anita Silvey, "Let Us Keep Our Dreams," The Horn Book Magazine,

solving. The ideology of an author is apparent in the way characters interact. In Sweet Valley High it is apparent in the way the romances play themselves out. Readers learn from those books how to behave and how to react.

Even when no problem is presented, Israeli Children's Literature contains ideological leanings. Children learn what is expected of them by watching whether or not males and females appear in the plot. They learn from the way in which play happens.

I see ideology as something which can be false or true, and can contain both elements. The ideal world of Chasamba is neither the "best" world nor is it the world that existed or exists today. It does, however, present a world in which a particular view comes into contact with the social reality of a particular generation. The economic, social and inter/intra personal aspects of the literature in general do change over time. It may be a leap to say that Israeli children's literature reflects the change in Israeli society, but I do not think it a leap to say that ideology in Israeli children's literature has changed over time. Accordingly, the authors' ideology and world view has probably changed. Therefore, the environment in which Israeli writers are writing is most likely changed as well.

Ideology is apparent and relevant in children's literature in general and in Israeli children's literature of the 50's, 60's and 70's in particular. As the previous discussion makes clear, ideology is not necessarily the reality. It may attempt to maintain political reality

through legitimizing a particular philosophical or political bent. Ideology may also attempt to debunk the current political understanding. In the literature with which I am dealing the authors play both ends of this ideological span. On the one hand, the authors support the current trends in Social Zionism, while on the other attempt to debunk the stereotype of the eastern European Jew. As the authors uphold the ideal of the Jewish Homeland, they clearly want to change the way in which Jews of the Shtetl see themselves.

Israeli children's literature is also overt sometimes and covert or subtle at others. Either way every book I read has some message to get across. Along with the bigger message are many other subtle messages that do show the reader the author's world view.

Authors sometimes teach or preach intentionally, while at other times they only inadvertently write their ideology into the pages of a book. Yigal Mozenson may have intended every message and every word. Uriel Ofek may have intended to convey a vision of an unblemished view of the world to his readers. I tend to doubt that either of these authors intended to convey an ideology with every word and each conversation. Yet, I also believe that these authors had a message to convey and attempt to teach with the characters and story they create. Each does it convincingly.

These books intentionally and inadvertently influence their readers. Ideologies of religion, race, sex, and conflict are difficult to avoid.

These authors confront the issues head on and take backways. However they teach or preach, the ideologies are inescapable.

Chapter 4: Religion in an Ideal Israel

Religion in an Ideal Israel

Religion plays a powerful, if often negative role, in Israeli children's literature. Religion is sometimes treated with disdain or simply ignored altogether. Yet, it tends, perhaps because of Israel's connection to a religious land, to remain a prevalent part of literature in several ways. Often religion is left behind entirely, treated negatively or with disdain. However, while religion is treated mostly a-religiously, it appears through Judaica: Midrash, Tanach, halacha; the holidays mark time and events, they function as vacation much the way Fourth of July does in the United States; Jewish tradition and religious concepts are prevalent even in the most secular of Zionist visions. The very fact that Israel is located in the traditional homeland connects the fulfillment of the Zionist dream to tradition; Hebrew, the holy language, is the language in which the authors write. However much these generations of Israeli authors may be disconnected from Jewish tradition, Judaism still plays a role in each of their books. The characters are not religious, but their language and many of their associations are.

In speaking about religion and nationalist movements Hedva Ben-Israel writes:

> "Trevor Roper-------*who is he?*, for instance, disconnects the Jewish modern movement even from its own ancient roots and classes it as a modern European movement in which even the

> term Zion is secularized. In this he goes further than most Jewish historians would..."

Perhaps he does go further than other historians would, but his words are still indicative that religion, in the eyes of some, is missing from contemporary secular Zionism. "Chasamba" and other literature reflect this idea of missing religion in that the "Chasamba" treats Zion as the right of the Jews as a Nation, even without religious significance. The language of Zionism, however, contains religious ideals and vocabulary.

Ben-Israel also explains:

> In the history of the Jews, religion not only preserved the separate existence of the people, serving as a badge, as it were, but it also gave substance to the ideology of nationalism above all its choice of the homeland territory. Though some Zionists had no wish to delay progress through going back to the ancient land, it proved imperative for the very essence and existence of the Zionist movement to adopt the return to the ancient homeland as the one-all encompassing aim.[23]

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[23]Hevda Ben-Israel, "The Role of Religion in nationalism: Some Comparative Remarks on Irish nationalism and on Zionism," Religion, Ideology and Nationalism in Europe and America , Essays presented in honor of Yehoshua Arieli, ed. H. Ben Israel, A Goren, O. Handlin. M. Heyd, G. Mosse, M. Zimmerman (Jerusalem, Israel: Graph Chen Press Ltd.) 337.

Although the children's literature examined tends to be a-religious, the concept of the Jews right to Israel is inherent in the literature, even using language with religious overtones to make a point.

"Chasamba" comes close to ignoring religion altogether. The characters are all secular. None of the pictures show people with any type of traditional Jewish garb. The stories occur in Tel Aviv, the Jewish secular city. Yet, the characters quote the Bible, share Midrash, and seem to have a peculiar connection to Jewish history and learning. Jewish tradition does permeate the secular Jewish world of "Chasamba."

As Jack Smith is interrogating the children in "Chasamba" in Prison this exchange takes place:

> First off, he (Jack Smith) turned to Yaron with a question, "Who is the commander of the Haganah in Tel Aviv?" Yaron answered him, "Judah The Maccabbee." and the children cried for joy. After turning Jack Smith questioned Tamar.
>
> "Where is the largest storehouse of weapons in Tel Aviv?"

> "In the Cave of Machpelah!" answered Tamar, without a smile, an appropriate answer (tshuvah k'halacha).[24]

The answers are disconnected from religion, even using religious icons to make fun of Jack Smith, yet they show that the children are connected to and knowledgeable about Judaism and its stories. Even in these secular children's books a knowledge of this information helps with understanding. Still, it is peripheral to the children's lives. If they were living it they most likely wouldn't be using it in this manner.

The first book of the series, on page 67, treats the Tanach with respect:

> "Now, each of you place your hand upon the Book of the Tanach and swear," said Yaron. He brought forth from his pocket a small Tanach and they waited for his blessing.[25]
>
> (Picture page 70)

Although it is used areligiously the Tanach still maintains a place of respect. Yaron, the leader, is comfortable with the idea of it and carried it in his pocket. Later the Tanach marks the swearing in and honesty of Jack Smith.

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[24]Yigal Mozenson, "Chasamba": B'Beit Ha'Isurim (Tel Aviv, Israel: Shachaf, 1951) 73.
[25]Yigal Mozenson, "Chasamba": Chavurah Sod Muchlat B'Hechlat (Tel Aviv, Israel: Shachaf, 1950)69.

In the Smoke Over Golan Asher'ke asks Eitan to read from the Bible. Even in this secular home Eitan can easily find a Bible, while Ofek includes Psalm 23 in the midst of the book.[26] Religion permeates Israeli life even when Israelis do not participate.

Though it is possible to find children's books with particularly religious themes, they are geared toward the religious community of Israel and not toward secular society. Within secular writing practiced religion is almost nonexistent in children's books. Even though the characters in the stories tend not to celebrate any religious ritual, Israeli writers may use the holidays to mark time. For instance, In Smoke Over Golan on Yom Kippur Morning:

> I jumped out of bed and quickly opened the door. I saw a stocky fellow in military uniform, without stripes.
>
> "Good morning," he said. "Your dad home?"
>
> "Sure he's home," I heard dad's voice behind me. "What's the idea of waking people up so early, especially on Yom Kippur?"[27]

Yom Kippur marks the time to sleep in late; the time when Ricky, Eitan's teacher, goes on vacation. It is not, though, a time for religious practice of any sort.

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[26]Uriel Ofek, Smoke Over Golan, trans. Israel I Taslitt (New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, London: Harper and Row; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society) 119.
[27]Ofek, Smoke 64.

Shavout, in Little Queen of Sheba is a time for the group of children to go on a ten day hike throughout the North of Israel. Though the holiday is mentioned, the only religious connotation connected to it is, "The most exciting event happened on Shavuot, the feast of first-fruits. The children were told that they were to go on a ten day hike..." Again the holiday marks time, but holds little else.

Holidays and religious items or traditions find their way into many different books. Perhaps the most powerful experience of religion is one both negative and transformative at the same time. Ben-Israel speaks in the language of prophets when he describes the transfer of faith and devotion from a religious tradition to a nationalist:

> "The motifs of humiliation and wounded pride are similar in all cases. Now, the prophets of cultural nationalism are not aroused by a foreign enemy. Their enemy is always a treacherous spirit of self-negation in the nation itself which has to be exercised. Such prophets, preaching against assimilation may well be secular in their belief, among Catholics or Jews, but the concepts they work with are eminently religious. They preach against the following of alien idols and they promote the national God, spirit and tradition just as the Biblical prophets did. By arousing a new self-image they prepare the way for the nation-builders.[28]

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[28]Ben-Israel 338.

This seeming national religion replaces, rejects, repudiates Jewish tradition, even as Tradition sometimes permeates its border. In Little Queen of Sheba many of the children came from more traditional backgrounds. Born into an Hasidic family, a Catholic family protected Regina. Now, she is in Israel.

> Regina was born into a pious, Hasidic family in a small Polish town, although she did not remember her home at all. At the beginning of the Second World War she was still a baby. When the Nazis sent her parents to their death, Regina was saved by a Christian family. They were good people and they took her into their poor home and brought her up as one of their own children. They loved her very much and when the war ended they sorrowfully gave her up to her uncle who, after a long search, found her in their home. She parted from them tearfully, for they were real parents.
>
> Youth Aliyah brought her to Israel. At first she was homesick for the kind Polish family and she secretly recited the Catholic prayers they had taught her. Then suddenly--almost at once--she found herself really understanding life in the new land and her future in it. She became attached to the group, the village, the work they were learning to do, and gave them all her love and devotion.[29]

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[29]Leah Goldberg, Littel Queen of Sheba, trans. Shulamit Nardi (New York: UAHC, 1959) 16-17.

She is in the ideal setting, living with boys and girls, having left tradition behind. Regina left behind not just Jewish tradition, but Catholic tradition as well. When she finally understands the wonders of the new land and "her future in it" she finds that her life changes. Traditional ideology of Hasidism and Catholicism are replaced literally with a national god, spirit and tradition: group, Israel, future.

Israeli children's literature and its relationship with religion maintain s a fine balance. I imagine that, as religion becomes both more divisive and more prevalent in Israeli society, the modes of writing about religion will change dramatically. The ideology of the books I read still maintains a strong division between secular Zionism and the religious world. The ideology says that though we live by a Jewish calendar and with a Jewish language, we will not live like those before us -- under Jewish iron clad law. Hence, Israeli children's literature attempts to maintain and reinforce this delicate balance between knowing Jewish history and living it.

Chapter 5: The Role of the Arab in an Ideal Vision of Israel

The Role of the Arab in an Ideal Vision of Israel

In his book Through the Hebrew Looking-Glass: Arab Stereotypes in Children's Literature[30] Fouzi El-Asmar confronts numerous stereotypes and depictions of Arabs and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Among these are: 1) the vision of a land empty of people with the Arab as foreigner, 2) the stereotypical Arab(positively or negatively depicted), and 3) the image of the "positive" Arab, which El-Asmar describes as an Arab positive in the eyes of the Jews. These are the areas on which I will focus.

In order to see Eretz Yisrael as a place for Jews to inhabit, it must ideally be devoid of any other people with a counter (or preexistent) claim to the same land. In looking at Israeli children's literature this appears in two different ways. The most prevalent is the omission of any Arab character who lives in the Jewish territory (and subsequently any Arab character is a foreigner). We also see, though, the Zionist voice in the mouth of a "positive" Arab.

In "Chasamba" the Arab is either the enemy or non-existent. Palestine is a place for the Jews. It would seem, at times, as if the Arabs never lived in the land. As El-Asmar explains:

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[30]Fouzi El Asmar, Through the Hebrew Looking Glass: Arab Stereotypes in Children's Literature (Amana Books: Vermont USA, 1986) Asmar goes into incredible depth in his book. I have selected only bits and pieces. His book is excellent and shows disturbing trends from the beginnings of Israeli children's literature until the present. I agree with many of his conclusions and am disturbed by the sweeping and, I think, accurate generalizations that he makes.

> The children's literature reviewed emphasizes at all times that Palestine belongs to the Jews: therefore when the Jews come to Palestine they are returning to their land which was deserted and virgin. All symbolic indications in the literature testify to the effect that Palestine was uninhabited and that it was waiting for the Jews.[31]

Even the stereotypical Arab may understand the plight of the Jews and claim that the land should be the property of the Jews. In a later passage Asmar points in particular to "Chasamba":

> In another book, Hasamba in Border Ambushes, the author includes a passage spoken by an Arab, who sees the solution of the Israeli-Palestinian problem as having the Palestinian Arabs live wherever they are now; this means in the other Arab countries, because they are amongst their own people: "God promised the land of Israel to the Jews, and because they suffered a lot of trouble in a period of 2000 years of exile, therefore the promise has finally arrived..." (Mosinson n.d.:87)
>
> The convincing power of these quotes is the fact that they are spoken by Arabs from Palestine. In other words, the young reader will be convinced that Palestine belongs to the Jews alone: even the Arabs say so.[32]

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[31]El Asmar 59-60.
[32]El Asmar 62.

In the books from "Chasamba" that I have read the constant adversaries within Palestine are British. Arabs seem not to exist at all in Palestine. Only outside the borders, with a foreign enemy are Arabs present.

Yes, in the opening pages of the first of the "Chasamba" series the group's cave is described as "near the Muslim cemetery in North Tel-Aviv," [33] but there are no Muslims around now. The children are able to have their cave just next to the cemetery. Though there is mention of Muslims, the Muslims are dead, an image of people no longer inhabiting the land.

The titles of several of the books confirm the idea that Arabs are elsewhere. In order to find an Arab enemy Chasamba must fight the Arab Foreign Legion in "Chasamba": B'Shvi Ha'Legion Ha'Aravi.

The words in the mouths of the characters in "Chasamba" seem to reinforce the idea that solutions are simple. The words subtly remind the reader that the Jews are the rightful inhabitants of the land and any problems inherent in that are moot. The solution seems very simple to Yaron: The British should leave and just give the land to the Jews:

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[33]Mozenson, Chasamba: Chavurah 10.

> It was strange in his eyes, why the English wouldn't just allow the Jews from the lands of the Diaspora to return to the land of their ancestors.[34]

Yaron's words express a seemingly simple solution to what should be a complicated problem. The British are clearly foreigners, who can leave (to their own land). The Arabs can not. Chasamba's focus on the British erases the problem of the indigenous population. Again ideology seems to overpower the reality of the situation.

The main concern lies with connecting children forever to the idea of Israel as the land of the Jews for the Jews. James A. Bill and Robert Springborg describe this phenomenon:

> Zionist ideology incorporated the prevailing European approach to Asia and Africa and applied it to Palestine. The Zionist slogan, "A land without a people for a people without a land," reflects the phenomenon of discounting to the point of nonexistence civilizations older than those of Europe of European origins.[35]

Whatever else Zionism might entail in reality, for Yaron Zehavi there are simple solutions to getting there. For the author, if the ideal is planted then the problems can be worked out along the way.

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[34]Mozenson, Chasamba: Chavurah 23.

[35]James A. Bill and Robert Springborg, Politics in the Middle East (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers, 1994) 316.

Arabs are also more explicitly depicted in stereotypically negative ways. Although, in the earliest "Chasamba" stories Arabs tend not to be present, in later books they are present (as foreigners) and depicted negatively. In "Chasamba": The Mystery on the Northern Border Arabs appear as gun dealers and terrorist-like enemies. The drawings of Arabs show fat, greasy, men with big noses carrying guns and knives. The similarities between these depictions of Arabs and Anti-Semitic depictions of Jews are striking:

The only mention of Arabs in Little Queen of Sheba follows the group's return from a 10 day hike:

> "And there was an Arab woman there, with boxes on her head, lots of boxes, one on top of another. And she carried all that on her head as if there were nothing to it."
>
> "She wasn't an Arab woman. She was a Druse."
>
> "All right, she was a Druse. So what? And why are you mixing in? You were asleep."[36]

Does the statement imply that the Druse are more Israeli than the rest of the Arabs? Does the matter of fact way in which it is stated lend it credibility as truth? I see this as a moment of subtle stereotyping. Stereotyping that becomes more constant in later books. Subtle stereotyping often comes across as neutral or positive. The problem with this particular type of stereotyping is two-fold: 1) In the mind of the reader it seems benign, when in fact it is nonetheless stereotyping, and 2) When the stereotype is the only (or one of few) acknowledgment of Arabs in a book, then the reader has only limited information from which to draw a knowledgeable conclusion regarding Arabs. Only one comment acknowledging Arabs (in the book) and the image about which Leah Goldberg writes is that of an Arab woman carrying baskets by the side of the road.

A corollary to this stereotyping are the depictions of Arabs which seem to be benign, but are subtly painting a picture of Arabs who are unable to fend for themselves. They may seem kind and intelligent in one scene, but the effect of other scenes is to discredit the

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[36]Goldberg 78-79.

seemingly positive image. The underlying ideology seems to be that the Arabs are good people (which in and of itself is fine). Yet, extended it also conveys the notion that the Arabs need the Jews, that Jews are an inherently better people.

In some instances Arab characters in the various books are depicted as important, kind, intelligent, and self assured. In others, though, they are depicted as slow witted, easily provoked and provoking, ugly, evil characters. The Arab characters that I find most problematic are those who seem to be depicted as kind and intelligent, but through whom other subtle messages seem to be sent. In Yael and the Queen of Goats the Bedouin boy, Ahmed, whom she meets is kind and fairly intelligent, yet at the same time he seems reckless and unable to take care of his family. He even needs this little Jewish girl to save him and solve his problems. She rescues him from drowning and then solves the problem of a missing geological survey and Ahmed's fear that the water drilling would drive his family away. This is typical colonial paternalism. Even a Jewish girl is smarter than the Arab boy.

In the case of Yael and the Queen of Goats Arabs (though Bedouin) are acknowledged as existing within the confines of Israel. The real problem of water rights and issue of fear of being driven off of grazing land are both addressed. The Arabs are not made to look like fools or evil beings. Still subtle stereotyping predominates. Yael, a little girl, solves the problems of a tribe of Arabs. The Arabs are

described as wearing flowing kaffiyas. Arab tradition is described in only stereotypical terms. The artist depiction of Ahmed, though, is of a boy who appears to be like any Israeli boy might. The intent of the author, I believe, is to portray the Bedouin in a positive light. To a certain extent this aim is achieved.

In Smoke Over Golan Uriel Ofek depicts a Syrian boy as intelligent, patient, and understanding. Still, the one Arab adult whom we meet directly is a buffoon of a Syrian military intelligence agent. Which image should we believe? Which is typical? Who is the exception to the other's rule?

A balanced, complex Arab character, I imagine, is rare in Israeli children's literature. I rarely found one in any of the books I read. Smoke over Golan has the positive Arab, and the stereotypical foreigner. "Chasamba" shares stereotypical negative images with readers. Azit ignores the Arab presence in Israel altogether. Yael sees the Arabs as kind and somewhat helpless, not understanding the Jewish involvement in their land. Smoke Over Golan confronts the issue of peace with Syria in a constructive way, but still paints a charicature of the various personalities.

When we see only two Arabs and have only a superficial understanding of who they are (and one is characterized as a buffoon), the reader does not have enough information upon which to make any kind of generalization, but may anyhow. This is not to say that different Arabs do not act differently. It is dangerous to depict

all Arabs in some positive or neutral stereotype as well. It doesn't make sense to stereotype every Arab as a kind, generous, wealthy man when a large part of the Arab population is not incredibly wealthy. Some Arabs are in fact evil people who sell guns and terrorize people. Most are not.

There are instances in which, from a Jewish Israeli perspective, the reader does see multiple images of Arabs. In Ha'Yeled M'Shama Arabs and their villages are described with a balance between stranger and familiar. We see Arabs as nearby enemies, as well as kind friends. Arabs are depicted as positive about Jewish presence, as well as ambivalent or negative. This description of the nearby Arab village is typical:

> Everything seemed so familiar yet so strange. It was the same valley as always. Across from them, on the other bank of the river, grew the same lush plants, the same rushes and sticky elecampane. The soil was the same soil, rich and heavy, the thick alluvial soil of the Jordan Valley. The road was the same muddy road, dried by the winter sun, no different from the road behind them that ran into the kibbutz alfalfa fields. And yet everything was different, unfamiliar, hostile, not their own. Everything was Arab.[37]

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[37]Tamar Bergman, The Boy From Over There , trans. Hillel Halkin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1988) 61-62.

This is a picture of the nearby village, a place both foreign and familiar. Another picture of Arabs follows on the heels of this one. A group of Arab boys from a nearby village begin to throw rocks at a group of children from the kibbutz while they are in the fields with one of the children's parents. The Jewish group watches as the Arab Legion descends from trucks in the village, preparing for war. In the midst of the throwing the boys yell at the Jewish group. Translating the words of the Arab boys Misha explains what the Arabs are saying and Naomi responds:

> "They're saying that they'll drive us out of here," Misha answered at last. "That they'll take our kibbutz and chase all the Jews out of Palestine. That their soldiers will conquer everything."
>
> As usual it was Naomi who asked the question that was on everyone's mind. "But why? Just yesterday the United Nations voted to divide the country between us. Alona explained that the Jewish parts of it will belong to a Jewish state and the Arab parts to an Arab state. So why --"[38]

This exchange focuses on the seeming Arab intransigence and Arab hostility toward the Jews. The statements are realistic, but Naomi's question is never answered. The hostility merely stands, reinforcing the pervading ideology that it is the Arabs who began the hostilities, that the partition plan was good for the Arabs, and that

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[38]Bergman 65.

the Arabs are just too stubborn to accept the rightness of the Jewish presence in Palestine.

Although the problem of Arabs within Israel's borders is largely ignored (the nearby village is actually Jordanian) and the War of Independence is painted as the Jews fighting off their intransigent neighbors, Ha'Yeled M'Shama attempts to draw a balanced vision of Arabs. Yet, even here, most encounters with Arabs are negative. The positive encounters are with Abu-Musa, an Arab of the Ba'hai faith persecuted by Muslims of other Arab countries (which indirectly supports Jewish stereotyping of Arabs). He, though, is not painted entirely as a "positive" Arab. He is not happy about the war. He is friendly with the Jews, but never states outright that he supports the idea of a Jewish state. His seems to be a realistic portrayal of an Arab caught in the middle of two sides.

I do not expect that all Israeli children's literature deal with Arab-Israeli and Arab-Jewish issues. Rather, the examples are to point out the predominant themes when Arabs are present and the possibilities underlying the absence of Arabs in other cases. Many books take place in settings where Arabs are not present. Many books do not deal with issues in which Arabs necessarily need to be involved. In Y'honatan Gefen's book Ha'Yeled Ha'Krovit, for instance, the story takes place in a seemingly Jewish village. The reader would not expect Arabs to live in this village, and the issues with which Gefen is involved are not those that require the presence of an Arab character. However, the books I read do, predominantly, deal

with issues in which Arabs are involved, and take place in settings where Arabs might typically be found.

Therefore, in the literature I have read I would expect Arabs to be present and be dealt with. The children's literature with which I dealt either ignores the Arab altogether, presents a stereotypically negative Arab either foreign or Israeli, or presents the "positive" Arab. Much of the way in which Arabs are depicted and treated relates to the time in which it was written and the corresponding prevalent ideology. In the earlier books the Land of Israel is treated as uninhabited, the only issue being eliminating the British. Later issues drift toward peace and conversation with Arabs.

Zionism, as depicted in the books, does not promote traditional Arab stereotyping which is prevalent, especially in books from the nineteen forties and fifties. Though it does not directly promote stereotyping of the Arab thief, loud-mouth, or dirty gun dealer, Zionism, in these books, does promote other notions about Arabs. Hill and Springborg describe Zionism:

> Zionism, which had in its early formulations included various and contradictory notions of agrarian socialism, Jewish capitalism, ardent secularism and Orthodox Jewish beliefs, was, however, in its essence a single idea--*Jews should have a right to a state of their own, and that state was Israel*.[39]

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[39]Bill and Springborg 318.

This is strongly reflected throughout the literature in that Arabs are foreigners, the land is there for the Jews to take, and that "positive" Arabs speak for the formation of a state or more subtly about the benefits of having Jews in the land. Tamar Bergman, Devorah Omer, Uriel Ofek, and Margalit Banai attempt to present a balanced view of the Arab. In some ways they succeed, but it is the rare book that provides a truly balanced vision of the "Arab."

All of this reflects the various authors' ideology. One that is surprisingly consistent over time. An ideology that Jews have a right to the land. The language and stories of the books changes with time. Arab stereotyping decreases in later books. The specific issues change slightly. Many of the same themes run through each of the books, though: the Arabs seem to be nonexistent within Israel; the Arabs might be kind, but their intellect does not quite match that of the Jews; most Arabs just do not understand the rightness of the Jewish cause; it is the fault of the Arabs that tension and hostility exists; the Jews seem blameless.

Chapter 6: The Ideal Female: Child Versus Adult

The Ideal Female: Child Versus Adult

Israeli children's literature seems to fall into many of the same traps as does American literature of the same time. Girls are stereotypically portrayed in many ways. They appear with ponytails and skirts. Their emotions are stronger and more obvious. Their interests are in first aid, flowers, and small animals.

Israeli literature, though treating girls stereotypically at times, manages to depart from stereotypical portrayals of females as well. The girls in the stories I read are strong leaders, independent thinkers, and have the world open before them. Perhaps, though, the most pronounced (and most interesting to me) aspect of the depiction of females in my selection of Israeli literature is the dichotomy between the children's world and the adult world. In the children's world, despite some common stereotypes, girls are portrayed as strong, involved and capable. In the adult world, however, women are either not present or secondary. They play virtually no leadership roles at all.

Chasamba

Boys and girls are both depicted as capable of military success. Both seem to be able to lead a group. In the children's world girls have nearly as much access to power and prestige as boys. Girls seem to be, at times, the level headed, thoughtful, and intelligent characters. In "Chasamba" Tamar is clearly a strong second in command. When she takes the leadership role others listen, when

challenged she absolutely stands up to the challenge. Tamar's leadership is an issue for Uzi, but it does not prevent her from being a leader and leading well.

Israeli female heroes are listed as reasons why a female (Tamar) should be allowed to lead. As Yaron explains to Uzi, "Devorah Drachlar, who defended Tel Chai and was killed at Tel Chai, she too was a female compatriot. Hannah Senesh... and Chavivah Reik.. and all the female fighters of the Palmach."[40]

In a later scene, Yaron is explaining the situation and constantly being interrupted, this exchange takes place:

> "Children! Be quiet. Listen to what Yaron is saying." Tamar turned to them.
>
> "She's spouting off again." Replied Uzi.
>
> "The situation is this, children." Said Yaron thoughtfully...[41]

Tamar is able to step in. Although Uzi is unhappy with the role that she has been chosen to play in the group, her word carries. Yaron is able to continue. The children are quiet. In this way Tamar of the ponytails steps out of stereotype. She steps out as well by wielding a gun with poise.

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[40]Mozenson, Chavurah 44.
[41]Mozenson, Chavurah 67.

As life provides children with models so do authors provide readers with characters who are models of behavior, success, and ability. Readers find models in characters who are their contemporaries, but also look to the future for adult role models. Jill P. may explains:

> Stories hold a structure that reflects heroic journeys, traditional holidays, and acceptable cultural practices. This structure helps a group understand their interpretation of the world and their place in it. It is the structure that each culture places in its stories for children.[42]

Hence, when girls read books in which the structure shows adult females in powerless roles, they understand their future place in terms of the structure of the world of the book. Girls sometimes have role models of women as group leaders, mothers, teachers, or gossips. In some instances they have no role models at all.

Boys, however, are directly linked to their fathers, brothers or uncles. They clearly have role models. The job list in Chasamba is telling (I will look at the list later in connection to social class).

1. Yaron Zehavi, Commander.
2. Uzi Shchori, Quartermaster.
3. Tamar "from Tel Nordau", Lieutenant Commander.
4. Dani, Private.
5. Shulamit, First-Aid.

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[42]May 38-39.

6. Ehud "The Fat One", Taxi Driver.
7. Rafael Cadori, the son of the lawyer Cadori, legal help in case of prison.
8. Moshe Yerchemiel, son of the newspaper salesman, Connection with the daily newspapers and nightly newspapers.
9. Menashe "The Yemenite" from Takhemoni School, the expert in Arabic. [43]

The two girls have no connection to anyone other than a place (with Tamar), while the boys (not all of them) are connected to parents. Not on the list are Yaron's father (a blacksmith), Ehud's father (a taxi driver) and Uzi's father (a pharmacist), who again provide models for the characters of their sons. Yaron's father is mentioned on the second page of narrative in the first book in the series, "Yaron Zehavi, he is the son of the Blacksmith Shimon Zehavi."[44] From the very beginning of the series Yaron is linked with his father and his father's profession. Are the girls connected to strong female role models? I don't know. It is possible that each of the girls has a strong mother who is a homemaker. It is possible that the girls' fathers are excellent role models. But we don't learn of them in any of my reading.

The adult woman is even further removed from power... In the illustration on page 78 even Yaron, a child, is more a part of the decision making group than is his mother, who is sitting with her

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[43]Mozenson, Chavurah 42.
[44]Mozenson, Chavurah 10.

chair facing in the opposite direction. Though we hear her speak, she plays no important role in the decision making.

The author of "Chasamba" places an ideal in girls succeeding. I believe that his ideal world is one in which girls are an integral part of each group. The models he provides though show his view of reality and, perhaps, an insight into his ultimate ideal: that there is always a place for a female to be part of the group, but it is only the exceptional one who can make it.

Other Books

The depiction of females, though slightly different with each setting, remains fairly constant from author to author: occasional stereotypes, strong girls, and non-existent or powerless women. Strong female children appear in some Israeli children's literature. Yet, in the adult world of the books, there are not seemingly strong female characters. The men make all of the decisions. Males pull off rescues and orchestrate the military wins. As mentioned above,

Yigal Mozenson needs to resort to a list of female heroes in order to justify Tamar's rank, when the children have no models of their own after whom to follow. Excepting the leaders (i.e., Tamar), the roles to which females are relegated are unusually static. In both "Chasamba" where Shulamit is in charge of first aid, as well as Azit main female characters are medics. Medics are important; medics often save a situation. In Chasamba, the quiet Shulamit even introduces important idea. Medics, though, are not leaders; first aid is the role of females.

Writing in 1982, Y'honatan Gefen describes the main character of his book and music as Daniel -- a unique boy. His family is described in relation to him, as are his friends. His family are listed as: mother, father, or grandfather. Each of his male friends has some description of who he is independent of Daniel. Ariela, though, is listed as "Ariela -- the girl that Daniel loves." It's a catching description, but also a comment about her role in the story. Her mother is stereotypically described as "the gossip about town." and the other listed female is the school mistress.[45]

In Azit in the Judaean Desert Chemi (boy) and Ruti (girl) go for an adventure in the Judaean Desert. Chemi is most interested in the wild animals and Ruti in the plants and flowers. Chemi brings his brother's parachute pack and Ruti brings the first-aid kit.

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[45]Y'honatan Gefen, Yeled Ha'Krovit (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1982) 9.

Despite the initial stereotypes, in Azit in the Judaean Desert, Ruti (the girl) asserts herself in order to see the plants and flowers she wants.[46] It is Ruti who in the end seems to be the most together of the two main characters when Chemi is hurt chasing (in typical boy fashion) gazelles.[47]

Ruti is the only female separated by gender the entire time. Parents are referred to as "Horim (parents)" and never distinguished. Chemi's brother helps to orchestrate the rescue. Every soldier depicted in illustrations is male. Azit's owner is male. This, I believe is the truth of the situation. It is a real depiction of military life. Yet, I find it ironic that consistently authors place girls in strong roles (even if sometimes they are caught in stereotypes), but rarely depict a strong female role model in the adult world. As children, this says, girls can be strong, adventurous, and creative. When girls become women, unless they are like the exceptions, they can not be these things. They serve tea and first aid... Unless a woman is exceptional she will not lead men.

In Yael the Queen of Goats the main, strong character is a short girl called "Tiny" with the ability to accomplish anything she wants with a little courage and creativity. She is an incredible character. She rescues a boy from drowning, solves a problem of digging for water in the desert for adults, takes care of her little brothers, and helps her goat to win the goat competition in Eilat. An incredible role

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[46]Mota Gur, Azit B'midbar Y'hudah (Tel Aviv: Y'diot Achronot) 5.
[47]Gur 11.

model. Yet, again, in this book who are her role models? The characters (both whom she helps and who help her) are male. The judges in the goat contest are male. The scientists digging for water are male. The pilots are male and the truck drivers are male. Again, I understand this to be a real reflection of Israel at the time the books were written. I do, though, find the dichotomy between the children's world and the adult world interesting and disturbing. The authors seem to see the children's world as a place to push the ideal female within a society that does not exist in such a manner. Still, the model that we are left with is one in which girls can succeed in ways that women can not.

Avi writes:

> Children's literature, in the deepest sense, most often tells the tale of the acquisition of knowledge, but it is knowledge which in itself brings about-- by fact of metaphor-- the end of childhood. These triumphant endings, by virtue of the fact that they usher the child into adulthood, are, ironically, a kind of defeat. This is because, more often that not, these endings constitute an end to idealism. Children's literature often seems to be saying to children, 'Don't do what we have done. Do better. Please make the world into what I, like you, once believed it capable of becoming. Don't make the mistake I made. Don't grow up.'"

Female roles in Israeli Children's literature, whether with Chasamba in the 1950's and 1960's or with The Boy from Over There in the 1980's, reflect Avi's take on acquisition of knowledge. Girls can be anything they want to be. Girls can grow up to be soldiers. Yet, if the girls take a look at the adult world it is sending a clear message about the reality of growing up. The books themselves seem to be saying "don't make the mistake of these women (unless you want to be like them), don't grow up." The girls must look around and wonder just how true it is that they can do whatever it is they want. Even in the pages of the book women seem to be limited. The reality of growing up is that a girl can not continue with the role that she has played until now.

Throughout Leah Goldberg's The Little Queen of Sheba the strongest character is female. Regina is the most intelligent and respected member of the group:

> She was the most intelligent of all the children, the most grown-up, you might say, even if she was only twelve and a half, like most of the others in the group."[48]

> Regina was so reliable, sensible, gentle, and modest -- so little a "show-off"-- that the whole group respected her and accepted her opinions as if they were law. The teachers and counselors treated her in the same way and the other children

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[48]Goldberg16.

> were not at all jealous. They felt that it was only right and proper for Regina to receive special status and treatment.[49]

Amira also flips around stereotypes when she beats Yohanan in chess after only two months of playing. Literally, "The girls all considered her triumph to be theirs as well and felt that even Gadi's ability to drive the tractor by himself could not overcome the defeat suffered by the boys when Yohanan lost to Amira at chess."[50] Yet, with the conclusion of the story the girls go to help the women of the village with housework and the boys go off to the men's places of work.

Sarah in Sarah the Hero of NILI is an exception to this rule. She does grow up as the story progresses. She does remain strong. *quote* Yet, here too I wonder about the message. In the end she kills herself. Is that the fate of the Israeli female hero? Even the list of people that Yaron rattles off in Chasamba: Chavurah Sod Muchlat B'Hechlat is full of women who died fighting for Israel.

I do believe that women can be strong and successful working as housewives and mothers. Perhaps one message of books such as Little Queen of Sheba is that strong girls become strong mothers and wives. I would be comfortable with that if women were more often shown to be strong mothers and wives, involved with decisions. The reality of the literature that I have read, though, is that women must be wives, mothers and teachers; they are rarely involved with

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[49]Goldberg 17.
[50]Goldberg 9.

real decision making; and have little choice in what they will become.

Even though stereotypes exist in Israeli children's literature, the most compelling treatment of females is the dichotomy distinguished by the difference between female children's roles and adult female roles. The world of the books is the world in which the reader temporarily exists. It is a world that the author creates and in so doing extends his or her view to the reader. The ideals of the author (and the way in which the authors see the world) come across in the setting as well as in the characters themselves. In the world of Israeli authors even over time this dichotomy does not change. Female girls might be strong, but they continue to have few strong female role models in the greater world. A girl must be the exception in order to fill any role in the adult world. From the series "Chasamba" to The Boy from Over There (the other side) published in the early 1980's this outlook on the world remains. The intended Ideology seems to say, "Boys and girls can do anything." The message of the books, though, is different. Girls can do anything; boys can do anything; women are limited; men aren't.

Chapter 7: Conflict and its Resolution: An Introduction

Intrapersonal

Interpersonal

Conflict and its Resolution: An Introduction

So, how do we move from ideology into Conflict Resolution? The past chapters have examined the relationship between ideology and the stories in this selection of Israeli children's literature. The ideologies in the previous chapters touch many of the basic elements that drive conflict. Religion, race, and sex cause conflict and influence the way in which conflict is settled. In different cultures and at different times the approaches to conflict management have been dramatically different, as have the differing approaches to women, Judaism, or Arabs. The ideologies of different cultures, times or places affect ideologies of conflict management. The goals of a particular society change the ways by which conflict is ideally managed in that society.

That said, I also believe that the approach of a society toward conflict is reflected in multiple aspects of that society. The way in which a society approaches war is linked with the way in which a culture sees itself as a whole. Thus, in looking at conflict resolution in Israeli children's literature I think that we can learn about the society from the way in which the author suggests children resolve or manage conflict. I also think that it is possible to examine how previous issues rise in relation to conflict (for example, it is impossible to look at relationship with either the British or the Arabs without looking at how conflict is resolved in each case).

Conflict resolution can be defined in several different ways. I will look at two definitions which seem to be the most prevalent and also useful for the discussion in this paper. First, "Conflict Resolution" is a term used to define the particular process by which people can learn to peacefully resolve issues over which conflict has arisen or might arise. Second, it consists of the various ways in which conflict might be resolved or managed, from violence to non-violent resistance or mediation. In this second definition it is (I think) more proper to refer to this exercise as "conflict management". In the first case the goal is to resolve the conflict permanently, through a clearly defined process. "Conflict management", however, implies that the goal is the management of conflict, not 'necessarily' removal of the conflict for all times. "Conflict management" may involve war, weapons, negotiation, political maneuvering, bribery, or any other possible way of containing a solution. It may, though, include the possibility of a peaceful, clearly thought out process of resolution for all time.

Catherine Phinney describes a continuum of conflict management:

> "An imagined continuum of conflict would indicate that conflict *settlement* focuses almost uniquely on terminating conflict behavior, accompanied by the parties' agreement to abandon certain goals and undesirable behavior in the pursuit of others. this form of conflict termination may be imposed by a victor or powerful third party, irrespective of the interests of the parties themselves.

> Further along the continuum is conflict *resolution*; those who distinguish between the two forms of conflict termination identify the latter as more desirable that the mere cessation of destructive behavior. Conflict resolution involves the creation of a new set of relationships which are legitimized and self-sustaining...[51]

The terms I use may differ slightly from those that Phinney chooses, but the concept is the same. Under the broad spectrum of "Conflict Resolution" I am particularly interested in "conflict management" and conflicts possible resolution. Whether examining complete resolution or steps in the process, *some further concepts are helpful.*

Wilson, Hantz and Hanna in their book Interpersonal Growth Through Communication divide conflict into two sub-categories: Intrapersonal and Interpersonal conflict. Intrapersonal relates to conflicts within an individual, such as deciding whether or not to eat a piece of cake if it means breaking a diet. Interpersonal is defined by Frost and Wilmot as "an expressed struggle between interdependent parties"[52], such as disagreement over who owns a toy or a piece of property. Although Intrapersonal conflict appears throughout children's literature, I am interested in Interpersonal conflict and its resolution. I will deal with the ways in which these

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[51]Catherine Phinney, "Enhancing Conflict Termination Through Problem Solving," Peacekeeping and International relations 26.1 (January/February 1997) 15.
[52]Gerald L. Wilson, Alan M. Hantz, and Michael S. Hanna, Interpersonal Growth Through Communication (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Publishers, 1985) 253 -258.

children's books depict an approach to "managing" interpersonal conflict. I am curious about the use of group, the process of listening, the attitude toward war and weapons, and the differences between how conflict is managed within a group of Jewish Children, between the individual or group and adults, and the resolution between the British and the Jews. When I use the term "conflict management" I will mean "interpersonal conflict management".

Different conflict management experts define different steps through which conflict is managed. I will use the work of David W. Johnson, Fisher and Ury, Deborah Prothrow-Stith, and Gerald Wilson, Alan Hantz and Michael Hanna as guides. Conflict is not observed in a vacuum and has many possible outcomes. Situations exist in which potential conflict (felt or perceived conflict) may exist, but in which it never comes to the foreground. In this case we never see actual conflict. If the children in Chasamba had simply sat in their cave and recognized that they if they rescued a man from prison they would have fun and do something important, but never had taken action, then the conflict (for them) would have remained internal, never really turning into interpersonal conflict. Likewise with Devorah Omer's story Sara Giborat NILI (Sara the hero of NILI); if Sara had simply perceived that she was affected by the conflict between the British and the Turks, but could do nothing -- she would have remained outside of the conflict (maybe). However, once she entered the realm of spying and war she gave up her ability to remain outside.

The conclusion to conflict is just as varied as the ways in which conflict might be induced. In Getting to Yes Fisher and Ury detail the ways in which two parties can "look for mutual gains wherever possible" The ideal is a situation in which conflicting parties can find a way for each to win. For example, The Center for Conflict Resolution publishes a "Guide for Facilitators." The guide ends with a game called "The Case of the UGLI Orange." In this game two different businessmen are vying for the same three thousand Ugli Oranges (the only three thousand in the world). One needs the juice and the other needs the rind. Each has $250, 000 to spend in order to acquire the oranges. One participant plays out the role of each of the businessmen. Each knows only what he or she needs. Only when they finally realize that the other needs an entirely separate part of the orange, is there the possibility of an equitable solution. Not only does each party get what he or she wants, but is able to create a win- win situation.[53] Not every conflict can or does end in this way, but it certainly presents on e end of a broad spectrum. So say Ury and Fisher:

> The method of *principled negotiation* developed at the Harvard Negotiation Project is to decide issues on their merits rather that through a haggling process focused on what each side says it will and won't do. It suggests that you look for mutual gains wherever possible, and that where your interests conflict, you

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[53]Center For Conflict Resolution, A Manual For Group Facilitators (Madison, Wisconsin: The Center for Conflict Resolution, 1978) 81-85.

> should insist that the result be based on some fair standards independent of the will of either side.[54]

In looking for mutual gain they explain:

> The third major block to creative problem solving lies in he assumption of a fixed pie: the less for you, the more for me. Rarely if ever is this assumption true.[55]

Of course, they are describing what is most often a learned technique. Conflict can end with violence, argument, one party giving in, or another somehow forcing her will on the other party.

Israeli children's literature has changed over time. This includes its approach to conflict. The antagonists in the literature change, as well as the modes from which the protagonists work. the relationship of the individual to group changes as well. In the following discussion I will begin by looking at conflict in Chasamba and then reflect on several other books from just before 1973 and after 1973.

The defining events of the various books change as well and seem to affect the mode of ideal conflict management. In Smoke Over Golan the defining event is the Yom Kippur War. IN Sara Hero of NILI Sara is defined by Turkish occupation of Palestine, while the children

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[54]Roger Fisher and William Ury, Getting to Yes (New York: Penguin Books, 1983) xviii.
[55]Fisher and Ury 70.

viewing her house are in the midst of the nineteen sixties. The "Chasamba" series reflects pre-1948 Palestine. The events and their relationships to the characters greatly influence the ways in which people deal with each other and strangers in their midst.

Conflict in Israeli children's literature is not presented as something that is inherently bad. Conflict, though managed differently, maintains an underlying ideal throughout the literature. Like violence, it seems to be accepted as necessary. Unlike violence, though, it is also viewed as healthy and necessary. David W. Johnson and Roger T. Johnson write:

> The elimination of violence does not mean the elimination of conflict, Some conflicts have positive outcomes (Johnson, Johnson 1991, 1992). They can increase achievement, motivation to learn, higher level reasoning, long-term retention, healthy social and cognitive development, and the fun student have in school. Conflicts can also enrich relationships, clarify personal identities, increase ego strength, promote resilience in the face of adversity, and clarify how one needs to change.
>
> It is not the presence of conflict that is to be feared but, rather, its destructive management. Attempts to deny, suppress, repress, and ignore conflicts may, in fact, be a major contributor to the occurrence of violence in schools..."[56]

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[56]David W. Johnson and Roger T. Johnson, "Why Violence Prevention Programs Don't Work -- and What Does," Educational Leadership (February 1995) Cited in Educational Psychology (1996/1997)197.

"Necessity" may be the ideological role that conflict, in particular violent conflict, plays in Israeli children's literature over time. Over time, though, the way in which individuals and groups go about resolving conflict changes. And, I will guess, that over time the "necessity" of violence comes into question. Let me begin here with the "Chasamba" series.

נ"ש סמית, כבול בידיו ורגליו, הועלה למכונית

Chapter 8: Ideology and the Resolution of Conflict in Israeli Children's Literature

תמר תפשה באקדח וכוונה אותו אל ג'ק סמית.

Ideology and the Resolution of Conflict in Israeli Children's Literature

Conflict management plays a major role in Israeli children's literature. Israel, within the literature, is presented as a country that deals with conflict differently from other countries. The Jews of Israel differ from the people in the surrounding countries, as well as Jews from generations past and Jews in other lands. Israel exists as a model unlike any other.

The literature examines different times, place, and actions in which conflict arises. Though similar themes of resolution run from book to book, the solutions range according to particular situations or an author's ideology. "Chasamba" provides both a model on which to base intergroup workings as well as examples (in the case of the British) of poor group dynamics. Without providing simple one time solutions that fit all programs, "Chasamba" looks at different relationships in which these conflicts arise and tries to provide some rules by which to proceed.

William, Hantz and Hanna divide external conflict into two types: 1) Intragroup -- conflict which takes place between group members, and 2) Intergroup -- that conflict which takes place between various groups. These two types may manifest themselves within the same set of circumstances, but the ways with which they are dealt may differ dramatically. In "Chasamba", for instance, the group carefully deals with intragroup conflicts peacefully and respectfully, but

resorts to violence and deceit when dealing with the British. Each has its place. As I look at "Chasamba" I will examine both Intragroup and intergroup conflict. I will explore the major places in which the conflict arises and how it is dealt with in each.

Conflict within the stories is constantly in flux between felt or perceived conflict and manifest conflict. In other words, Chasamba is constantly feeling as if it needs to act against some exterior force on behalf of the Jews of Tel Aviv, but for moments the conflict subsides and is merely felt or perceived. Sometimes they recognize something in which they could become involved and wait, at other times they agree to let conflict wait until a more appropriate time to act. For example when Yermiyahu is sitting in jail, Yaron explains that Chasamba needs to wait until the time at which the Haganah has told them to move forward. At another point Yaron holds up this as a model:

> "The situation is this, children," said Yaron thoughtfully, "The situation is like this, that in the time that they mobilize their forces to search for the weapons stash, the members of the Haganah will bring up Olim to the freedom of the Land of Israel. Not far from the Yarkon."[57]

Timing is essential. The British may know the weapons exist, and may even find them, but in the meantime Olim will enter the land.

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[57]Mozenson, Chasamba: Chavurah 67.

Conflict is not looked on as something entirely positive nor glorious. The first encounter the reader has with "Chasamba" is as they are mourning a friend who drown while trying to help the Haganah against the British. [58] The entire backdrop of conflict in "Chasamba" is an image of "there must be some other way." The general conflict with the larger groups, Arab or British, maintain this backdrop of searching for a better way.

As constant as certain themes remain, whether dealing with Arabs, foreigners, or parents, others jump into and out of the story regularly.

The adult world remains constantly in the background (appearing concretely at certain moments) both in relation to home and authority, whether discussing nightmares or loneliness. The adult world pervades the relationship of Chasamba with the world. They are children succeeding by the grace of adults in the world of adults. In the first book of the series the children want to begin this organization, but it is only with the approval of their parents that they are actually able to proceed.[59]

The children of Chasamba have a two sided relationship with the adult world similar to the real dilemma of youth maturing. On one hand they feel fiercely independent, able to do much better that the adults, and are in fact needed by the adults. On the other, they go

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[58]Mozenson, Chasamba: Chavurah 12-13.
[59]Mozenson, Chasamba: Chavurah 77-80.

home at night, their parents decide whether or not "Chasamba" is permitted to exist, often the adults give the group assignments. The tension exists throughout the series. As strong and independent as the group is (the Adults really do depend on them) they could not go to New York without an adult, they are connected to the greater world of the underground through parents.

They work within the infrastructure already provided by the adult world of the Jewish underground. The Jewish adults, although they make the "right" decisions, nonetheless still have control over their children's movements.

The adults provide a structure within which to work and a model by which to function. The group itself, though, manages to establish its own norms. The more powerfully felt conflicts, and certainly those with which Yigal Mozenson seems most often to deal, are within groups themselves and in how those groups react to enemies.

"Chasamba", for instance, runs into various personalities, most notably Jack Smith. With him the conflict grows and in the end comes to an interesting and complete conclusion. It is the model of Jack Smith that will, I think, show Yigal Mozenson's ideal resolution of conflict between an enemy and Israel (whether it is realistic or not is another question.).

Jack Smith is clearly an enemy to Chasamba. He seems unreasonable, even stubborn. He is all that is bad about the British.

He is striving for a bourgeois life in civil service, he is stupid, and he does not understand the rightness of the Jewish cause in Palestine. He is willing to do anything that he must in order to keep Palestine under lock and key, even if it means throwing a group of children into jail.

Yet, it is not only Jack Smith with whom individual members of Chasamba or the Haganah have encounters. After some time in Jail Yaron and his father, Shimon, end up in a jail cell with a thief. When he tries to interfere with their escape and in so doing tries to hurt Yaron. "The Blacksmith (Yaron's father) grabs the head of Zorkin (the thief)."[60] When a great deal is at stake and when there seems to be no other way toward managing a particular conflict, violence is OK. Leading up until this moment, though, Yaron had attempted to talk to, work with, and console the thief. Only when all of that had apparently failed is violence the answer. And here violence does work. Eventually they do get out of jail while Zorkin remains.

The relationship with Jack Smith in these first two books predominates all forms of conflict. He arrests the children, they kidnap him. He questions them and they put him on trial. In each instance Chasamba deals with the situation differently than Jack Smith has previously dealt with the children.

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[60]Mozenson, Chasamba B'Beit 54-55.

When they capture him they treat him with trust and some respect. When they capture him they attempt gentle persuasion without using threat.

Mozenson preaches a particular ideology. In writing "Chasamba" Mozenson assumes, as part of his ideal Israeli approach to conflict, that all non-violent means have been exhausted in the struggle between the Jews' desire for a homeland and the British/Arab intransigence. In Mozenson's eyes, then, the Jews have no other choice other than to, at times, use violence toward their end.

The dilemma of Israel is reflected in Chasamba's approach to Jack Smith. They begin with active, sometimes violent, conflict with Jack Smith. They willingly carry guns, tie-up Jack Smith, and kidnap him. They quickly revert to their ideal though. In a perfect world a discussion with logical argumentation is the way to go. In the end the children model the ideal with Jack Smith.

The final chapter of Chasamba in Jail is called "'Chasamba' Tries Jack Smith". The trial is a microcosm of problem solving for the reader. It is here, after ridiculing other modes of problem solving; after exploring other ways toward a solution, that Mozenson shows the model. The group begins with a number of judges and proper court procedure. Jacks Smith's crimes are listed. Both Jack and the prosecutor have an opportunity to speak and then an agreement is

reached by the various parties. Ideally the process is one of 'rehabilitation' as opposed to coercion and sentencing.

Interwoven in to the conflict with Jack Smith and the world at large is conflict within the group itself. Chasamba's group dynamics develop through series of conflict. The dynamics continue to mature as the group itself matures and the children gradually grow older. It is within the group itself that "Chasamba" lays out a mode in which conflict should be managed within a group.

Within the group a hierarchy is clearly laid out. Yaron is the decision maker. He is called "commander", while Tamar (second in command) is called "lieutenant commander".[61] When Yaron is with the group his word is the last. When he is not there Tamar is next in line. In a discussion between Yaron and Uzi before the group formally comes together this discussion occurs following Uzi's challenge to Yaron's decision and their subsequent completion of the list of children they want to ask to join the group:

> "I will track down Dani, Rafael, and Shulamit," said Yaron while they were standing in the shadow of one of the buildings.
>
> "And Tamar?" asked Uzi.
>
> "You go and tell Tamar."
>
> "I? No."
>
> "Fine. I will go and tell Tamar," answered Yaron, "but, Uzi, this is the last time that you refuse to obey the

[61] Mozenson, Chasamba: Chavurah 43.

> commands. In the Chavurah there will be discipline of iron. Without discipline it is impossible to function. Do you understand?"
>
> "I understand," Uzi said as he accepted the reprimand of his commander.[62]

From this example it would seem that commanders' decisions must be obeyed. Ultimately this is true. Mozenson, however, demonstrates different types of obedience and hopes that, in the end, his readers realize a questioning obedience; an obedience that follows from understanding, though not necessarily tacit agreement with a particular decision.

There is an opportunity for group members to disagree with one another and with the commander. The commander is not a dictator. Yaron asks for input from the rest of the group. He is even willing to change his mind when the group is convincing. The group can question a decision that is about to be made. Still, once the command has been given each member must obey the command. For example, as Chasamba is deciding on a course of action in response to the British arrest of a friend:

> Yaron waited with patience until the calling out stopped. "And now, children, we must leave and sleep. Tomorrow we will gather on the beach next to the red house.

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[62]Mozenson, Chasamba: Chavurah 46.

"And what about the meantime? Yermiyahu sits in prison?" asked Ehud, the fat one. "We go to sleep and he sits in prison? This isn't OK."

"I will call 2-5-5 and I will ask what we should do and when," answered Yaron.

"I don't agree," said Ehud seriously.

"It's not entirely clear to us. We can't just act on our own. I will call David Ori, and he will give us orders when to continue. And you think," spoke Yaron to Ehud, "and you think that it's pleasant for me to go to sleep when Yermiyahu is in Jail? No, completely not pleasant for me. But if we attempt something of our own accord, we will all end up in prison, and who will save Yermiyahu?

"We can cause the police station to collapse and save him!" answered Ehud.

after a moment of narrative the discussion continues:

"Children, Ehud suggests that we, with our humble force, without weapons, attack the police station and rescue Yermiyahu. Is there someone amongst us who thinks that this is possible? Whoever thinks as Ehud does raise your hand."

Yaron looked around. Not one hand was raised....[63]

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[63]Mozenson, Chasamba: Chavurah 67-69.

The discussion, though controlled by Yaron, asks for imput and accepts disagreement. The disagreement is not shunted aside, rather it is confronted and discussed. Yaron needs to prove his case in order for the group to accept what seems, at first, to be his decision.

The British provide the antithesis of the ideal which Mozenson presents within the group of Chasamba. While with the Haganah and Chasamba the commander is questioned and must prove himself, the same can not be said when Mozenson places command in the mouths of the British. In the case of the British, the commander holds sway. Whatever he says is correct. Even when he asks a question the expected answer is only "Yes, Sir!":

> "The Jews are a Bizarre people," said Jack Smith to the soldier, Thomas Thompson, standing next to him.
>
> "Yes, sir (yes, my master)!" answered Thompson.
>
> "why do they come to the desert?" asked Jack.
>
> "Yes, sir!" answered Thompson.
>
> "Why do they travel in ---- climber?" asked Jack
>
> "Yes, sir!" answered Thompson.
>
> "Why won't the Jews give in to us? This isn't fair." said Jack
>
> "Yes, sir!" answered Thompson.
>
> Thompson is a decent British soldier. They say to him, that an English soldier doesn't need to think -- and he doesn't

> think. They say to him, that the sergeant is always correct -- and he just answers, "Yes, sir!"[64]

When, in the final chapter of "Chasamba" in Jail, Jack Smith is questioned about his complicity in the shooting of children, the arrest of children, and the unquestioning stance he took on the Jews right to Eretz Yisrael, the following exchange takes place:

> "Record, Moshe Yerchemiel, 'The accused acknowledges the right of the Jews to the Land of Israel," ordered Yaron as a smile crept onto his lips.
>
> "And why did you interfere with the people who were making aliyah to their land?"
>
> "I didn't think about it," answered the detective in embarrassment.
>
> "It's the role of the detective not to think?" asked Tamar.
>
> "It's the role of a detective to obey the orders of the one appointed over him." answered Jack Smith. "They gave me orders, and I filled the orders."[65]

Again the British are portrayed as following orders unquestioningly. As soon as Jack Smith questions his beliefs regarding the Jews and the Land of Israel he understands the children's point of view. It is only his unquestioning stance that blinded him to the reality.

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[64]Mozenson, Chasamba: Chavurah 50-51.
[65]Mozenson, Chasamba B'Beit 141.

Whether one agrees with the ultimate belief in Israel, it is Mozenson's ideology of questioning a leader and his/her orders that is the antithesis to Jack Smith's "limited" way of thinking. The leader leads and others follow, but they may not follow blindly.

Chasamba is the opposite of the obtuse British way of conducting business. Chasamba's is an environment in which leadership is shared. In the final chapter of "Chasamba" in Jail Yaron is one of the Judges for the trial of Jack Smith. However, he turns over power to other members of the group: Tamar, Ehud and Menashe are each judges. Though he remains as the president of the Beit-Din, the decision is not just his.[66]

The ideal group has a strong, intelligent leader. The group is democratic. Each member has a chance to be heard. Each member is a part of the decision making team. Leadership can be questioned at the appropriate time. The members of the group should not simply respond with a "Yes, Sir!" Each member of the group has a responsibility to look out for his comrades. As the Israeli Ministry Webpage, in describing children's literature during the first decade after statehood, explains:

> They were full of slogans and admiration of heroes, with the national vision occupying a central place. More often than not, authors tended to use the pronoun 'we' rather than 'I'.[67]

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[66]Mozenson, Chasamba B'Beit 139.

[67]Webpage of the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs "Culture: Literature"

The Webpage also relates Yigal Mozenson's vision of a young person's duty:

> Mozenson's writing reflects his belief in a young person's duty to build the country, to defend it, and bind one's destiny to that of one's compatriots.[68]

The 'we' of this generation of writers as well as Mozenson's belief in binding one's destiny to that of one's compatriots is tantamount in his approach to conflict and decision making within the group. Each group member is responsible to be involved in the decision. Once a decision has been made, even if a member does not agree, the group goes with it.

Though the "we" exists and though it tends to be preeminent, there is also a clear chain of command. There is a strong leader who helps maintain balance in the group and who does have the power to make a final decision. The ideal leader, however, is like Yaron: willing to share power, listen and consider others' ideas and opinions. Though he maintains control, he also allows a sense of individual necessity within the group. He can not do anything alone. Yaron needs the help and skills of each member of the group.

"Chasamba" presents the reader with at least four different models of conflict management: 1) "Chasamba" as an independent unit, 2)

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[68]Webpage of the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs "Yigal Mozenson"

conflict between the group and the adult world, 3) conflict between the group and strangers as a collective (mainly British), and 4) between the group and individual strangers (mainly British). In each case Yigal Mozenson presents a different way in which to manage conflict. He believes that the Jews must fight in order to determine their own destiny. He does not believe in allowing other people to determine the destiny of the Jews. If this self-determination means that the Jews must resort to violence than he believes in violence. If, however, he sees a way to avoid violence then so be it.

the characters in the stories assume already that other modes of conflict management have been tried. It is only now that they must resort to military tactics and deceit. And in so doing they change their destiny from that of their ancestors.

Israeli Children's Literature beyond Chasamba

Yigal Mozenson presents a particular way of looking at conflict. His ideological approach spans differing situations, places and times. His, however, are not the only approaches to conflict (constructive and destructive) found in Israeli children's literature. Even Israeli children's literature from the same era or genre as "Chasamba" differs occasionally in its approach to conflict.

Israeli children's literature spans a spectrum of different attitudes toward managing conflict. Even within the same book the author may present different ways of dealing with conflict. Sometimes, as

with Chasamba, different types of conflict management apply to different situations. In the case of Jack Smith the group moves from one type of management when they are battling against Jack Smith and the British physically, with weapons, or kidnapping to a due process wherein each party is able to present his view and a decision is reached through a more equitable process (even if Jack Smith is forced into the process at first).

Here too, in other books, I will examine the various means by which groups deal with: 1) Intragroup conflict, and 2) Intergroup conflict.

This literature is not static with each author imitating the ideals of others. Though the image of violence as a necessity remains the same, and though group dynamics continue to reflect a need for strong leaders and democratic initiative, the subtleties and priorities of the literature change over time. Over time the style of leadership, decision making, and conflict solving changes. It changes both because the character of group changes (for example the size of the group changes -- becoming smaller) and because the attitude toward group decision-making changes (it moves from one strong leader toward a more egalitarian decision making process).

In earlier books the members of the group commit to the group because that is what they are supposed to do. The author describes the characters in charicature. They are committed to the ideal of group working for Israel.

In Little Queen of Sheba, written in 1959, the narrator describes the children's village in which the story takes place:

> During their months together in the village they managed to forget the difficulties of the early weeks and the unpleasant thoughts they first had about the village, their teachers, and even about each other. By this time, they had given up most of the habits they had brought with them from their previous homes, although many of them had never had a real home or country before coming to Israel. They had lives of wandering and trouble, But here in Israel they had somehow all begun to resemble one another. Hebrew was now the language in which they spoke to each other and in which they thought. In spite of the memories that kept them apart at the beginning, they now lived together in their own community.
>
> Naturally, in Sycamores, as in every state or kingdom, there were rebels, children who sometimes refused to do what was expected of them; yet there also were leaders whose ideas were accepted and followed by almost everyone. There were groups within groups, and of course, as always happens among children of that age, the boys and girls made up two separate worlds. But all of these differences did not keep the children form living together happily and peacefully, and the villagers of Kfar Ha-Rama who saw them working or playing together used to say, "Look how well they've adjusted here among us.

> Like a nursery of lovely plants from all over the world. And all the plants are coming up so beautifully!"[69]

She describes the ideal that Israel provides: an ideal in which children seem to lose individual identity and, instead, lend their identity to the group. They do it through adaptation of ideas, following expectations, being (or following) leaders, learning a common language, and living in this particular place. The group is all important. It is not only important to itself, but it also is that which supports the individual. Striving toward working and living together has, seemingly, made the difference in the formerly wanderers' lives.

In later books, characters are still committed to the group because of the greater good. In Smoke Over Golan for instance, Eitan's father, despite war wounds, is committed to helping "his" unit. Yet, his father's commitment is to the animals of his farm as well. When he finally realizes that he can do more good helping animals on the front he comes home. The complexity of society is more apparent. Eitan is committed to the entire unit of which Ricky, his teacher, is a member, but he is especially committed to Asher'ke. Yes, different characters are committed to their army units. They do have groups of friends, but they have other groups with whom they connect as well. Family, farm, military unit, country, extended family, or kibbutz each are interrelated groups. Each member plays a different

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[69]Goldberg 3-4.

role in each group. Each group has a slightly different way of dealing with conflict.

The focus moves from group intensive to individual importance. Whereas in Little Queen of Sheba the focus is on the ways in which a group manages to incorporate an outsider, in The Show Must Go On the focus is on how an individual finds his way in the world and consequently how he finds his way in a group. In Little Queen of Sheba and Chasamba (both written in the 1950's) the relationships revolve around the group, while in The Show Must Go On or Smoke Over Golan (written in 1971 and 1974) the relationships are individual. Even in Ha'Yeled M'Shama, written in 1985 about 1948, a book that seems to be about group, the focus is on individual relationships within the group. The reader learns about the group through the relationships of Rami and Avramik, Rina and Avramik, or each child and his or her parent.

In later books it is possible to find examples of children who are independent, doing things that make them stand out from the group and doing those things successfully. Here, though, there continues to be a struggle to correlate this independence with the push for integration into a group. Even here, being selfish or looking out solely for oneself are not held as high ideals. For example, The Show Must Go On is reflective of a desire for independence mitigated by a need to be part of a group. The main character, Ehud, is a child actor. His strongest relationship is with an individual (David Rubin) who, though wise, is nonetheless a loner. He struggles with accepting

another boy as an actor, and with how he fits in with his group of friends. He explores with David what it means to be an individual in the world. All these point to a clear exploration of the individual over and above group.

However, here too, the individual still needs to maintain an awareness of his role as part of an important group. It is not his idea to pursue acting. Rather his best friend brings it to him. In the ideal of "group first" Ehud could would not have independently placed himself outside the group. Ehud also does not remain an actor at the end of the story. He continues with his "old" life when the play concludes. He manages to stay in his place, remain on the same level as his friends. The ending is bittersweet: he tasted the sweetness of fame, but stays in the "better" world of stability and group.

Ha'Yeled M'Shama provides a constant state of conflict. Written in 1985 it depicts a kibbutz pre-1948. The children live in a children's house; The kibbutz is located very near to an Arab community; families are involved in their children's lives. In each of these environments conflict arises: between children, siblings, the Arab community and the kibbutz, war.

In Ha'Yeled M'Shama Tamar Bergman writes about, among other things, a boy, Avremeleh, brought over from Poland following World War Two and his encounter with the Kibbutz on which his uncle lives. In describing Rami's (Avrimeleh's cousin) relationship with him Bergman hits upon internal conflict, external conflict, and the

suppressing of conflict in what seems, to the adult world, the "right" thing to do:

> He, Rami, wanted his father -- and he wanted him all for himself. The problem was that his father had brought Avremeleh home with him, and Avremeleh tagged after him everywhere.
>
> You weren't allowed to fight with Avremeleh, either. You weren't even allowed to be mad at him.
>
> "What do you know about it?" Rami would be told. "What do you know about what he went through?" or "But you were never hungry, really hungry, as he was." or "The child is an orphan. He'll never have a father or a mother of his own."
>
> What could you say to grown-ups who told you such things and always gave in to him? They let Avremeleh get away with everything.[70]

The adults seem to be doing the "right" thing, yet it is only when conflict arises that Avrimeleh, now Avramik, is able to change at all. It does not happen pleasantly. It happens only when Rami insults and taunts him about a chain about his neck and Avramik's missing mother:

> They stood facing Avramik. Rami felt that nothing could stop him now, that nothing could stand in his way. He had that feeling once before, and he knew that in another minute he

[70]Bergman 47.

> would say something unforgivable, something he could never take back. The feeling was overpowering, like a wave. He reached out and grabbed the star of David. "What's the matter?" he taunted, feeling the wave crest and break. "Are you keeping it for your mama? Well, your mama won't be coming little boy!"
>
> Avramik's face was distorted by pain. For a moment his knees seemed to buckle; then he struck at Rami's outstretched hand, turned, and dashed down the slope of the shelter. He was gone in a second.[71]

What follows is a reconciliation between the group and Avramik, an opportunity for Avramik to change, and a chance for Avramik to fight back. It is only when Avramik does fight back that he seems to gain the pride to move beyond his sullen, self centered attitude. It is only after the conflict that Avramik is able to flourish, able to deal with the kibbutz and Israel and the reality of his parents' deaths on his own terms.

Conflict, unlike the initial quote, is not something that should be held back. Yes, there are better ways to deal with conflict than insults and taunts. There are better ways than violence. But as Wilson, Hantz and Hanna write, "Conflict Situations can, in fact, present creative opportunities for interpersonal growth and development."[72] Conflict in itself is something that can be healthy,

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[71]Bergman 54-55.
[72]Wilson, Hantz and Hanna 250.

that can change a person for the better. In the case of Avramik, Rami and the group as a whole this seems true.

On the last page of the book, following Avramik's heroics:

> Avramik clung to Mira for a long while. Then, wiping his face with the back of his hand, he turned to face the others. Looking back at him, they saw something they had never seen before: the inner peace of a person who has been put to the test and has not been found wanting.[73]

This, I believe sums up the ideology both of earlier and later Israeli children's literature: inner peace comes from being put to the test (facing conflict) and being found not wanting.

Testing appears again in Little Queen of Sheba. In Little Queen of Sheba Leah Goldberg writes about an adult approach to helping with children's conflict. As Yael is being pelted by pine cones Hannah, the children's counselor walks by:

> Hannah understood the situation very well and decided not to come to Yael's aid, even though it was such an unequal battle. She suspected that Yael would be humiliated and insulted if she interfered, so she hid behind one of the trees to observe what would happen.[74]

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[73]Bergman 180.
[74]Goldeberg 32.

Eventually Yael stands up defiantly, the boys stop throwing the pine cones and she walks away without uttering a word, shedding a tear, or giving the boys the satisfaction of retaliation. She simply marks down the incident. And the narrative continues:

> Hannah sighed sadly and made her way to the children's quarters. "What shall we do now?" she asked herself--and decided that only time could improve the situation. time would prove more helpful than logic. "But will even time be able to change her?" she asked herself doubtfully.[75]

Goldberg writes about the need for space and time to solve problems. Each child must deal with his/her own problems. Though adults are there to help, often it is best to stay out of the way and let children deal with a conflict themselves. Yael's dealing with conflict does eventually help her to become a part of the group. Through her facing tests, she, like Avramik, is able to flourish.

Again in Ha'Yeled M'Shama Bergman demonstrates the balance between war and peace. The opening shots of the War of Independence are fought in the final pages of her book. The Jews recognize the need to fight and the benefit of the skill with which they fight. However, the message delivered here is that the Jews fought only because of provocation. The first bombs are Arab; the

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[75]Goldberg 32-35.

first villages that are captured by the Arab armies; The Arab village near to the kibbutz is the provocateur. Here again the Jews must fight.

Misha, a parent involved regularly with the children in the story tells a story of his own: The kibbutz had planted a new orchard and Ovadiah (a parent) was grazing sheep. Arabs from a nearby village began to pelt Ovadiah (trapped on an island in the middle of a river with the sheep) with stones and uproot the orchard. Misha came on the scene, along with his dog, Maya. He released Maya and Maya attacked the leader of the group of Arabs, knocking him to the ground. The Arabs fled. Misha took the leader to the hospital. The next day the British came looking for the dog.[76]

Misha needed to release Maya in order to help Ovadiah. It was not something he wanted to do. In fact, once the situation was diffused he was able to revert to an attempt to build a relationship (taking the leader to the hospital).

A powerful challenge of conflict and its resolution for these authors is maintaining relationships despite the conflict. They seem to idealize conflict as a way in which to grow and learn; not as a way to divide oneself forever from a person or group. Each person needs to find his or her own way in the world. Adults can help, but adults can not be there each step of the way.

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[76]Bergman 73-78.

What about violence in these books?

Violence has a place in managing conflict, but it comes only as a last resort. Violence even in small ways effects the characters of the stories and readers. James Cross Giblin, a children's author, writes, "However close or far, however deeply or lightly it (external violence) touches him, it will inevitably become part of his life experience, something to cope with and absorb." [77]

Violence effects the way in which the characters of Chasamba operate, the way in which Jews of various stories interact with their neighbors, and forces the authors to present an ideal solution.

Conflict is present in each of these books, not just as argument between children or a child and a parent, but within the fabric of international and intergroup relations as well. And here, another idea arises: Violence is rarely viewed as the ideal. Rather the authors perceived it as necessary when other means have failed. War, though viewed as exciting and even fun, is not wholly good. In Chasamba a group member dies while trying to help the Jewish Underground. In Smoke Over Golan the attitude toward war is ambivalent at best. The Syrian boy with whom Eitan becomes friends is called, "Saleem," meaning "peace". Eitan's mother returns, following the war, with a baby girl. Ofek writes:

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[77] James Cross Giblin, "Violence, Children, and Children's Books," School Library Journal (November 1995) 30.

> "Shlomit is my little sister. Dad says she was given that name for Grandpa Shlomo, but mom says that the name, taken from "Shalom"--peace--means that we and Shlomit will live together soon in peace."[78]

Though Devorah Omer approves of the actions of NILI in her book Sara' Giborat NILI she presents a story where the Jews were driven to do what they had to in order to fight against the injustice of the Turks.

In The Show Must Go On by Uriel Ofek the title explains some of the ideal attitude toward life espoused in the wisdom of David Rubin. "The Show must go on." No matter what the show must go on. From incident to incident in the book this is the case. When violence strikes one of the kibbutzim at which the acting troupe is performing the show stops for a moment, but then continues. Yes, the shooting was scary for the cast, but they continue with the play. Israel is a violent place, it seems to say, but in the midst of that violence we still need to go on with our lives.

It would seem that that is what the common thread is. Conflict happens. Sometimes it is healthy and other times merely necessary. Conflict exists and the show must go on.

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[78]Ofek, Smoke 177.

Conclusion

Conclusion

In My Life, Golda Meir describes her personal socialist Zionist Ideology, "Israel is a Jewish state that has come into existence as the result of the longing, the faith and the determination of an ancient people. We in Israel are only one part of the Jewish nation, and not even its largest part; but because Israel exists Jewish history has been changed forever, and it is my deepest conviction that there are few Israelis today who do not understand and fully accept the responsibility that history has placed on their shoulders as Jews."[79]

She continues, "I am also grateful that I live in a country whose people have learned how to go on living in a sea of hatred without hating those who want to destroy them and without abandoning their own vision of peace. To have learned this is a great art, the prescription for which is not written down anywhere. It is part of our way of life in Israel."[80]

"So to those who ask, 'What of the future?' I still have only one answer: I believe that we will have peace with out neighbors, but I am sure that no one will make peace with a weak Israel. If Israel is not strong, there will be no peace.

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[79]Golda Meir, My Life (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1975) 459.
[80] Meir 459-60.

"My vision of our future? A Jewish state in which masses of Jews from all over the world will continue to settle and to build; an Israel bound in a collaborative effort with its neighbors on behalf of all the people of this region; an Israel that remains a flourishing democracy and a society resting firmly on social justice and equality."[81]

An article written in "The New Republic" describes Meir's image of the ideal society, "All her life the kibbutz cooperative remained her image of the ideal society... And at international socialist conferences, she appeared to the end as the representative of a progressive trade union movement and of a labor party that, despite the imperfections and concessions of the present, still cherished the dream of a socialist society with a human face"[82]

Golda Meir exemplifies both the ideals of the Israeli children's literature that I have examined, as well as its dilemmas. Golda Meir held strong ideologies and represented the fulfillment of many socialist Zionist ideals. Her ideology is very much that of the literature I read:

- She believed that Israel must exist.
- She was a woman who had grown to prominence, yet was and is the exception rather than the rule.

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81 Meir 460.

82"Golda", The New Republic, (December 23 & 30, 1978) 6.

- She spoke of the land of Israel with little acknowledgment of the great problem of Arab occupation. yet knew that the problem existed.
- She spoke with religious overtones, but shied away from connection with religious tradition.
- She believed in the ideal of each Israeli participating equally in its economy, military, and social structure. She idealized the socialistic communal life of the Kibbutz. Yet she saw the reality of Israeli society.
- She believed in striving for peace. She understood peace as the ultimate goal of the conflict in which she was involved, but she also believed in a strong military. She understood that Israel's survival was related to its ability to use violence.

Golda Meir reflects much of the literature. Though the literature sometimes strays form her vision, it is incredibly congruent. In looking at popular, mainstream authors I believe that this selection of literature reflects Israeli mainstream thinking over a distinct period of time. The variations in the literature exist as well in society.

Does Israeli children's literature model change in Israeli society? Does Israeli society model its literature? Or are societal change and its expression in literature contemporary with each other.

Amos Oz in an address at Colorado State College describes the relationship of the first writers of fiction in modern Hebrew to

their work and the relationship of their work to the world in which they wrote. He describes the mere act of writing for these first authors as a vision in itself. Through the writing of literature in modern Hebrew these authors begin to bring modern Israel into being. Through their use of the Hebrew, when they could have been writing for a broader audience in German or Russian, they envision the possibility of a state of Israel in which modern Hebrew is spoken before the state seemed even to have a chance of existence.[83]

The children's literature reflects profoundly the dichotomy between the author's ideal Israel and the reality in which they live. The children's literature presents a dream toward which its readers can strive. A strong Israel, an Israel wherein each person plays an important and equal role; an Israel where the question of Arabs is moot; an Israel with the Ideal of a secular Zionism in a country charged with religious significance; an Israel where girls can grow into strong women; an Israel in which religion remains in the background; an Israel that will not ever exist except in bits and pieces.

The beliefs and ideologies with which the authors wrote influenced their readers. I believe that the children's literature that I read profoundly influenced its readers. I imagine that the literature with which Israeli children interact today will profoundly influence their ideologies, beliefs, and understanding of the world.

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[83]Amos Oz, "Israeli Literature: A case of Reality Reflecting Fiction," The William Jovanovich Lecture, The Colorado College, Colorado Springs, 6 Feb. 1985.

Israeli children's literature changed dramatically over the span of time upon which I focused. The writing improves, the preaching is more subtly crafted. The focus moves from the group to the individual and issues (Arabs, war and peace, religion) become more complex. The slogans and heroism are replaced with strong characters with more complex personalities. Uriel Ofek, writing still in 1998, could not today (nor in 1960) write with the easy solutions and pat slogans of Yigal Mozenson. His issues are more complex. He does not have as many easy answers.

Golda Meir reflects much of Israeli children's literature of her lifetime, but the literature continues to change. The issues of Israel continue to change. Whether the ideology of the literature is helping to push the change or reflecting the change, Israel is a different country than in 1950 (when Mozenson began publishing "Chasamba"). When Tamar Bergman writes about a pre-1948 kibbutz from the vantage of the 1980's the issues she chooses and the way she writes reflects the values of 1980, as much as the values of the pre-1948 kibbutz.

The children's literature did reflect the decades in which it was written. The authors did capture the dilemmas (and solutions) of the moment. Many of them remain relevant today: Uriel Ofek is on this month's bestseller list. Many of them have lost some of their luster: children do not read "Chasamba" as it was read twenty years ago. The literature was compelling and much of it remains compelling.

The ideology of the literature continues to influence its readers, reflecting and propelling the world in which it is created.

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